

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY.

TH

ENGLISH WORKS

OF

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

OF

"TUHFATUL MUWAHHIDDIN."

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PREFACE.

THE present edition of the English Works of RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY contains all his English writings which were edited by Mr. Jogendra Chunder Ghose, M.A., B.L., and compiled and published by Mr. Eshan Chunder Bose, to whom the best thanks of the publishers are due. It includes some additional letters and an English translation of the Raja's *Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin*.

The Publishers take this occasion to thank Babu Rameswarprasad Bhargava for his valuable assistance in preparing a fairly intelligible English version of the author's "Present to the Believers in one God."

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR.



Raja Rammohun Roy, the founder of the Brahma Samaj or the Theistic Church of India, was born at Radhanagar, Bengal, in May 1772, of an ancient and honourable Brahman family. His father gave him a good education; he learnt Persian at home, Arabic at Patna (where he studied Euclid, Aristotle and the Koran), and Sanskrit at Benares. Although a devout idolater in boyhood, he early began to doubt and speculate, and at fifteen left home to study Buddhism in Tibet, where his criticisms on Lama-worship gave much offence. After some years' travel he returned, but, his anti-idolatrous sentiments obliging him to leave home, he lived at Benares until his father's death in 1803. After this, he spent about ten years in the East India Company's service, latterly as Dewan or head officer in the collection of Revenues. During this period he first began to assemble his friends together for evening discussions on the absurdities of idolatory, and he also issued his first work, Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin ("A gift to Monotheists"). This treatise was in Persian, with an Arabic preface, and was a bold protest against superstition and priestcraft. These proceedings brought on him much hostility, and even persecution, and in 1814 he retired to Calcutta for greater safety. Here he soon established a little Friendly Society (Atmiya Sabha), which met weekly to read the Hindu Scriptures and to chant Monotheistic hymns. In 1816 he translated the Vedanta into Bengali and Hindustani, following this by a series of translations from the Upanishads into Bengali, Hindustani and English, with introductions and comments of his own. These works he published at his own cost and disseminated widely among his countrymen. His writings excited much opposition and gave rise to numerous controversies, in which his ability, tact and learning rendered him fully a match for his antagonists. But the deadliest blow he inflicted upon Hindu superstition was his effective agitation against the rite of Suttee, the burning of living widows on the piles of their deceased husbands.

In 1811 he had been a horrified witness of this sacrifice in his elder brother's family, and he had vowed never to rest until he had uprooted this custom. He exposed the hollow pretences of its advocates in elaborate pamphlets both in Bengali and English, and pressed the matter in every possible way, till at last the tide of public feeling turned, and on December 4, 1829, Lord William Bentinck issued a regulation abolishing Suttee throughout all the territories subject to Fort William. Rammohun was an active politician and philanthropist. He built school-houses and established schools in which useful knowledge was gratuitously taught through the medium both of the English and the native languages. He wrote a suggestive Bengali Grammar, of which he published one version in English (1826) and one in Bengali (1833). He wrote valuable pamphlets on Hindu law and made strenuous exertions for the freedom of the native Press ; he also established (1822) and mainly conducted two native newspapers, the *Sambad Kaumudi* in Bengali, and the *Mirat-al-Akhbar* in Persian and made them the means of diffusing much useful political information. Becoming interested in Christianity he learned Hebrew and Greek in order to read the Bible in the original languages, and in 1820 he issued a selection from the four Gospels entitled—the Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and happiness. This was attacked by the Baptist Missionaries of Serampur, and a long controversy ensued in which he published three remarkable Appeals to the Christian Public in defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." He also wrote other theological tracts (sometimes under assumed names) in which he attacked both Hindu and Christian orthodoxy with a strong hand. But his personal relations with orthodox Christians were never unfriendly, and he rendered valuable assistance to Dr. Duff in the latter's educational schemes. He also warmly befriended a Unitarian Christian Mission which was started in Calcutta (1824) by Mr. William Adam, formerly a Baptist Missionary, who, in attempting to convert Rammohun to trinitarianism was himself converted to the opposite view. This Unitarian Mission, though not a theological success, attracted considerable sympathy among the Hindu Monotheists, whose Atmiya Sabha had then become extinct. At last Rammohun felt able to re-embody his cherished ideal, and on August 20, 1828, he opened the first Brahma Association (Brahma Sabha) at a hired house.

A suitable church-building was then erected and placed in the hands of trustees, with a small endowment and a remarkable trust-deed by which the building was set apart "for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the universe." The new church was formally opened on the 11th Magh (January 23), 1830, from which day the Brahma Samaj dates its existence. Having now succeeded in his chief projects, Rammohun resolved to visit England, and the King of Delhi appointed him envoy thither on special business, and gave him the title of Raja. He arrived in England on April 8, 1831, and was received with universal cordiality and respect. He watched with special anxiety the parliamentary discussions on the renewal of the East India Company's charter and gave much valuable evidence before the Board of Control on the condition of India. This he republished with additional suggestions ("Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India") and also reissued his important "Essay on the Right of Hindus over Ancestral Property." He visited France, and wished to visit America, but died unexpectedly of brain-fever at Bristol, September 27, 1833.—*The Encyclopædia Britannica.*

INTRODUCTION.

All earnest attempts at reform, whether religious, social, political, or of any other description, are based on faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice and humanity, which is synonymous with a belief in the moral government of the Universe. This is an essential element in religious belief. One would, therefore, expect to find Raja Rammohun Roy, the first all-round reformer in modern India, "above all and beneath all a religious personality. The many and far-reaching ramifications of his prolific energy were forth-puttings of one purpose. The root of his life was religion. He would never have been able to go so far or to move his countrymen so mightily as he did but for the driving power of an intense theistic passion." As in his life so in his writings, religion occupies the foremost place. His writings on religious subjects are the most important and most voluminous. But their very extent and variety are apt to puzzle those who may strive to find out the exact nature of his religious faith. The late Babu Rajnarain Bose had it from his father, a disciple of the Raja, that the latter before his departure to England had foretold that after his death various sects would claim him as belonging to their own particular ranks, but he declared that he did not belong to any particular sect. What the Raja foresaw has actually taken place. "It has been said that Rammohun Roy delighted to pass for a believer in the Vedanta with the Hindus, for a Christian among the adherents of that creed, and for a disciple of the Koran with the champions of Islamism.* The truth is that his eclecticism equalled his sincerity." † It would be out of place here to enter into a discussion of the question of his religious belief. ‡ Suffice it to say that he believed in pure theism, as his *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin* on the one hand and the Trust-Deed of the Brahmo Samaj on the other, in addition to

* His habit, in his religious controversies with various sects, of taking his stand not merely upon pure reason but mainly upon their scriptures led some people to think that he was all things to all men. This, of course, is a mistake. His controversial method was meant to convince the followers of different faiths that even their scriptures, which they professed implicitly to follow, enjoined the worship of the one true God.

† *The Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought*, by Count Goblet d'Alviella, p. 233.

‡ For an exhaustive discussion of the subject see the Raja's biography in Bengali, by Babu Nagendranath Chatterji, which ought to be translated into English.

many of his other works, prove conclusively. He did not reject an truth to be found in any scriptures or in the teachings of an prophet or saint; he revered and accepted truth from all quarters but at the same time he did not accept any book or teacher a infallible. It should not, however, be forgotten that though he was thus cosmopolitan in his acceptance of truth, there are reasons to think that he believed in what may be called national or racial manifestations or developments of universal theism. His partiality (in no narrow sense) for the ethical portion of Christ's teachings is evident. But it would be wrong to suppose for that reason that he was exclusively or even principally a follower of Jesus. In making this statement we do not solely or chiefly rely on his prose writings in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, English or Bengali. His hymns in Bengali, too, in our opinion, afford a correct idea of the faith that lay enshrined in the deepest recesses of his heart. For, poetry springs from a deeper source in the soul than anything that is merely didactic, controversial, doctrinal or philosophical. And from the Raja's Bengali devotional poetry, one cannot but take him to have been a Hindu Theist or a theistic Vedantist.

It is sometimes asked whether Rammohun Roy intended that the society for the worship of one God that he founded should have a social counterpart in a religious community separate from all existing ones, such as the Brahmo Samaj has now become. The question is difficult to answer. But from the little study and thought that we have been able to devote to the subject, it seems to us that at the time when he established the Brahmo Samaj, he meant it to be simply a meeting-ground for people of all sects who wished to unite for divine worship, "a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the author and preserver of the Universe but not under or by any other name, designation or title peculiarly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever." Art and philosophy, though each is essentially one all the world over, have yet found various though fitting garb among different peoples according to racial, climatic and other causes. It seems to us, that similarly, the Raja may have thought that Theism, though at bottom one all over the world, has yet found various expression among different races; and though abstract truth is thinkable, yet as it finds actual manifestation in some concrete shape, it is the part of wisdom to allow the abstract universal theism in all countries and among all races to keep its native shape and colour, in which it is embodied, freed, of course, from all that is base and impure, with

a broad spirit of toleration for other shapes and colours: or in other words, he may have believed that Theism is one, and Hindu Theism, Semitic Theism, &c., are different forms of the same universal faith; and that the future unity of the human race in religion is not to be realised by all mankind following the creed of this or that sect, but by each nation or race giving up all such erroneous and superstitious beliefs and pernicious customs and lifeless rituals as clash with pure Theism, but in every thing else keeping all that is racy of the soil, all that distinctively belongs to the religious genius of that nation or race, in a spirit of discriminating reverence for its own past and of respect and toleration for others.

Professor Monier Williams speaks of him as the first really earnest investigator in the science of comparative theology, which the world has produced.

Social customs and practices have been and are in all countries more or less connected with the religious beliefs of the people. It is, therefore, only natural that Rammohun Roy's programme of religious reform should lead on to and embrace social reform. In all countries, and specially in India, social reform consists chiefly in doing away with the disabilities or sufferings incident to difference of sex or the accident of birth. Or, in other words, social reformers have chiefly to fight with the spirit of caste and its evils and the subjection of women to the selfish interests and pleasures or supposed interests of the male sex. Rammohun Roy's chief claim to the gratitude of Hindu womanhood is the courageous and devoted part that he played in the movement for the abolition of *suttee.* He may or may not have been the central figure in that movement, but it must be admitted by all that but for his exertions that inhuman custom would not have been put down by law so soon as it was.

But to prevent the murder of widows was only to create another problem, namely, the amelioration of their condition. It is even now a question as to how we can best better their lot. Many solutions of the problem have been proposed and attempted; their re-marriage, giving them such training as to enable them to lead honourable, useful and independent lives, so changing the Hindu law of inheritance as to make the means of living of Hindu widows less precarious, &c. His "Brief remarks regarding modern encroachments on the ancient rights of females, according to the Hindu Law of inheritance," was intended to attain the last object. That the condition of helpless widows deeply touched his heart appears also from No. VI. of the *Sambad Kaumudi,* which contained "an appeal to the rich Hindus of Calcutta to constitute a society for the relief of destitute widows, upon the principles of the Civil and Military Widows' Fund, established by order of Government." That he was earnestly in favour of

the education of women is quite clear from many passages in his writings, such, for instance, as the following :—

" As to their inferiority in point of understanding, when did you ever afford them a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity? How then can you accuse them of want of understanding ? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him as deficient ; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce on their inferiority. On the contrary, Lilavati, Bhanumati, the wife of the prince of Karnat, and that of Kalidas, are celebrated for their thorough knowledge of all the Sastras : moreover, in the Vrihadaranyak-Opanishad of the Yajur Veda it is clearly stated, that Yajnavalkya imparted divine knowledge of the most difficult nature to his wife Maitreyi, who was able to follow and completely attain it ! "

It is true that even with his unbounded enthusiasm in woman's cause and his indefatigable energy he could not take any steps for educating girls, widowed or unmarried ; but it may be safely said that had he lived to return home from England and work here for a few years more, his contact with the comparatively enlightened womanhood of the West would certainly have borne fruit in the establishment of educational institutions for Indian girls and women. That Miss Mary Carpenter came out to India to labour for the good of Indian women is due mainly to her contact with the Raja. Regarding the re-marriage of child-widows, it is believed by some that he published a book advocating its introduction but no such production has been discovered among his works. His biographer, Babu Nagendranath Chatterji, says :—" We have heard that Rammohun Roy used to express a desire to his friends that the re-marriage of child-widows should become prevalent. When he went to England, a rumour spread everywhere that on coming back home he would introduce the custom of the re-marriage of widows."

It will appear from a study of his " Brief remarks regarding the ancient rights of females " that he was opposed to polygamy, kulinism and the practical selling of girls in marriage. He showed from the Shastras that second marriages were authorised only under certain circumstances, and observed :—

" Had a Magistrate or other public officer been authorized by the rulers of the empire to receive applications for his sanction to a second marriage during the life of a first wife, and to grant his consent only on such accusations as the foregoing being substantiated, the above Law might have been rendered effectual, and the distress of the female sex in Bengal, and the number of suicides, would have been necessarily very much reduced."

We have no indication in his works of his views on child-marriage. Perhaps in his days in Bengal, though such marriages must have been customary, their consummation was postponed to a maturer age, thus minimizing the evil to some extent, as is still the case in some provinces of India. But with regard to this item, too, of the social reform programme, one can only speculate as to what he would have

done had he lived to come back from England. For, a man, who had such innate chivalry in his nature that he would never take his seat if any woman of what rank so ever remained standing in his presence, could not have failed to observe the evil effects on women of such a custom, at any rate after coming in contact with the comparatively free and healthy womanhood of the West.

That Rammohun Roy had not failed to observe the evil effects of caste will appear from the extract from one of his letters printed on page 929 of this edition. No. VIII of his *Sambad Kaumudi*, too, prints the plea of a philanthropist [probably himself], who observing the misery caused by prejudices of caste, urges the Hindus not to debar themselves thereby from mechanical pursuits, but to cultivate "such arts as would tend to their comfort, happiness and independence." By crossing the ocean and in other ways, the Raja, to a great extent, broke through the unreasonable and injurious restrictions imposed by caste. Why he did not or could not do so entirely, is not known to a certainty. But from his conduct in other matters, we should hesitate to ascribe to him any motives of cowardice or self-interest. He published with a Bengali translation the first chapter of a Sanskrit work against caste, named *Bajrasuchi*, by Mrityunjayacharya.

In most things Raja Rammohun Roy was in advance of his age, and rose above the influence of his surroundings. He was the pioneer in many reform movements. But in the matter of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, his views and practice differed from those of most reformers of the present day. He was a moderate drinker and even quoted some Shastras in favour of the practice. There is also another matter in which he was not in advance of his age. In his "Brief remarks regarding the ancient rights of females," he says that of the three modes of conduct left to the widows of a polygamous man to pursue, the second is "to walk in the paths of unrighteousness for their maintenance and independence." And this he, of course, condemns, and thereby shows himself to be, as we otherwise also know him to have been, an advocate of social purity. Yet it would appear that he found nothing objectionable in entertaining his guests with the nautch and music of dancing girls in his residence. For we find in Fanny Parkes' "Wanderings of a Pilgrim," Vol. I, Chap. IV (Residence in Calcutta, May 1823), the following passage:—

"The other evening we went to a party given by Rammohun Roy, a rich Bengali baboo: the grounds, which are extensive, were well illuminated, and excellent fire-works displayed. In various rooms of the house nách girls were dancing and singing."

It is well known that Rammohun Roy himself founded and helped others in founding schools. He took a prominent part in the great educational controversy between the "Orientalists" and the "Anglicists",

and sided with the latter. But for his opposition the clamour of the former for the exclusive pursuit of Oriental studies would most probably have prevailed. His *Letter on English Education* to Lord Amherst is a remarkably convincing production.*

"It was owing, perhaps, to this agitation," remarks Babu Jogendra Chunder Ghose on this letter, "that the foundation-stone of the building intended for the Sanskrit College was laid in the name of the Hindu College (February, 1824), and the Hindu College was located there together with the Sanskrit College." For the direct and indirect beneficial results of Western education we are indebted to Raja Rammohun Roy as much as to Lord Macaulay, Lord William Bentinck, David Hare, &c.

Rammohun Roy wrote text-books in Bengali on Grammar, Geography, Astronomy and Geometry. He is the father of modern Bengali

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* One passage in this letter possesses a special interest of its own. It runs thus :—

"Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following which are the themes suggested by the Vedanta,—in what manner is the soul absorbed in the Deity? What relations does it bear to the Divine Essence? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe, that all visible things have no real existence, that as father, brother, &c., have no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better."

The missionaries advanced in the *Samachar Darpan*, the last objection, which Rammohun assailed in his *Brahmunical Magazine.* He further established a Vedanta College. This seeming inconsistency is explained by Miss Collett as follows :—"The teachings of the Vedanta lend themselves to a remarkable diversity of theological interpretation. They are appealed to equally by dualistic and non-dualistic schools of thought. They contain passages which breathe a lofty and ethical Theism; in other places they seem to countenance a Pantheism that is simply Acosmism—the denial of all finite existence, . . . According as the Vedanta is taught with or without a proper selective adjustment of its widely various contents, its value as a subject of instruction may be set high or low. In the ordinary Hindu schools it was taught in false perspective, with a discrimination exercised if at all in favour of what was trivial, incorrect, polytheistic. Rammohun therefore opposed with all his might the suggestion that the British Government should perpetuate or encourage this kind of Vedantic instruction. At the same time he saw in the Vedanta rightly handled and "rightly divided" a means for leading his countrymen out of their prevailing superstition and idolatry into a pure and elevated Theism. Their devotion to the Vedantic scriptures was the lever by which Rammohun hoped to lift them into a simpler and nobler faith. Therefore he founded the Vedanta College; and therefore also he controverted the missionaries' wholesale disparagement of the Vedanta. If the missionaries had succeeded in discrediting the Vedanta, they would in Rammohun's eyes have broken down the bridge which enabled men to pass from Hindu Polytheism to Hindu Theism. He thus combated both the conservative Christian who advocated indiscriminate rejection and the conservative Hindu who advocated the indiscrimate retention of Vedantic teaching; and he provided for a discriminating instruction in the ancient system which should have the approval of liberal Hindus and liberal Christians."

literary prose. He taught his people the use of marks of punctuation. There was in his nature a deep vein of genuine poetry, too; as his Bengali hymns show. He was the first to write theistic hymns in Bengali. Pandit Ramagati Nyayaratna, a well-known Hindu historian of the Bengali language and literature, truly observes that "they appear to possess the power of melting even stony hearts, of making the most irreligious devoted to God and of making hearts sunk in wordliness detached from the world." They are prized by theists and idolaters alike. A few of them are in Sanskrit. We believe an English translation of Rammohun's hymns by Babu Mohinimohan Chatterjee, M. A., has been published by the Adi Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta.

His Bengali journal, the *Sambad Kaumudi*, first appeared in 1821. He is the founder of native journalism in India. The *Sambad Kaumudi* was not exclusively or chiefly a political publication. It, as well as his Persian newspaper, *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* or *Mirror of Intelligence*, had an educational purpose, too. Besides politics, subjects of a historical, literary and scientific character were treated of therein.

Lawyers of eminence have declared that the legal writings of the Raja, such as his "Brief Remarks on Ancient Female Rights," "The Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal," would do credit to jurists of the highest standing.

To the public Rammohun Roy is best known as a religious and social reformer. To many he is also known as a literateur and educationist. But he is not so well known as a political reformer and agitator. A brief account of his politics may not therefore be out of place here.

Mr. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary, whose association with Raja Rammohun Roy led him to adopt Unitarian opinions, bears the following testimony to his love of liberty :—

"He would be free or not be at all .. .. Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,—freedom not of action merely, but of thought. . ..This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach to an encroachment on his mental freedom was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him."

It was this love of liberty that was the source of all his political opinions and the mainspring of all his political activity. It made him take interest in and deeply sympathise with all political movements all over the world that had for their object the advancement of popular freedom. Some instances may here be given of Rammohun's cosmopolitan sympathies in the region of politics.

"When the intelligence reached India that the people of Naples after extorting a constitution from their despotic king were crushed back into servitude by the Austrian troops, in obedience to the joint mandate of the crowned heads of Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sardinia, and Naples, Rammohun felt it keenly."

In a letter to Mr. Buckingham, dated August 11, 1821, he wrote :—

" I am afraid I must be under the necessity of denying myself the pleasure of your society this evening; more especially as my mind is depressed by the late news from Europe......From the late unhappy news I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe, and Asiatic nations, especially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of the same blessing than what they now enjoy.

" Under these circumstances I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own, and their enemies as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been, and never will be, ultimately successful."

" These noble words," says Miss Collett, " reveal how profoundly Rammohun felt with the late Russel Lowell that " In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim" ; and that

" Wherever wrong is done
To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding Sun,
That wrong is also done to us."

Rammohun's Persian weekly *Mirat-al-Akhbar* contained an article on " Ireland, the causes of its distress and discontent". In this he dwelt on the evils of absenteeism and the injustice of maintaining Protestant clergymen out of revenues wrung from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. He said :—

How admirable is the observation of Saadi (on whom be mercy !)

" Do not say that these rapacious ministers are the well-wishers of his Majesty ;
For in proportion as they augment the revenue of the State, they diminish his popularity ;
O statesman, apply the revenue of the king towards the comfort of the people ; then during their lives they will be loyal to him."

When the news of the establishment of constitutional Government in Spain reached India, he gave a public dinner at the Town Hall. Some months before his departure for England, news reached Calcutta of the latest French Revolution, and, " so great was his enthusiasm that," we are told, " he could think and talk of nothing else !" He viewed it as a triumph of liberty and rejoiced accordingly. On his voyage to England he landed at the Cape for only an hour or two. " Returning on board he met with a nasty accident. The gangway ladder had not been properly secured, and he got a serious fall, from which he was lame for eighteen months afterwards and indeed never finally recovered. But no bodily suffering could repress his mental ardour. Two French frigates, under the revolutionary flag, the glorious tri-colour, were lying in Table Bay ; and lame as he was, he would insist on visiting them. The sight of these colours seemed to kindle his enthusiasm, and to render him insensible to pain." During the days of the Reform Bill agitation in England, he

considered the struggle between the reformers and anti-reformers as a struggle between liberty and oppression throughout the world: between justice and injustice, and between right and wrong. He publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated, he would renounce his connection with England. His Persian weekly, the *Mirat*, did not, however, favourably consider the national aspirations of Greece. Muhammadan sympathy with the Turks may have been to some extent responsible for this attitude to Greece.

We now pass on to the Raja's Indian polical opinions. Our politics are sure to be tinged by our attitude towards British rule in India. It is therefore necessary to know what the Raja thought of British rule in India in his day. In his autobiography he writes :—

"... ..I proceeded on my travels, and passed through different countries, chiefly within, but some beyond, the bounds of Hindoostan, with a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British Power in India. When I had reached the age of twenty, my father recalled me, and restored me to his favour ; after which I first saw and began to associate with Europeans, and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of government. Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them, and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants ;... "

He concluded his "Final Appeal to the Christian Public"

"by offering up thanks to the supreme Disposer of the events of this universe, for having unexpectedly delivered this country from the long-continued tyranny of its former Rulers, and placed it under the government of the English,—a nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends."

But Rammohun gave to Muhammadan rule also its due meed of praise by mentioning in what respects it was superior to British rule. He wrote in his "Appeal to the King in Council" against the Press Regulation :—

"Your Majesty is aware, that under their former Mohammadan Rulers, the natives of this country enjoyed every political privilege in common with Mussulmans, being eligible to the highest offices in the State, entrusted with the command of armies and the government of provinces and often chosen as advisers to their Prince, without disqualification or degrading distinction on account of their religion or the place of their birth. They used to receive free grants of land exempted from any payments of revenue, and besides the highest salaries allowed under the Government, they enjoyed free of charge large tracts of country attached to certain offices of trust and dignity, while natives of learning and talent were rewarded with numerous situations of honour and emolument. Although under the British Rule, the natives of India, have entirely lost this political consequence.......", &c.

Some of the contents of the earlier numbers of the *Sambad Kaumudi* may be given here :—

No. I.—An appeal to the Government for the establishment of a school for the gratuitous instruction of the poor but respectable Hindus.

No. II.—Humble address to the Government soliciting the extension of trial by jury to Mofussil, Zilla and Provincial Courts of Judicature.

No. III.—An appeal to the Government to relieve the Hindu community from the inconvenience consequent upon there being only one Ghaut for the burning of dead bodies whereas an immense space of ground has been granted for the burial of Christians.

Appeal to Government for the prevention of the exportation of the greatest part of the produce of rice from Bengal to foreign ports.

Appeal to Government to enable the middle class of native subjects to avail themselves of the treatment of European physicians.

Appeal to the Calcutta Magistrates to resort to rigorous measures for relieving the Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta from the serious grievance of Christian gentlemen driving their buggies amongst them and cutting and lashing them with whips, without distinction of sex or age, while they quietly assembled in immense numbers to see the images of their deities pass in the Chitpore Road, when many of them through terror and consternation caused by the lashing inflicted on the spectators, fell down into drains, while others were trampled under foot by the crowd.

Raja Rammohun Roy believed that a free Press is one of the best safeguards of liberty. This conviction found expression in his petitions against the Press Regulation (1) to the Supreme Court, and (2) to the King in Council. The Press ordinance prescribed that thenceforth no one should publish a newspaper or other periodical without having obtained a license from the Governor-General in Council, signed by the Chief Secretary. The memorial submitted to the Supreme Court "may be regarded as the Areopagitica of Indian History. Alike in diction and in argument, it forms a noble landmark in the progress of English culture in the East."

This Memorial proving fruitless, Rammohun and his co-adjutors appealed to the King in council. Says Miss Collett :—

"The appeal is one of the noblest pieces of English to which Rammohun put his hand. Its stately periods and not less stately thought recall the eloquence of the great orators of a century ago. In a language and style for ever associated with the glorious vindication of liberty, it invokes against the arbitrary exercise of British power the principles and traditions which are distinctive of British History."

This Memorial, too, proved unavailing. The Privy Council declined to comply with the petition.

A new Jury Act came into operation in the beginning of 1827. On August 18th, 1828, Rommohun wrote to Mr. J. Crawford and entrusted to him petitions against the Act for presentation to both Houses of

Parliament, signed by Hindus and Mohammedans. He thus concisely stated the grounds of grievance :—

"In his famous Jury Bill, Mr. Wynn, the late President of the Board of Control, has by introducing religious distinctions into the judicial system of this country, not only afforded just grounds for dissatisfaction among the Natives in general, but has excited much alarm in the breast of every one conversant with political principles. Any Natives, either Hindu or Mohamedan, are rendered by this Bill subject to judicial trial by Christians, either European or Native, while Christians, including Native converts, are exempted from the degradation of being tried either by a Hindu or Mussulman juror, however high he may stand in the estimation of society. This Bill also denies both to Hindus and Mohamedans the honor of a seat in the Grand Jury even in the trial of fellow Hindus or Mussulmans. This is the sum total of Mr Wynn's late Jury Bill, of which we bitterly complain."

Rammohun went on to suggest a possibility " which is by no means so remote now as when he wrote ":—

"Supposing that 100 years hence the Native character becomes elevated from constant intercourse with Europeans and the acquirement of general and political knowledge as well as of modern arts and sciences, is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society? It should not be lost sight of that the position of India is very different from that of Ireland, to any quarter of which an English fleet may suddenly convey a body of troops that may force its way in the requisite direction and succeed in suppressing every effort of a refractory spirit. Were India to share one-fourth of the knowledge and energy of that country, she would prove from her remote situation, her riches and her vast population, either useful and profitable as a willing province, an ally of the British empire, or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy.

"In common with those who seem partial to the British rule from the expectation of future benefits arising out of the connection, I necessarily feel extremely grieved in often witnessing Acts and Regulations passed by Government without consulting or seeming to understand the feelings of its Indian subjects and without considering that this people have had for more than half a century the advantage of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation, advocates of liberty and promoters of knowledge."

The letter quoted above is remarkable for the far-sighted glance into the future which it reveals. Here in germ is to be found the national aspiration which is now breaking forth into demands for a greater measure of self-government than the people at present enjoy. Rammohun's English biographer observes that

"The prospect of an educated India, of an India approximating to European standards of culture, seems to have never been long absent from Rammohun's mind; and he did, however vaguely, claim in advance for his countrymen the political rights which progress in civilization inevitably involves. Here again Rammohun stands forth as the tribune and prophet of New India."

The Select Committee of the House of Commons which was appointed in February, 1831, and reappointed in June to consider the renewal of the Company's Charter invited him to appear before it.

Rammohun declined this request but tendered his evidence in the form of successive "Communications to the Board of Control." The first of these dealt with Revenue. The Raja appears here as the champion of the rack-rented ryot. While the Zemindars or landholders had been greatly benefited by the Permanent Settlement of 1793, while their wealth and the wealth of the community had generally increased, the poor cultivator was no better off. The remedy he asked for was in the first place the prohibition of any further rise in rent, and secondly—rents being now so exorbitantly high as to leave the ryot in a state of extreme misery,—a reduction in the revenue demanded from the Zemindar so as to ensure a reduction in the ryot's rent. The decrease in revenue he would meet by increasing taxes upon luxuries or by employing as Collectors low-salaried Indians instead of high-salaried Europeans. It may here be incidentally observed that nearly three-quarters of a century ago, when education was in a backward condition, Raja Rammohun Roy considered Indians fit for the duties of Collectors. He also considered them well qualified to discharge all judicial duties.

He approved of the settlement in India of a few model landlords from England, but was careful to stipulate that they should not be drawn from the lower classes. This is not the place to criticize the Raja's views on this subject; but it seems open to grave doubt whether a European landed aristocracy for India would have been on the whole beneficial to the people of this country. He concluded with an earnest appeal "to any and every authority to devise some mode of alleviating the present miseries of the agricultural peasantry of India."

It admits of no doubt that the condition of the proprietors of land has improved under the system of permanent assessment. But the Government seems at present to believe that that system has resulted in loss of revenue to the State. It is, therefore, important to quote the Raja's opinion on this subject.

"The amount of assessment fixed on the lands of these provinces at the time of the Permanent Settlement (1793), was as high as had ever been assessed, and in many instances higher than had ever before been realized by the exertions of any government, Mohamedan or British. Therefore the Government sacrificed nothing in concluding that settlement. If it had not been formed, the landholders (*Zemindars*) would always have taken care to prevent the revenue from increasing by not bringing the waste lands into cultivation, and by collusive arrangements to elude further demands; while the state of the cultivators would not have been at all better than it is now. However, if the Government had taken the whole estates of the country into its own hands, as in the ceded and conquered provinces and the Madras Presidency, then, by allowing the landholders only ten per cent. on the rents (*Malikanah*), and securing all the rest to the Government, it might no doubt have increased the revenue for a short time. But the whole of the landlords in the country would then have been reduced to the same wretched condition

as they are at present in in the ceded and conquered Provinces of the Bengal Presidency or rather annihilated, as in many parts of the Madras territory; and the whole population reduced to the same level of poverty. At the same time, the temporary increase of revenue to Government under its own immediate management would also have soon fallen off, through the misconduct and negligence of the revenue officers, as shown by innumerable instances in which the estates were kept *khas*, *i.e.*, under the immediate management of Government."

"Besides, Government appropriates to itself an enormous duty on the transit and exportation of the produce of the soil, which has, since the period of the Perpetual Settlement, increased to a great amount from the exertions of the proprietors in extending and improving cultivation, under the assurance that no demand of an increase of revenue would be made upon them on account of the progressive productiveness of their estates."

The Raja contrasts the effects of the permanent and periodical systems of assessment in two statements.

"By a comparative view of the revenues of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, from the period of the Perpetual Settlement, it appears that, in the thirty-five years, from 1792-93 to 1827-28, there was a total increase on the whole amount of the Revenue of above 100 per cent. (101·71), and that this increase has been steady and progressive up to the present time;... "

"By a comparative view of the revenue of the old British territory in Madras, it appears that during the same period of thirty-five years (*i. e.*, from 1793 to 1828) there was an increase of only about 40 per cent., (40·15) on the total amount of the whole revenue. That the increase during the first 17 years was 43 $\frac{83}{100}$ per cent.; that in the next 8 years the increase was only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; and that in the last 18 years there has been a *decrease* of 2·15 per cent."

In an appendix he urged the Imperial utility of the policy of fixing a maximum rent to be paid by each cultivator, "that their rents already raised to a ruinous extent, might not be subject to further increase." His advocacy of this policy is so statesmanlike that no apology is needed for quoting his views on the subject. To recognise the indefeasible rights of the ryots in the soil would make them loyal to the power that secured them and

"ready to rise in defence of it, as a militia or in any other shape that might be required; so as to secure the British rule in a foreign and remote empire, alike from internal intrigue and from external aggression, without the necessity of keeping on foot an immense standing army at an enormous cost. This consideration is of great importance in respect to the natives of the upper and western provinces, who are distinguished by their superior bravery, and form the greater part of the British Indian army. If this race of men, who are by no means deficient in feelings of personal honor and regard for family respectability, were assured that their rights in the soil were indefeasible so long as the British power should endure, they would from gratitude and self-interest at all time be ready to devote their lives and property in its defence.

"The saving that might be effected by this liberal and generous policy, through the substituting of a militia force for a great part of the present standing army, would be much greater than any gain that could be realized by any system of increasing land

revenue that human ingenuity could devise. How applicable to this case is the following line of the Persian sage (Saadi) :—

Ba rayat sulh kun Wa'z jang i khasm ai man nishin
Z'anki shahinshah i adil ra rayat lashkar ast.

" Be on friendly terms with thy subjects, and rest easy about the warfare of thine enemies; for to an upright prince his people is an army."

While on the subject of Land Settlement we may say that in 1828, by Regulation III of that year, the revenue collector in each district was authorised to dispossess the holders of tax-free lands by his own authority, without reference to any judicial courts, if the collector should be of opinion, after such enquiry as might satify himself that the title of the proprietor was not valid. It was therein enacted that " such decision of the Collector shall have the force and effect of a decree " ; also, that " it shall not be necessary for him to transmit his proceedings to the Board of Revenue," but " the party dispossessed might appeal," and by art. 3., whether an appeal be filed or not, " that it shall and may be lawful for the Collector immediately to carry into effect his decision by attaching and assessing the lands." This regulation produced great alarm and distrust amongst the natives of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, many of whom petitioned against the principle of one party, who lays claim to the land, dispossessing an actual possessor at his own discretion. This agitation was led, though unsuccessfully, by Rammohun Roy. Reg. III of 1828 is still in force.

Among the principal measures advocated in the Raja's *Questions and Answers on the Judicial System of India* were the substitution of English for Persian as the official language of the courts of law; the appointment of native assessors in the civil courts; trial by jury, of which the Panchayet system was the indigenous parallel; separation of the offices of judge and revenue commissioners; separation of the offices of judge and magistrate; codification of the criminal law and also of the law of India ; and consultation with the local magnates before enacting laws. The last reform proposed contains the germs of representative legislative bodies.

Students of Indian economics are familiar with the fact that every year nearly 45 crores of rupees of India's capital is drained off to foreign parts without any hope of return. This drain of wealth did not escape the eyes of Raja Rammohun Roy. In his " Revenue System of India" he says that as a large sum of money is now annually drawn from India by Europeans retiring from it with the fortunes realized there, a system which would encourage Europeans of capital to become permanent settlers with their families, would necessarily greatly improve the resources of the country. He pre-

pared several tables to prove this drain. The following two paragraphs are appended to these tables :—

"By the evidence of Messrs. Lloyd and Melville (the former the Accountant-General, and the latter the Auditor-General of the East India Company), recorded in the Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 23rd February, 1830, it appears that the proportion of the Indian revenues *expended in England* on the territorial account amounts, on an average, to £3,000,000 annually. It includes the expenses at the Board of Control and India House, pay, absentee allowances and pensions to Civil and Military officers in Europe for services in India, with interest of money realized there, &c , &c , besides £453,588 for territorial stores consigned to India.

"In a letter of the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, dated the 20th of June, 1810, and quoted in the work "On Colonial Policy as applicable to the Government of India," by a very able servant of the company, holding a responsible situation in Bengal, the Directors state that "it is no extravagant assertion to advance, that the annual remittances to London on account of individuals, have been at the rate of nearly £2,000,000 per annum *for a series of years past.*" (p. 70.) From these and other authentic documents the author calculates the amount of capital, or "the aggregate o tribute, public and private, so withdrawn from India from 1765 to 1820, at £100,000,000.'f (p 65.)

It has already been incidentally shown that Raja Rammohun Roy was in favour of the settlement in India of European capitalists under certain conditions. Among the advantages likely in his opinion to arise from such settlement was the improvement of the condition of the native inhabitants by European landlords showing them superior methods of cultivation. That this was not altogether a vain expectation appears from some observations in Mr. N. G. Mukerji's *Hand-book of Indian Agriculture.* Says Mr. Mukerji :

"Indeed, Indian agriculture has been actually vastly improved by our contact with the West. European planters have been the means of introducing important innovations. In the most out-of-the way places of India we find European planters carrying on agricultural experiments and improvements imperceptibly and noiselessly."

This naturally leads one to a consideration of the Raja's *Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans.* It is a paper of rare personal and national importance. But as it raises problems of great magnitude, we refrain from dealing with it here. Suffice it to say that this his final literary deliverance holds up to the people of India the prospect of India having English as its *lingua franca,* India socially and in other respects westernized to some extent, India possibly independent and India the Enlightener of Asia.

Progressive political views imply confidence in the capacity of a people for continuous improvement. Raja Rammohun Roy believed that the people of India "have the same capability of improvement as any other civilized people." He did not believe that Asiatics were naturally an inferior race. In the course of one of his numerous religious controversies "A Christian" having indulged in a tirade

about persons being "degraded by Asiatic effeminacy," the Raja reminded him that almost all the ancient prophets and patriarchs venerated by Christians, nay, even Jesus Christ himself, were Asiatics.

On a perusal of the foregoing pages it will be found that with the exception of the agitation that has been going on for sometime past for the industrial regeneration of the country, Rammohun Roy laid the foundation of all the principal modern movements for the elevation of our people. Probably, as India is mainly an agricultural country and as in his days the pressure on land had not become abnormal owing to the indigenous industries not having disappeared then to the extent to which they have now declined, the industrial problem did not then press for solution with the same urgency as now. Nevertheless we find that the bearing of the system of caste on industrial prosperity did not escape the keen eyes of Rammohun: as No. VIII of his *Sambad Kaumudi* printed the "plea of a philanthropist, who observing the misery caused by prejudices of caste, urges the Hindus not to debar themselves thereby from mechanical pursuits, but to cultivate such arts as would tend to their comfort, happiness and independence."

We conclude this introduction with the following estimate of his personality by his biographer, the late Miss Sophia Dobson Collett, who, though an English woman and a trinitarian Christian, seems on the whole to have understood the meaning of his life pretty accurately:—

"Rammohun stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and a conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and a pure, if vague, Theism. He was the mediator of his people, harmonizing in his own person, often by means of his own solitary sufferings, the conflicting tendencies of immemorial tradition and of inevitable enlightenment."

"He embodies the new spirit which arises from the compulsory mixture of races and faiths and civilizations,—he embodies its freedom of enquiry, its thirst for science, its large human sympathy, its pure and sifted ethics, along with its reverent but not uncritical regard for the past, and prudent, even timid, disinclination towards revolt. But in the life of Rammohun we see what we hope yet to have shown us in the progress of India, that the secret of the whole movement is religious. Amid all his wanderings Rammohun was saved by his faith. * * * * He was a genuine outgrowth of the old Hindu stock; in a soil watered by new influences, and in an atmosphere charged with unwonted forcing power, but still a true scion of the old stock. The Rajah was no merely occidentalized oriental, no Hindu polished into the doubtful semblance of a European. Just as little was he, if we may use the term without offence, a spiritual Eurasian. If we follow the right line of his development we shall find that he leads the way from the orientalism of the past, not to, but through Western culture, towards a civilization which is neither Western

nor Eastern, but something vastly larger and nobler than both. He preserves continuity throughout, by virtue of his religion, which again supplied the motive force of his progressive movement. The power that connected and restrained, as well as widened and impelled, was religion.

"Rammohun thus presents a most instructive and inspiring study for the New India of which he is the type and pioneer. He offers to the new democracy of the West a scarcely less valuable index of what our greatest Eastern dependency may yet become under the imperial sway of the British commonalty. There can be little doubt that, whatever future the destinies may have in store for India, that future will be largely shaped by the life and work of Rammohun Roy. And not the future of India alone. We stand on the eve of an unprecedented intermingling of East and West. The European and Asiatic streams of human development, which have often tinged each other before, are now approaching a confluence which bids fair to form the one ocean-river of the collective progress of mankind In the presence of that greater Eastern question,—with its infinite ramifications, industrial, political, moral and religious,—the international problems of the passing hour, even the gravest of them, seem dwarfed into parochial pettiness. The nearing dawn of these unmeasured possibilities only throws into clearer prominence the figure of the man whose life-story we have told. He was, if not the prophetic type, at least the precursive hint, of the change that is to come."

TRANSLATION

OF AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF

THE VEDANT,

OR

THE RESOLUTION OF ALL THE VEDS;

THE

MOST CELEBRATED AND REVERED WORK OF

Brahmunical Theology;

ESTABLISHING THE UNITY OF THE SUPREME BEING; AND THAT

HE ALONE

IS THE OBJECT OF PROPITIATION AND WORSHIP.

CALCUTTA:

1816.

TO

THE BELIEVERS OF THE ONLY TRUE GOD.

THE greater part of Brahmans, as well as of other sects of Hindoos, are quite incapable of justifying that idolatry which they continue to practise. When questioned on the subject, in place of adducing reasonable arguments in support of their conduct, they conceive it fully sufficient to quote their ancestors as positive authorities! And some of them are become very ill-disposed towards me, because I have forsaken idolatry for the worship of the true and eternal God! In order, therefore, to vindicate my own faith and that of our early forefathers, I have been endeavouring, for some time past, to convince my countrymen of the true meaning of our sacred books; and to prove, that my aberration deserves not the opprobrium which some unreflecting persons have been so ready to throw upon me.

The whole body of the Hindoo Theology, Law, and Literature, is contained in the Vedas, which are affirmed to be coeval with the creation! These works are extremely voluminous, and being written in the most elevated and metaphorical style, are, as may be well supposed, in many passages seemingly confused and contradictory. Upwards of two thousand years ago, the great Vyasa, reflecting on the perpetual difficulty arising from these sources, composed with great discrimination a complete and compendious abstract of the whole, and also reconciled those texts which appeared to stand at variance. This work he termed *The Vedanta*, which, compounded of two Sanskrit words, signifies *The Resolution of all the Vedas*. It has continued to be most highly revered by all Hindoos, and in place of the more diffuse arguments of the Vedas, is always referred to as equal authority. But from its being concealed within the dark curtain of the Sanskrit language, and the Brahmans permitting themselves alone to interpret, or even to touch any book of the kind, the Vedanta, although perpetually quoted, is little known to the public: and the practice of few Hindoos indeed bears the least accordance with its precepts!

In pursuance of my vindication, I have to the best of my abilities translated this hitherto unknown work, as well as an abridgment thereof, into the Hindoostanee and Bengalee languages, and distributed them, free of cost, among my own countrymen, as widely as circumstances have possibly allowed. The present is an endeavour to render an abridgment of the same into English, by which I expect to prove to my European friends, that the superstitious practices which deform the Hindoo religion have nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates!

I have observed, that both in their writings and conversation, many Europeans feel a wish to palliate and soften the features of Hindoo idolatry; and are inclined to inculcate, that all objects of worship are considered by their votaries as emblematical representations of the Supreme Divinity! If this were indeed the case, I might perhaps be led into some examination of the subject: but the truth is, the Hindoos of the present day have no such views of the subject, but firmly believe in the real existence of innumerable gods and goddesses, who possess, in their own departments, full and independent power; and to propitiate them, and not the true God, are temples erected and ceremonies performed. There can be no doubt, however, and it is my whole design to prove, that every rite has its derivation from the allegorical adoration of the true Deity; but at the present day all this is forgotten, and among many it is even heresy to mention it!

I hope it will not be presumed that I intend to establish the preference of my faith over that of other men. The result of controversy on such a subject, however multiplied, must be ever unsatisfactory; for the reasoning faculty, which leads men to certainty in things within its reach, produces no effect on questions beyond its comprehension. I do no more than assert, that if correct reasoning and the dictates of common sense induce the belief of a wise, uncreated Being, who is the Snpporter and Ruler of the boundless universe, we should also consider him the most powerful and supreme Existence,—far surpassing our powers of comprehension or description. And, although men of *uncultivated* minds, and even some *learned* individuals, (but in this one point blinded by *prejudice*,) readily choose, as the object of their adoration, anything which they can always see, and which they pretend to *feel*; the absurdity of such conduct is not thereby in the least degree diminished.

My constant reflections on the inconvenient, or rather injurious rites introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindoo idolatry which, more than any other pagan worship, destroys the texture of society, together with compassion for my countrymen, have compelled me to use every possible effort to awaken them from their dream of error: and by making them acquainted with their scriptures, enable them to contemplate with true devotion the unity and omnipresence of Nature's God.

By taking the path which conscience and sincerity direct, I, born a Brahman, have exposed myself to the complainings and reproaches even of some of my relations, whose prejudices are strong, and whose temporal advantage depends upon the present system. But these, however accumulated, I can tranquilly bear, trusting that a day will arrive when my humble endeavours will be viewed with justice—perhaps acknowledged with gratitude. At any rate, whatever men may say, I cannot be deprived of this consolation: my motives are acceptable to that Being who beholds in secret and compensates openly!

ABRIDGMENT

OF

THE VEDANTA.

THE illustrious Vyasa,* in his celebrated work, the Vedanta, insinuates in the first text, that it is absolutely necessary for mankind to acquire knowledge respecting the Supreme Being, who is the subject of discourse in all the Vedas, and the Vedanta, as well as in the other systems of Theology. But he found, from the following passages of the Vedas, that this inquiry is limited to very narrow bounds, *viz.*, "The Supreme Being is not comprehensible by vision, "or by any other of the organs of sense; nor can he be conceived by "means of devotion, or virtuous practices." † "He sees everything, "though never seen; hears everything, though never directly heard "of. He is neither short, nor is he long;‡ inaccessible to the reason-"ing faculty; not to be compassed by description; beyond the limits "of the explanation of the Veda, or of human conception!"§ Vyasa, also, from the result of various arguments coinciding with the Veda, found that the accurate and positive knowledge of the Supreme Being is not within the boundary of comprehension; *i.e.* that *what*, and *how*, the Supreme Being is, cannot be definitely ascertained. He has, therefore, in the second text, explained the Supreme Being by his effects and works, without attempting to define his essence; in like manner as we, not knowing the real nature of the sun, explain him to be the cause of the succession of days and epochs. "He by whom "the birth, existence, and annihilation of the world is regulated, is the "Supreme Being." We see the multifarious, wonderful universe, as well as the birth, existence, and annihilation of its different parts; hence, we naturally infer the existence of a Being who regulates the whole, and call him the Supreme: in the same manner as from the

* The greatest of the Indian theologists, philosophers, and poets, was begotten by the celebrated Parasara and Satyavati. Vyasa collected and divided the Vedas into certain books and chapters. He is therefore commonly called Veda Vyasa. The word Vyasa is composed of the preposition *vi* and the verb *as* to divide.

† Mundaka. ‡ Brihadaranyaka. § Kathavalli.

sight of a pot we conclude the existence of its artificer. The Veda, in like manner, declares the Supreme Being thus: "He from whom "the universal world proceeds, who is the Lord of the Universe, and "whose work is the universe, is the Supreme Being."*

The *Veda* is not supposed to be an eternal Being, though sometimes dignified with such an epithet; because its being created by the Supreme Being is declared in the same Veda thus: "All the texts "and parts of the Veda were created:" and also in the third text of the Vedanta, God is declared to be the cause of all the Vedas.

The *void Space* is not conceived to be the independent cause of the world, notwithstanding the following declaration of the Veda, "The world proceeds from the void space;"† for the Veda again declares, "By the Supreme Being the void space was produced." And the Vedanta‡ says: "As the Supreme Being is evidently "declared in the Veda to be the cause of the void Space, Air, and "Fire, neither of them can be supposed to be the independent cause of "the universe."

Neither is *Air* allowed to be the Lord of the Universe, although the Veda says in one instance, "In air every existing creature is "absorbed;" for the Veda again affirms, that "Breath, the intellectual "power, all the internal and external senses, the void Space, Air, "Light, Water, and the extensive Earth, proceeded from the Supreme "Being!" The Vedanta§ also says: "God is meant by the following "text of the Veda, as a Being more extensive than all the extension of "Space;" *viz.* "*That* breath is greater than the extension of Space in "all directions," as it occurs in the Veda, after the discourse concerning common breath is concluded.

Light, of whatever description, is not inferred to be the Lord of the Universe, from the following assertion of the Veda: "The pure Light of all lights is the Lord of all creatures;" for the Veda again declares,|| that "The sun and all others imitate God, and borrow their "light from him;" and the same declaration is found in the Vedanta.¶

Neither can *Nature* be construed by the following texts of the Veda, to be the independent cause of the world: *viz.*, Man "having "known *that* Nature which is an eternal being, without a beginning or "an end, is delivered from the grasp of death," and "Nature operates

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* Taittiriya.
† Chhandogya.
‡ Fourteenth text, 4th sec. 1st chap.
§ 8th, 3rd, 1st.
|| Mundaka.
¶ 22nd, 3rd, 1st.

"herself," because the Veda affirms that "No being is superior or "equal to God,"* and the Veda commands, "Know God alone."† and the Vedanta‡ thus declares: "Nature is not the Creator of the world "not being represented so by the Veda," for it expressly says, "God "has by his sight created the Universe." Nature is an insensible Being, she is, therefore, void of sight or intention, and consequently unable to create the regular world.§

Atoms are not supposed to be the cause of the world, notwithstanding the following declaration: "This (Creator) is the most minute "Being." Because an atom is an insensible particle, and from the above authority it is proved, that no Being void of understanding can be the author of a system so skilfully arranged.

The soul cannot be inferred from the following texts to be the Lord of the Universe, nor the independent Ruler of the intellectual powers; *viz.*, "The Soul being joined to the resplendent Being, "enjoys by itself," "God and the soul enter the small void space of the "heart"; because the Veda declares that "He (God) resides in the soul "as its Ruler," and that "The soul being joined to the gracious Being, "enjoys happiness."|| The Vedanta also says, "The sentient soul is "not understood to reside as ruler in the earth, because in both texts "of the Veda it is differently declared from that Being who rules the "earth:" *viz.*, "He (God) resides in the faculty of the understanding," and "He, who resides in the soul, &c."

No *god* or *goddess of the earth* can be meant by the following text as the ruler of the earth, *viz.*¶ "He who resides in the earth, and "is distinct from the earth, and whom the earth does not know," &c.: because the Veda affirms that, "This (God alone) is the ruler of "internal sense, and is the eternal Being;" and the same is asserted in the Vedanta.**

By the text which begins with the following sentence: *viz.* "This "is the sun," and by several other texts testifying the dignity of the sun, he is not supposed to be the original cause of the universe, because the Veda declares, that †† "He who resides in the sun (as his "Lord) is distinct from the sun," and the Vedanta declares the same.‡‡

In like manner none of the celestial gods can be inferred from the various assertions of the Veda respecting their deities respectively, to be the independent cause of the Universe; because the Veda

* Katha. † Mundaka. ‡ 5th, 1st, 1st.
§ Katha. || 20th, 2d, 1st. ¶ Brihadaranyaka.
** 18th, 2d, 1st. †† Brihadaranyaka. ‡‡ 21st, 1st, 1st.

repeatedly affirms, that "All the Vedas prove nothing but the unity "of the Supreme Being." By allowing the divinity of more than one Being, the following positive affirmations of the Veda, relative to the unity of God, become false and absurd: "God is indeed one and has "no second."* "There is none but the Supreme Being possessed of "universal knowledge."† "He who is without any figure, and beyond "the limit of description, is the Supreme Being."‡ "Appellations "and figures of all kinds are innovations." And from the authority of many other texts it is evident that any being that bears figure, and is subject to description, cannot be the eternal, independent cause of the universe.

The Vedas not only call the celestial representations deities, but also in many instances give the divine epithet to the mind, diet, void space, quadruped animals, slaves, and flymen: as, "The Supreme "Being is a quadruped animal in one place, and in another he is full of "glory. The mind is the Supreme Being, it is to be worshipped." "God is the letter 'ka' as well as 'kha,' and God is in the shape of "slaves and that of flymen." The Veda has allegorically represented God in the figure of the Universe, *viz.*, "Fire" is his head, the sun and the moon are his "two eyes,"§ &c. And also the Veda calls God the void space of the heart, and declares him to be smaller than the grain of paddy and barley: but from the foregoing quotations neither any of the celestial gods, nor any existing creature, should be considered the Lord of the Universe, because|| the third chapter of the Vedanta explains the reason for these secondary assertions thus: "By these appellations of the Veda, which denote the "diffusive spirit of the Supreme Being equally over all creatures by "means of extension, his omnipresence is established:" so the Veda says, "All that exists is indeed God."¶ *i. e.*, nothing bears true existence excepting God, "and whatever we smell or taste is the "Supreme Being," *i. e.*, the existence of whatever thing that appears to us, relies on the existence of God. It is indisputably evident that none of these metaphorical representations, which arise from the elevated style in which all the Vedas are written, were designed to be viewed in any other light than mere allegory. Should individuals be acknowledged to be separate deities, there would be a necessity for acknowledging many independent creators of

* Katha. † Brihadaranyaka. ‡ Chhandogya.
§ Mundaka. || 38th text, 2d sec. ¶ Chhandogya.

the world, which is directly contrary to common sense, and to the repeated authority of the Veda. The Vedanta* also declares, "That "Being which is distinct from matter, and from those which are "contained in matter, is not various because he is declared by all "the Vedas to be one beyond description;" and it is again stated that "The Veda has declared the Supreme Being to be mere under-"standing:" † also in the third chapter is found that, "The Veda "having at first explained the Supreme Being by different epithets, "begins with the word *Atha* or now," and declares that, "All descrip-"tions which I have used to describe the Supreme Being are in-"correct," because he by no means can be described; and so is it stated in the sacred commentaries of the Veda.

The fourteenth text of the second section of the third chapter of the Vedanta declares, "It being directly represented by the Veda, "that the Supreme Being bears no figure nor form;" and the following texts of the Veda assert the same, *viz.*, "The true Being was before "all."‡ "The Supreme Being has no feet, but extends everywhere; has "no hands, yet holds everything; has no eyes, yet sees all that "is; has no ears, yet hears everything that passes." "His existence "had no cause." "He is the smallest of the small, and the greatest of "the great: and yet is, in fact, neither small nor great."

In answer to the following questions, *viz.*, "How can the Supreme Being be supposed to be distinct from, and above all existing creatures, and at the same time omnipresent? How is it possible that he should be described by properties inconceivable by reason, as seeing without eye, and hearing without ear?" To these questions the Vedanta in chapter second, replies, "In God are all sorts of "power and splendour." And the following passages of the Veda also declare the same: "God is all-powerful;"§ and "It is by his "supremacy that he is in possession of all powers;" *i.e.*, what may be impossible for us is not impossible for God, who is the Almighty, and the sole Regulator of the Universe.

Some celestial gods have, in different instances, declared themselves to be independent deities, and also the object of worship; but these declarations were owing to their thoughts being abstracted from themselves and their being entirely absorbed in divine reflection. The Vedanta declares: "This exhortation of Indra (or the god of the "atmosphere) respecting his divinity, to be indeed agreeable to the

* 11th 2d, 3d. † 16th, 2d, 3d. ‡ Chhandogya. § Svetasvatara.

"authorities of the Veda;" that is, "Every one, on having lost all self-"consideration in consequence of being united with divine reflection, "may speak as assuming to be the Supreme Being; like Vamadeva (a "celebrated Brahman) who, in consequence of such self-forgetfulness, "declared himself to have created the sun, and Manu, the next person "to Brahma." It is therefore optional with every one of the celestial gods, as well as with every individual, to consider himself as God, under this state of self-forgetfulness and unity with the Divine reflection, as the Veda says, "You are that true Being" (when you lose all self-consideration), and "O God, I am nothing but you." The sacred commentators have made the same observation, *viz.*, "I am nothing but "true Being, and am pure Understanding, full of eternal happiness, "and am by nature free from worldly effects." But in consequence of this reflection, none of them can be acknowledged to be the cause of the universe or the object of adoration.

God is the efficient cause of the universe, as a potter is of earthen pots; and he is also the material cause of it, the same as the earth is the material cause of the different earthen pots, or as a rope, at an inadvertent view taken for a snake, is the material cause of the conceived existence of the snake, which appears to be true by the support of the real existence of the rope. So says the Vedanta,† "God is the efficient cause of the Universe, as well as the material "cause thereof (as a spider of its web)," as the Veda has positively declared, "That from a knowledge of God alone, a knowledge of "every existing thing proceeds." Also the Veda compares the knowledge respecting the Supreme Being to a knowledge of the earth, and the knowledge respecting the different species existing in the universe to the knowledge of earthen pots, which declaration and comparison prove the unity between the Supreme Being and the universe; and by the following declarations of the Veda, *viz.*, "The Supreme Being "has by his sole intention created the Universe," it is evident that God is the wilful agent of all that can have existence.

As the Veda says that the Supreme Being intended (at the time of creation) to extend himself, it is evident that the Supreme Being is the origin of all matter, and its various appearances; as the reflection of the sun's meridian rays on sandy plains is the cause of the resemblance of an extended sea. The Veda says, that "All figures and "their appellations are mere inventions, and that the Supreme Being

* 30th, 1st, 1st. † 23d, 8th, 1st.

"alone is real existence," consequently things that bear figure and appellation cannot be supposed the cause of the universe.

The following texts of the Veda, *viz.*, "Krishna (the god of preservation) is greater than all the celestial gods, to whom the mind should be applied." "We all worship Mahadeva (the god of destruction)." "We adore the sun." "I worship the most revered Varuna (the god of the sea)." "Dost thou worship me," says the Air, "who am the eternal and universal life." "Intellectual power is God, which should be adored;" and Udgitha (or a certain part of the Veda) should "be worshipped." These, as well as several other texts of the same nature are not real commands to worship the persons and things above-mentioned, but only direct those who are unfortunately incapable of adoring the invisible Supreme Being, to apply their minds to any visible thing rather than allow them to remain idle. The Vedanta states, that "The declaration of the Veda,* that those who worship also "the celestial gods are the food of such gods," is an allegorical expression, and only means that they are comforts to the celestial gods, as food is to mankind; for he who has no faith in the Supreme Being is rendered subject to these gods. The Veda affirms the same: *viz.*, "He who worships any god excepting the Supreme Being, and "thinks that he is distinct and inferior to that god, knows nothing, and "is considered as a domestic beast of these gods." And the Vedanta also asserts; *viz.*, "The worship authorized by all the Vedas is of one nature, as the direction for the worship of the only Supreme Being is invariably found in every part of the Veda; and the epithets the 'Supreme and the Omnipresent Being,' &c. commonly imply "God "alone."†

The following passages of the Veda affirm that God is the sole object of worship, *viz.* ‡ "Adore God alone." "Know God alone; "give up all other discourse." And the Vedanta says, that "It is found "in the Vedas,§ 'That none but the Supreme Being is to be worshipped, "nothing excepting him should be adored by a wise man.'"

Moreover, the Vedanta declares that "Vyasa is of opinion that the "adoration of the Supreme Being is required of mankind as well as of "the celestial gods; because the pessibility of self-resignation to God "is equally observed in both mankind and the celestial deities."|| The Veda also states,¶ that "Of the celestial gods, of the pious Brahmans,

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* 7th, 1st 3rd. † 1st, 3d, 3d. ‡ Brihadaranyaka
§ 67th, 3d, 3d. || 26th, 3d, 1st. ¶ Brihadaranyaka.

"and of men in general, that person who understands and believes "the Almighty Being, will be absorbed in him." It is therefore concluded that the celestial gods and mankind have an equal duty in divine worship; and besides it is proved from the following authority of the Veda, that any man who adores the Supreme Being is adored by all the celestial gods, *viz.* "All the celestial gods worship him "who applies his mind to the Supreme Being."*

The Veda now illustrates the mode in which we should worship the Supreme Being, *viz.* "To God we should approach, of him "we should hear, of him we should think, and to him we should "attempt to approximate." † The Vedanta also elucidates the subject thus: "The three latter directions in the above quoted text, are "conducive to the first, *viz.*, 'Approaching to God'." These three are in reality included in the first (as the direction for collecting fire in the worship of fire), for we cannot approach to God without hearing and thinking of him, nor without attempting to make our approximation; and the last, *viz.*, attempting to approximate to God, is required until we have approached him. By hearing of God is meant hearing his declarations, which establish his unity; and by thinking of him is meant thinking of the contents of his law; and by attempting to approximate to him is meant attempting to apply our minds to that true Being on which the diffusive existence of the universe relies, in order that by means of the constant practice of this attempt we may approach to him. The Vedanta states, ‡ that "Constant practice of "devotion is necessary, it being represented so by the Veda;" and also adds that "We should adore God till we approach to him, and even "then not forsake his adoration, such authority being found in the "Veda."

The Vedanta shows that moral principle is a part of the adoration of God, *viz.*, "A command over our passions and over the external "senses of the body and good acts, are declared by the Veda to be "indispensable in the mind's approximation to God, they should "therefore be strictly taken care of, and attended to, both previously "and subsequently to such approximation to the Supreme Being;"§ *i. e.* we should not indulge our evil propensities, but should endeavour to have entire control over them. Reliance on, and self-resignation to, the only true Being, with an aversion to worldly considerations, are included in the good acts above alluded to. The adoration of the

* Chhandogya. † 47th, 4th, 3d. ‡ 1st, 1st, 4th. § 27th, 4th, 3rd.

Supreme Being produces eternal beatitude, as well as all desired advantages; as the Vedanta declares: "It is the firm opinion of "Vyasa that from devotion to God all the desired consequences "proceed;" * and it is thus often represented by the Veda, "He who "is desirous of prosperity should worship the Supreme Being." † "He "who knows God thoroughly adheres unto God." "The souls of the "deceased forefathers of him who adores the true Being alone, "enjoy freedom by his mere wish." ‡ "All the celestial gods "worship him who applies his mind to ths Supreme Being;" and "He who sincerely adores the Supreme Being, is exempted from "further transmigration."

A pious householder is entitled to the adoration of God equally with an Yati§; The Vedanta says, that "A householder may be "allowed the performance of all the ceremonies attached to the "(Brahmanical) religion, and also the fulfilling of the devotion of God: "the fore-mentioned mode of worshipping the Supreme Being, there-"fore, is required of a householder possessed of moral 'principles,'"|| And the Veda declares, that "the celestial gods, and householders of "strong faith, and professional Yatis, are alike."

It is optional to those who have faith in God alone, to observe and attend to the rules and rites prescribed by the Veda applicable to the different classes of Hindoos, and to their different religious orders respectively. But in case of the true believers neglecting those rites they are not liable to any blame whatever; as the Vedanta says, "Before acquiring the true knowledge of God, it is proper for man "to attend to the laws and rules laid down by the Veda for different "classes, according to their different professions; because the Veda "declares the performance of these rules to be the cause of the "mind's purification, and its faith in God, and compares it with a "saddle-horse, which helps a man to arrive at the wished-for goal."¶ And the Vedanta also says, that "Man may acquire the true know-"ledge of God even without observing the rules and rites prescribed "by the Veda for each class of Hindoos, as it is found in the Veda that "many persons who had neglected the performance of the Brahmanical "rites and ceremonies owing to their perpetual attention to the

* 1st, 4th, 3rd. † Mundaka. ‡ Chhandogya

§ The highest among the four sects of Brahmans, who, according to the religious order, are bound to forsake all worldly considerations, and to spend their time in the sole adoration of God.

|| 28th, 4th, 3d. ¶ 36th, 4th, 3d.

"adoration of the Supreme Being, acquired the true knowledge "respecting the Deity."* The Vedanta again more clearly states that, "It is equally found in the Veda that some people, though they had "their entire faith in God alone, yet performed both the worship of "God and the ceremonies prescribed by the Veda; and that some "others neglected them, and merely worshipped God."† The following texts of the Veda fully explain the subject, *viz.*, "Janaka "(one of the noted devotees) had performed Yajna (or the adoration "of the celestial gods through fire) with the gift of a considerable "sum of money, as a fee to the holy Brahmans, and many learned true "believers never worshipped fire, nor any celestial god through fire."

Notwithstanding it is optional with those who have their faith in the only God, to attend to the prescribed ceremonies or to neglect them entirely, the Vedanta prefers the former to the latter, because the Veda says that attendance to the religious ceremonies conduces to the attainment of the Supreme Being.

Although the Veda says, "That he who has true faith in the "omnipresent Supreme Being may eat all that exists,"‡ *i.e.*, is not bound to enquire what is his food, or who prepares it, nevertheless the Vedanta limits that authority thus: "The above-mentioned autho- "rity of the Veda for eating all sorts of food should only be observed "at the time of distress, because it is found in the Veda, that "Chakrayana (a celebrated Brahman) ate the meat cooked by the "elephant-keepers during a famine."§ It is concluded, that he acted according to the above stated authority of the Veda, only at the time of distress.

Devotion to the Supreme Being is not limited to any holy place or sacred country, as the Vedanta says, "In any place wherein the "mind feels itself undisturbed, men should worship God; because "no specific authority for the choice of any particular place of worship "is found in the Veda,"|| which declares, "In any place which renders "the mind easy, man should adore God."

It is of no consequence to those who have true belief in God whether they die while the sun is in the north or south of the equator, as the Vedanta declares that "Any one who has faith in the only "God, dying even when the sun may be south of the equator, ¶ his

* 36th, 4th, 3d. †9th, 4th, 3d. ‡Chhandogya. §28th, 4th, 3d. ||11th, 1st, 4th.

¶ It is believed by the Brahmans, that any one who dies while the sun is south of the equator, cannot enjoy eternal beatitude.

" soul shall proceed from the body, through Sushumna (a vein which, " as the Brahmans suppose, passes through the navel up to the brain), " and approaches to the Supreme Being.*" The Veda also positively asserts that " He who in life was devoted to the Supreme Being, " shall (after death) be absorbed in him, and again be neither liable " to birth nor death, reduction nor augmentation."

The Veda begins and concludes with the three peculiar and mysterious epithets of God, *viz*, first, OM; second, TAT; third, SAT. The first of these signifies, "*That* Being which preserves, destroys and creates." The second implies "*That* only Being which is neither " male or female." The third announces "*The true Being.*" These collective terms simply affirm, that ONE UNKNOWN, TRUE BEING is THE CREATOR, PRESERVER, AND DESTROYER OF THE UNIVERSE!

* 20th, 2d, 4th.

TRANSLATION

OF THE

MOONDUK OPUNISHUD

OF THE

UTHURVU-VED,

ACCORDING TO THE GLOSS OF THE CELEBRATED

SHUNKURACHARYU.

CALCUTTA:

1819.

INTRODUCTION.

During the intervals between my controversial engagements with idolaters as well as with advocates of idolatry, I translated several of the ten Upanishads, of which the Vedanta or principal part of the Vedas consists, and of which the Sariraka-Mimansa, commonly called the Vedanta-Darsana, composed by the celebrated Vyasa, is explanatory; I have now taken the opportunity of further leisure to publish a translation of the Mundaka-Upanishad. An attentive perusal of this as well as of the remaining books of the Vedanta will, I trust, convince every unprejudiced mind, that they, with great consistency, inculcate the unity of God; instructing men, at the same time, in the pure mode of adoring him in spirit. It will also appear evident that the Vedas, although they tolerate idolatry as the last provision for those who are totally incapable of raising their minds to the contemplation of the invisible God of nature, yet repeatedly urge the relinquishment of the rites of idol-worship, and the adoption of a purer system of religion, on the express ground that the observance of idolatrous rites can never be productive of eternal beatitude. These are left to be practised by such persons only as, notwithstanding the constant teaching of spiritual guides, cannot be brought to see perspicuously the majesty of God through the works of nature.

The public will, I hope, be assured that nothing but the natural inclination of the ignorant towards the worship of objects resembling their own nature, and to the external forms of rites palpable to their grosser senses, joined to the self-interested motives of their pretended guides, has rendered the generality of the Hindoo community (in defiance of their sacred books) devoted to idol-worship,—the source of prejudice and superstition and of the total destruction of moral principle, as countenancing criminal intercourse,* suicide,† female murder,‡ and human sacrifice. Should my labours prove in any degree the means of diminishing the extent of those evils, I shall ever deem myself most amply rewarded.

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* *Vide* Defence of Hindoo Theism.
† *Vide* Introduction to the Kena-Upanishad.
‡ *Vide* Treatise on Widow-burning.

THE

MUNDAKA-UPANISHAD

OF THE

ATHARVA-VEDA.

BRAHMA, the greatest of celestial deities, and executive creator and preserver of the world, came into form; he instructed Atharva, his eldest son, in the knowledge respecting the Supreme Being, on which all sciences rest. Atharva communicated formerly to Angira what Brahma taught him: Angira imparted the same knowledge to one of the descendants of Bharadwaja, *called* Satyavaha, who conveyed the doctrine so handed down to Angiras. Saunaka, a wealthy householder, having in the prescribed manner approached Angiras, asked, Is there any being by whose knowledge alone the whole universe may be *immediately* known? He (Angiras) then replied: Those who have a thorough knowledge of the Vedas, say that it should be understood that there are two sorts of knowledge, one superior, and the other inferior. There are the Rig-veda, Ya-jur-veda, Samaveda, and Atharva-veda, and also *their subordinate parts, consisting of* Siksha or a treatise on pronunciation, Kalpa or the science that teaches the details of rites according to the different branches of the Vedas, Vyakarana or grammar, Nirukta or explanation of the Vedas, Ch'handas or prosody, and Jyotisha or astronomy: *which all* belong to the inferior kind of knowledge. Now the superior kind *is conveyed by the Upanishads and* is that through which absorption into the eternal Supreme Being may be obtained. That Supreme Being, *who is the subject of the superior learning,* is beyond the apprehension of the senses, and out of the reach of the corporeal organs of action, and is without origin, colour, or magnitude, and has neither eye nor ear, nor has he hand or foot. He is everlasting, all-pervading, omnipresent, absolutely incorporeal, unchangeable, and it is he whom wise men consider as the origin of the universe. In the same way as the cobweb is created and absorbed by the spider *independently of exterior origin,* as vegetables proceed from the earth, and hair and nails from animate creatures, so the Universe is produced by the eternal Supreme Being.

From his omniscience the Supreme Being resolves to create the Universe. Then nature, *the apparent cause of the world*, is produced by him. From her the prior operating sensitive particle of the world, styled Brahma, the source of the faculties, proceeds. *From the faculties* the five elements *are produced*; *thence spring the seven* divisions of the world, whereon ceremonial rites, with their consequences, are brought forth. By him who knows all things, collectively and distinctly, whose knowledge and will are the only means of all his actions, Brahma, name, and form, and all that vegetates are produced.

End of the first Section of the 1st Mundakam.

Those rites,* the prescription of which wise men, *such as Vasishtha, and others* found in the Vedas, are truly the means *of producing good consequences.* They have been performed in various manners by three sects among Brahmans, *namely, Adhvaryu, or those who are well versed in the Yajur-veda*; *Udgata, or the sect who know thoroughly the Sama-veda*; *and Hota, those Brahmans that have a perfect knowledge of the Rig-veda.* You all continue to perform them, as long as you feel a desire to enjoy gratifications attainable from them. This practice of performing rites is the way which leads you to the benefits you expect to derive from your works.

Fire being augmented when its flame waves, *the observer of rites* shall offer oblations to deities in the middle of the waving flame.

If observance of the sacred fire be not attended with the rites required to be performed on the days of new and full moon, and during the four months of the rains, and in the autumn and spring; and be also not attended with hospitality and due regard to time or the worship of Vaiswadeva, and be fulfilled without regard to prescribed forms, it will deprive the worshipper of the enjoyments which he might otherwise expect in his seven future mansions.

Kali, Karali, Manojava, Sulohitá, Sudhumravarná, Sphulingini, Viswaruchi, are the *seven names of the* seven waving points of the flame.

He who offers oblations at the prescribed time in those illuminating and waving points of fire, is carried by the oblations so offered

* In the beginning of this section, the author treats of the subject of the inferior knowledge; and in the conclusion he introduces that of the superior doctrine, which he continues throughout the whole Upanishad.

through the rays of the Sun to the Heaven where Indra, prince of the celestial gods, reigns. The illuminating oblations, while carrying the observer of rites through the rays of the Sun, *invite him* to heaven, *saying*, "Come in! come in!" and entertaining him with pleasing conversation, and treating him with veneration, say to him, "This is the summit of the heavens, the fruit of your good works."

The eighteen members of rites and sacrifices, *void of the true knowledge*, are infirm and perishable. Those ignorant persons who consider them as the source of real bliss, shall, after the enjoyment of future gratification, undergo transmigrations. Those fools who, immersed in ignorance, *that is, the foolish practice of rites*, consider themselves to be wise and learned, wander about, repeatedly subjecting themselves to *birth, disease, death and other* pains, like blind men when guided by a blind *man*.

Engaged in various manners of rites and sacrifices, the ignorant are sure of obtaining their objects: but as the observers of such rites, from their excessive desire of fruition, remain destitute of a knowledge of God, they, afflicted with sorrows, descend to this world after the time of their celestial gratification is expired. Those complete fools believe, that the rites prescribed by the Vedas in performing sacrifices, and those laid down by the Smritis at the digging of wells and other pious liberal actions, are the most beneficial, and have no idea that a knowledge of, *and faith in God*, are the only true sources of bliss. They, after death, having enjoyed the consequence of such rites on the summit of heaven, transmigrate in the human form, or in that of inferior animals, or of plants.

Mendicants and hermits, who residing in forests, live upon alms, as well as *householders* possessed of a portion of wisdom, practising religious austerities, the worship of Brahma and others, and exercising a control over the senses, freed from sins, ascend through the northern path* to the highest part of heaven, where the immortal Brahma, who is coeval with the world, assumes *his supremacy*.

Having taken into serious consideration the perishable nature of all objects *within the world*, which are acquirable from human works, a Brahman shall cease to desire them; reflecting within

* According to the Hindu theologians, there are two roads that lead to distinct heavens, one northern, the other southern. The former is the path to the habitation of Brahma and the superior gods, and the latter to the heaven of Indra and the other inferior deities.

himself, that nothing *which is obtained through perishable means* can be expected to be eternal : hence what use of rites? He then, with a view to acquire a knowledge of superior learning, shall proceed, with a load of wood in his hand, to a spiritual teacher who is versed in the doctrines of the Vedas and has firm faith in God. The wise teacher shall properly instruct his pupil so devoted to him, freed from the importunities of external senses, and possessed of tranquillity of mind, in the knowledge through which he may know the eternal Supreme Being.

End of the first Mundakam.

He, *the subject of the superior knowledge,* alone is true. As from a blazing fire thousands of sparks of the same nature proceed, so from the eternal Supreme Being (O beloved pupil) various souls come forth, and again they return into him. He is immortal and without form or figure, omnipresent, pervading external and internal objects, unborn, without breath or individual mind, pure and superior to eminently exalted nature.

From him the first sensitive particle, or the seed of the universe, individual intellect, all the senses and their *objects*, also vacuum, air, light, water, and the earth which contains all things, proceed.

Heaven is his head, and the sun and moon are his eyes ; space is his ears, the celebrated Vedas are his speech ; air is his breath, the world is his intellect, and the earth is his feet ; *for* he is the soul of the whole universe.

By him the sky, which is illuminated by the sun, *is produced* ; clouds, which have their origin from the effects of the moon, *accumulating them in the sky,* bring forth vegetables in the earth ; man imparts the essence *drawn from these vegetables,* to woman ; *then through the combination of such physical causes,* numerous offspring come forth from the omnipresent Supreme Being.

From him all the texts of the Vedas, consisting of verses, musical compositions, and prose, proceed ; *in like manner by him* are produced Diksha or certain preliminary ceremonies, and sacrifices, without sacrificial posts or with them ; *fees* lastly offered in sacrifices, time, and the principal person who institutes the performance of sacrifices and defrays their expenses ; as well as future mansions, where the moon effects purification and where the sun *shines.* By him gods of

several descriptions, all celestial beings subordinate to those gods, mankind, animals, birds, both breath and peditum, wheat and barley, austerity, conviction, truth, duties of ascetics, and *rules* for conducting human life, were created. From him seven individual senses within the head proceed, as well as their seven respective inclinations towards their objects, their seven objects, and ideas acquired through them, and their seven organs (*two eyes, two ears, the two passages of nose and mouth*), in which those senses are situated in every living creature, and which never cease to act except at the time of sleep.

From him, oceans and all mountains proceed, and various rivers flow: all vegetables, tastes, (*consisting of sweet, salt, pungent, bitter, sour, and astringent*) united with which the visible elementary substance encloses the corpuscle situate in the heart.* The Supreme existence is himself all—rites as well as their rewards. He therefore is the Supreme and Immortal. He who knows him (O beloved pupil) as residing in the hearts *of all animate beings*, disentangles the knot of ignorance in this world.

End of the first section of the 2nd Mundakam.

God, as being resplendent and most proximate *to all creatures*, is styled the operator in the heart; he is great and all-sustaining; for on him rest all existences, such as those that move, those that breathe, those that twinkle, and those that do not. Such is God. You all contemplate him as the support of all objects, visible and invisible, the chief end *of human pursuit*. He surpasses all human understanding, and is the most pre-eminent. He, who irradiates *the sun and other bodies*, who is smaller than an atom, larger *than the world*, and in whom is the abode of all the divisions of the universe, and of all their inhabitants, is the eternal God, the origin of breath, speech, and intellect, as well *as of all the senses*. He, *the origin of all the senses*, the true and unchangeable Supreme Being, should be meditated upon; and do thou (O beloved pupil) apply constantly thy mind to him. Seizing the bow found in the Upanishads, the strongest of weapons, man shall draw the arrow (*of the soul*), sharpened by the constant application of mind *to God*. Do thou (O pupil),

* This corpuscle is supposed to be constituted of all the various elements that enter into the composition of the animal frame. Within it the soul has its residence, and acting upon it, operates through its medium in the whole system. To this corpuscle the soul remains attached through all changes of being, until finally absorbed into the Supreme Intelligence.

being in the same practice, withdrawing all *the senses from worldly objects*, through the mind directed towards the Supreme Being, hit the mark which is the eternal God. The word Om, *signifying God*, is represented as the bow, the soul as the arrow, and the Supreme Being as its aim, which a man of steady mind should hit: he then shall be united to God as the arrow to its mark. In God, heaven, earth, and space reside, and also intellect, with breath and all the senses. Do you strive to know solely the ONE Supreme Being, and forsake all other discourse; because this (*a true knowledge respecting God*) is the only way to eternal beautitude. The veins of the body are inserted into the heart, like the radius of a wheel into its nave. There the Supreme Being, as the origin of the notion of individuality, and of its various circumstances, resides; Him, through the help of Om, you will contemplate. Blessed be ye in crossing over the ocean of dark ignorance to absorption into God. He who knows the universe collectively, distinctively, whose majesty is fully evident in the world, operates within the space of the heart, his luminous abode.

He is perceptible only by intellect; and removes the breath and corpuscle, *in which the soul resides*, from one substance to another: supporting intellectual faculties, he is seated in the heart. Wise men acquire a knowledge of him, who shines eternal, and the source of all happiness, through the pure knowledge *conveyed to them by the Vedas and by spiritual fathers.* God, who is All-in-all, being known to man as the origin of intellect and self-consciousness, every desire of the mind ceases, all doubts are removed, and the effects of the good or evil actions committed, now or in preceding shapes, are totally annihilated. The Supreme Being, free from stain, devoid of figure or form, and entirely pure, the light of all lights, resides in the heart, his resplendently excellent seat: those *discriminating* men, who know him *as the origin of intellect and of self-consciousness*, are possessed of the real notion of God. Neither the sun nor the moon, nor yet the stars, can throw light on God: even the illuminating lightning cannot throw light upon him, much less can limited fire give him light: but they all imitate him, and all borrow their light from him. God alone is immortal: he extends before, behind, to the right, to the left, beneath and above. He is the Supreme, and All-in-all.

End of the Second Mundakam.

Two birds (*meaning God and the soul*) cohabitant and co-essential, reside unitedly in one tree, *which is the body*. One of them (*the soul*) consumes the variously tasted fruits of its actions; but the other (God), without partaking of them, witnesses *all events*.

The soul so pressed down in the body, being deluded with ignorance, grieves at its own insufficiency; but when it perceives its cohabitant, the adorable Lord *of the Universe*,* the origin of itself, and his glory, it feels relieved from grief and infatuation. When a wise man perceives the resplendent God, the Creator and Lord *of the Universe* and the omnipresent prime Cause, he then, abandoning the consequences of good and evil works, becomes perfect, and obtains entire absorption. A wise man knowing God as perspicuously residing in all creatures, forsakes all idea of duality; *being convinced that there is only one real Existence, which is God.* He then directs all his senses towards God alone, the origin of self-consciousness, and on him exclusively he places his love, abstracting at the same time his mind from all worldly objects by constantly applying it to God: the person so devoted is reckoned the most perfect among the votaries of the Deity. Through strict veracity, the uniform direction of mind and senses, and through notions acquired from spiritual teachers, as well as by abstinence from sexual indulgence, man should approach God, who full of splendour and perfection, works in the heart; and to whom only the votaries freed from passion and desire can approximate.

He who practises veracity prospers, and not he who speaks untruths: the way to eternal beatitude is open to him who without omission speaketh truth. This is that way through which the saints, extricated from all desires, proceed to the Supreme Existence, the consequence of the observance of truth. He is great and incomprehensible by the senses, and consequently his nature is beyond human conception. He, though more subtle than vacuum itself, shines in various ways.—*From those who do not know him*, he is at a greater distance than the limits of space, and *to those who acquire a knowledge of him*, he is most proximate; and while residing in animate creatures, he is perceived obscurely *by those who apply*

* The difference between God, the intellectual principle, and the soul, the individual intellect, subsists as long as the idea of self-individuality is retained; like the distinction between finite and infinite space, which ceases as soon as the idea of particular figure is done away.

their thoughts to him. He is not perceptible by vision, nor is he describable by means of speech: neither can he be the object of any of the other organs of sense; nor can he be conceived by the help of austerities or religious rites: but a person whose mind is purified by the light of true knowledge, through incessant contemplation, perceives him, the most pure God. Such is the invisible Supreme Being: he should be observed in the heart, wherein breath, consisting of five species, rests. The mind being perfectly freed from impurity, God, who spreads over the mind and all the senses, imparts a knowledge of himself to the heart.

A pious votary of God obtains whatever division of the world and whatever desirable object he may wish to acquire *for himself or for another*: therefore any one, who is desirous of honour and advantage should revere him.

End of the 1st section of the 3rd Mundakam.

Those wise men who, abandoning all desires, revere the devotee who has acquired a knowledge of the supreme exaltation of God, on whom the whole universe rests, and who is perfect and illuminates everywhere, will never be subjected to further birth.

He who, contemplating the various effects of objects visible or invisible, feels a desire to obtain them, shall be born again with those feelings: but the man satisfied with a knowledge of and faith in God, blessed by a total destruction of ignorance, forsakes all such desires even during his life.

A knowledge of God, *the prime object*, is not acquirable from study of the Vedas, nor through retentive memory, nor yet by continual hearing of spiritual instruction: but he who seeks to obtain a *knowledge* of God is gifted with it, God rendering himself conspicuous to him.

No man *deficient in* faith or discretion can obtain a knowledge of God; nor can even he who possesses wisdom mingled with the desire of fruition, gain it: but the soul of a wise man who, through firm belief, prudence, and pure understanding, not biassed by worldly desire, seeks for knowledge, will be absorbed into God.

The saints who, wise and firm, were satisfied solely with a knowledge of God, assured of the soul's divine origin, exempt from passion, and possessed of tranquillity of mind, having found God the omnipresent everywhere, have after death been absorbed into him; *even*

as limited extension within a jar is by its destruction united to universal space. All the votaries who repose on God alone their firm belief, originating from a knowledge of the Vedanta, and who, by forsaking religious rites, obtain purification of mind, being continually occupied in divine reflections during life, are at the time of death entirely freed from ignorance and absorbed into God. On the approach of death, the elementary parts of their body, being fifteen in number, unite with their respective origins : their corporeal faculties, *such as vision and feeling,* &c., return into their original sources, *the sun and air,* &c. The consequences of their works, together with their souls, are absorbed into the supreme and eternal Spirit, *in the same manner as the reflection of the sun in water returns to him on the removal of the water.* As all rivers flowing into the ocean disappear and lose their respective appellations and forms, so the person who has acquired a knowledge of and faith in God, freeing himself from the subjugation of figure and appellation, is absorbed into the supreme, immaterial and omnipresent Existence.

He who acquires a knowledge of the Supreme Being *according to the foregoing doctrine,* shall inevitably be absorbed into him, *surmounting all the obstacles that he may have to encounter.* None of his progeny will be destitute of a true knowledge of God. He escapes from mental distress and from evil propensities ; he is also relieved from the ignorance which occasions the idea of duality. This is the true doctrine inculcated throughout the foregoing texts, and which a man should impart to those who are accustomed to perform good works, conversant in the Vedas, and inclined toward the acquisition of the knowledge of God, and who themselves, with due regard, offer oblations to the sacred fire ; and also to those who have continually practised sirobrata, *a certain observance of the sacred fire.* This is the true divine doctrine, in which Angiras instructed *his pupil Saunaka,* which a person not accustomed to devotion should not study.

Salutation to the knowers of God !

TRANSLATION

OF THE

CENA UPANISHAD

ONE OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE

SAMA VEDA;

ACCORDING TO THE GLOSS OF THE CELEBRATED

SHANCARACHARYA:

ESTABLISHING THE

UNITY AND THE SOLE OMNIPOTENCE

OF THE SUPREME BEING

AND THAT

HE ALONE

IS THE OBJECT OF WORSHIP.

CALCUTTA:

1823.

INTRODUCTION.

SINCE my publication of the abridgment of the *Vedanta*, containing an exposition of all the *Vedas* as given by the great VYASA, I have, for the purpose of illustrating and confirming the view that he has taken of them, translated into Bengalee the principal chapters of the Vedas as being of unquestionable authority amongst all Hindoos. This work will, I trust, by explaining to my countrymen the real spirit of the Hindoo Scriptures, which is but the declaration of the unity of God, tend in a great degree to correct the erroneous conceptions, which have prevailed with regard to the doctrines they inculcate. It will also, I hope, tend to discriminate those parts of the Vedas which are to be interpreted in an allegorical sense, and consequently to correct those exceptionable practices, which not only deprive Hindoos in general of the common comforts* of society, but also lead them frequently to self-destruction,† or to the sacrifice‡ of the lives of their friends and relations.

It is with no ordinary feeling of satisfaction that I have already seen many respectable persons of my countrymen, to the great disappointment of their interested spiritual guides, rise superior to their original prejudices, and enquire into the truths of religion. As many European gentlemen, especially those who interest themselves in the improvement of their fellow-creatures, may be gratified with a view of the doctrines of the original work, it appeared to me that I might best contribute to that gratification, by translating a few chapters of the Veda into the English language, which I have accordingly done, and now submit them to their candid judgment. Such benevolent people will, perhaps, rise from a perusal of them with the conviction, that in the most ancient times the inhabitants of this part of the globe (at least the

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* A Hindoo of caste can only eat once between sunrise and sunset—cannot eat dressed victuals in a boat or ship—nor clothed—nor in a tavern—nor any food that has been touched by a person of a different caste—nor, if interrupted while eating, can he resume his meal.

† As at Prayaga, Ganga Sagar, and under the wheels of the car of Jagannath.

‡ As, for instance, persons whose recovery from sickness is supposed to be doubtful, are carried to die on the banks of the Ganges. This is practised by the Hindoos of Bengal only, the cruelty of which affects even Hindoos of Behar, Ilahabad, and all the upper provinces.

more intelligent class) were not unacquainted with metaphysical subjects; that allegorical language or description was very frequently employed to represent the attributes of the Creator, which were sometimes designated as independent existences; and that, however suitable this method might be to the refined understandings of men of learning, it had the most mischievous effect when literature and philosophy decayed, producing all those absurdities and idolatrous notions which have checked, or rather destroyed, every mark of reason, and darkened every beam of understanding.

The Veda from which all Hindoo literature is derived, is, in the opinion of the Hindoos, an inspired work, coeval with the existence of the world. It is divided into four parts, *viz.*, Rik, Yajus, Sama and Atharva; these are again divided into several branches, and these last are sub-divided into chapters. It is the general characteristic of each Veda, that the primary chapters of each branch treat of astronomy, medicine, arms, and other arts and sciences. They also exhibit allegorical representations of the attributes* of the Supreme Being, by means of earthly objects, animate or inanimate, whose shapes or properties are analogous to the nature of those attributes, and pointing out the modes of their worship immediately or through the medium of fire. In the subsequent chapters, the unity of the Supreme Being as the sole ruler of the universe is plainly inculcated, and the mode of worshipping him particularly directed. The doctrine of a plurality of gods and goddesses laid down in the preceding chapters is not only controverted, but reasons assigned for its introduction; for instance, that the worship of the sun and fire, together with the whole allegorical system, were only inculcated for the sake of those whose limited understandings rendered them incapable of comprehending and adoring the invisible Supreme Being, so that such persons might not remain in a brutified state, destitute of all religious principle. Should this explanation given by the Veda itself, as well as by its celebrated commentator Vyasa, not be allowed to reconcile those passages which are seemingly at variance with each other, as those that declare the unity of the invisible Supreme Being, with others which describe a plurality of independent visible gods, the whole work must, I am afraid, not only be stripped of its authority, but be looked upon as altogether unintelligible.

* It is my intention to give, with the blessing of God, in my next publication, an account of the relation betwixt those attributes and the allegorical representations used to denote them.

I have often lamented that, in our general researches into theological truth, we are subjected to the conflict of many obstacles. When we look to the traditions of ancient nations, we often find them at variance with each other; and when, discouraged by this circumstance, we appeal to reason as a surer guide, we soon find how incompetent it is, alone, to conduct us to the object of our pursuit. We often find that, instead of facilitating our endeavours or clearing up our perplexities, it only serves to generate a universal doubt, incompatible with principles on which our comfort and happiness mainly depend. The best method perhaps is, neither to give ourselves up exclusively to the guidance of the one or the other; but by a proper use of the lights furnished by both, endeavour to improve our intellectual and moral faculties, relying on the goodness of the Almighty Power, which alone enables us to attain that which we earnestly and diligently seek for.

THE

KENA UPANISHAD

OF THE

SAMA VEDA.

1st. WHO is he [*asks a pupil of his spiritual father,*] under whose sole will the intellectual power makes its approach to *different objects!* Who is he under whose authority *breath,* the primitive *power in the body,* makes its operation? Who is he by whose direction language is *regularly* pronounced? And who is that immaterial being that applies vision and hearing *to their respective objects?*

2nd. He, [*answers the spiritual parent,*] who is the sense of the sense of hearing; the intellect of the intellect; the essential cause of language; the breath of breath; the sense of the sense of vision;—this is the Being *concerning whom you would* enquire. Learned men, having relinquished *the notion of self-independence and self-consideration from knowing the Supreme Understanding to be the sole source of sense,* enjoy everlasting beatitude after their departure from this world.

3rd. Hence no vision can approach him, no language can describe him, no intellectual power can compass or determine him. We know nothing of how the Supreme Being should be explained: he is beyond all that is within the reach of comprehension, and also beyond nature, which is above conception. Our ancient *spiritual parents* have thus explained him to us.

4th. He alone, who has never been described by language, and who directs language *to its meaning,* is the Supreme Being, and not any specified thing which men worship; know THOU this.

5th. He alone, whom understanding cannot comprehend, and who, as said *by learned men,* knows the real nature of understanding, is the Supreme Being, and not any specified thing which men worship; know THOU this.

6th. He alone, whom no one can conceive by vision, and by whose superintendence every one perceives the objects of vision, is the Supreme Being, and not any specified thing which men worship: know THOU this.

7th. He alone, whom no one can hear through the sense of hearing, and who knows the real nature of the sense of hearing, is the Supreme Being, and not any specified thing which men worship: know THOU this.

8th. He alone, whom no one can perceive through the sense of smelling, and who applies the sense of smelling *to its objects*, is the Supreme Being, and not any specified thing which men worship: know THOU this.

9th. If you [*continues the spiritual parent*], *from what I have stated*, suppose *and say* that "I know the Supreme Being thoroughly," you in truth know very little of the Omnipresent Being; and any conception of that Being which you limit to your powers of sense, is not only deficient, but also his description which you extend to the bodies of the celestial gods, is also imperfect;* you consequently should enquire into the true knowledge of the Supreme Being. *To this the pupil replies*: "I perceive that *at this moment* I begin to know God."

10th. "Not that I suppose," *continues* he, "that I know God thoroughly, nor do I suppose that I do not know him at all: as, among us, he who knows the meaning of the above-stated assertion, is possessed of the knowledge respecting God, *viz.*, 'that I neither know 'him thoroughly, nor am entirely ignorant of him.'"

11th. [*The spiritual father again resumes*:] He who believes that he cannot comprehend God, *does* know him; and he who believes that he can comprehend God, *does not* know him: as men of perfect understanding acknowledge him to be beyond comprehension; and men of imperfect understanding suppose him to be within the reach of their simplest perception.

12th. The notion of the sensibility of bodily organs, *which are composed of insensible particles*, leads to the notion of God; which notion alone is accurate, and tends to everlasting happiness. Man gains, by self-exertion, the power of acquiring knowledge respecting God, and through the same acquisition he acquires eternal beatitude.

13th. Whatever person has, *according to the above stated doctrine*, known God, is really happy, and whoever has not known him is subjected to great misery. Learned men, having reflected on the Spirit of God extending over all moveable as well as immoveable creatures, after their departure from this world are absorbed into the Supreme Being.

* The sum of the notion concerning the Supreme Being given in the Vedanta, is, that he is "the Soul of the universe, and bears the same relation to all material extensions "that a human soul does to the individual body with which it is connected".

In a battle between the celestial[*] gods and the demons, God obtained victory over the latter, in favour of the former *(or properly speaking, God enabled the former to defeat the latter)*; but, upon this victory being gained, the celestial gods acquired their respective dignities, and supposed that this victory and glory were entirely owing to themselves. The Omnipresent Being, having known their boast, appeared to them *with an appearance beyond description.*

They could not know what adorable appearance it was: they, *consequently,* said to fire, *or properly speaking the* god of fire: "Dis-" cover thou, O god of fire, what adorable appearance this is." His reply was, "I shall." He proceeded fast to that adorable appearance, which asked him, "who art thou?" He then answered, "I am fire, and "I am the origin of the Veda," *that is, I am a well-known personage.* The Supreme Omnipotence, upon being thus replied to, asked him *again,* "What power is in so celebrated a person as thou art?" He replied, "I can burn to ashes all that exists in the world." The Supreme Being then having laid a straw before him, said to him, "Canst thou burn this straw?" The god of fire approached the straw, but could not burn it, though he exerted all his power. He then *unsuccessfully* retired and *told the others,* "I have been unable "to discover what adorable appearance this is." Now they all said to wind (*or properly to the god of wind*), "Discover thou, O god of wind, "what adorable appearance this is." His reply was, "I shall." He proceeded fast to that adorable appearance, which asked him, "Who art thou?" He then answered, "I am wind, and I pervade unlimit-"ed space;" *that is, I am a well-known personage.* The Supreme Being, *upon being* thus replied to, asked him *again,* "What power is "in so celebrated a person as thou art?" He replied, "I can uphold "all that exists in the world." The Supreme Being then, having laid a straw before him, said to him, "Canst thou uphold this straw?" The god of wind approached the straw, but could not hold it up, though he exerted all his power. He then *unsuccessfully* retired *and told the others,* "I have been unable to discover what adorable appearance this is." Now they all said to the god of atmosphere, "Discover "thou, O revered god of atmosphere, what adorable appearance this "is." His reply was, "I shall." He proceeded fast to that adorable

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* In the Akhyayika it is said that those powers of the Divinity which produce agreeable effects and conduce to moral order and happiness, are represented under the figure of celestial gods, and those attributes from which pain and misery flow, are called demons and step-brothers of the former, with whom they are in a state of perpetual hostility.

appearance, which vanished from his view. He met at the same spot a woman, *the goddess of instruction,* arrayed in golden robes in the shape of the most beautiful Uma.* He asked, "What was that "adorable appearance?" She replied, "It was the Supreme Being "owing to whose victory you are all advanced to exaltation." The god of atmosphere, from her instruction, knew that it was the Supreme Being *that had appeared to them. He at first communicated that information to the gods of fire and of wind.* As the gods of fire, wind, and atmosphere had approached to the adorable appearance, and had perceived it, as also they had known, prior *to the others*, that it was indeed God *that appeared to them,* they seemed to be superior to the other gods. As the god of atmosphere had approached to the adorable appearance, and perceived it, and also as he knew, prior to *every one of them,* that it was God *that appeared to them,* he seemed not only superior to every other god, but also, *for that reason,* exalted above the gods of fire and wind.

The foregoing is a divine figurative representation of the Supreme Being; meaning that in one instant he shines at once *over all the universe* like the illumination of lightning; and in another, that he disappears as quick as the twinkling of an eye. Again, it is represented *of the Supreme Being,* that *pure* mind conceives that it approaches to him as nearly as possible: Through the same pure mind the pious man thinks of him, and consequently application of the mind to him is repeatedly used. That God, *who alone in reality has no resemblance, and to whom the mind* cannot approach, is adorable by all living creatures; he is therefore called "*adorable*;" he should, *according to the prescribed manner,* be worshipped. All creatures revere the person who knows God in the manner thus described. The pupil *now says,* "Tell me, O spiritual father, the Upanishad or the principal part "of the Veda." The *spiritual father makes this answer,* "I have told "you the principal part of the Veda which relates to God alone, and, "indeed, told you the Upanishad, of which, austere devotion, control "over the senses, performance of religious rites, and the remaining "parts of the Veda, as well as those sciences that are derived from the "Vedas, are *only* the feet; and whose altar and support is truth," He who understands it as thus described, having relieved himself from sin, acquires eternal and unchangeable beatitude.

* The wife of Siva.

TRANSLATION

OF THE

KUTH-OPUNISHUD

OF THE

UJOOR-VED.

ACCORDING TO THE GLOSS OF THE CELEBRATED

SUNKURACHARYU.

CALCUTTA,

1819.

PREFACE.

In pursuance of my attempt to render a translation of the complete Vedanta, or the principal parts of the Vedas into the current languages of this country, I had some time ago the satisfaction of publishing a translation of the Katha-Upanishad of the Yajur-veda into Bengalee; and of distributing copies of it as widely as my circumstances would allow, for the purpose of diffusing Hindoo scriptural knowledge among the adherents of that religion. The present publication is intended to assist the European community in forming their opinion respecting Hindoo Theology, rather from the matter found in their doctrinal scriptures, than from the Puranas, moral tales, or any other modern works, or from the superstitious rites and habits daily encouraged and fostered by their self-interested leaders.

This work not only treats polytheism with contempt and disdain, but inculcates invariably the unity of God as the intellectual Principle, the sole Origin of individual intellect, entirely distinct from matter and its affections; and teaches also the mode of directing the mind to him.

A great body of my countrymen, possessed of good understandings, and not much fettered with prejudices, being perfectly satisfied with the truth of the doctrines contained in this and in other works, already laid by me before them, and of the gross errors of the puerile system of idol-worship which they were led to follow, have altered their religious conduct in a manner becoming the dignity of human beings; while the advocates of idolatry and their misguided followers, over whose opinions prejudice and obstinacy prevail more than good sense and judgment, prefer custom and fashion to the authorities of their scriptures, and therefore continue, under the form of religious devotion, to practise a system which destroys, to the utmost degree, the natural texture of society, and prescribes crimes of the most heinous nature, which even the most savage nations would blush to commit, unless compelled by the most urgent necessity.* I am, however, not without a sanguine hope that, through Divine

* *Vide* the latter end of the Introduction to the Mundaka Upanishad.

Providence and human exertions, they will sooner or later avail themselves of that true system of religion which leads its observers to a knowledge and love of God, and to a friendly inclination towards their fellow-creatures, impressing their hearts at the same time with humility and charity, accompanied by independence of mind and pure sincerity. Contrary to the code of idolatry, this system defines sins as evil thoughts proceeding from the heart, quite unconnected with observances as to diet and other matters of form. At any rate, it seems to me that I cannot better employ my time than in an endeavour to illustrate and maintain truth, and to render service to my fellow-labourers, confiding in the mercy of that Being to whom the motives of our actions and secrets of our hearts are well-known.

KATHA UPANISHAD.

DESIROUS *of future fruition,* Bajasravasa *performed the sacrifice Viswajit, at which* he distributed all his property. He had a son named Nachiketa. *Old and infirm cows* being brought by the father as fees to be given to attending priests, the youth was seized with compassion, reflecting within himself, " He who gives *to attending priests* such " cows as are no longer able to drink water or to eat grass, and are " incapable of giving further milk or of producing young, is carried " to that mansion where there is no felicity whatever."

He then said to his father, " To whom, O father, wilt thou consign " me over *in lieu of these cows* ?" and repeated the same question a second and a third time.

Enraged with his presumption, the father replied to him, " I shall " give thee to Yama " (*the god of death*). *The youth then said to himself,* " *In the discharge of my duties as a son,* I hold a foremost " place among many sons or pupils of the first class, and I am not " inferior to any of the sons or pupils of the second class: whether " my father had a previous engagement with Yama, which he will " now perform by surrendering me *to him, or made use of such an " expression through anger, I know not.*" *The youth finding his father afflicted with sorrow, said,* " Remember the meritorious conduct of our "ancient *forefathers,* and observe the virtuous acts of contemporary " good men. *Life is too short to gain advantages by means of falsehood " or breach of promise* ; as man like a plant is easily destroyed, and " again like it puts forth its form. *Do you therefore surrender me to " Yama according to your promise.*" *The youth Nachiketa, by permission of his father, went to the habitation of Yama. After he had remained there for three days without food or refreshment, Yama returned to his dwelling, and was thus addressed by his family:* " A " Brahman entering a house as a guest is like fire ; *good householders, " therefore,* extinguish his anger *by offering him water, a seat, and " food.* Do thou, O Yama, present him with water. A man deficient " in wisdom suffers his hopes, his sanguine expectation of success, " his improvement from associating with good men, the benefit

"which he might derive from his affable conversation, and the fruits "produced by performance of prescribed sacrifices, and also by digging "of wells and other pious liberal actions, as well as all his sons and "cattle, to be destroyed, should a Brahman happen to remain in his "house without food."

Yama being thus admonished by his family, approached Nachiketa and said to him; "As thou, O Brahman, hast lived in my house, a "revered guest, for the space of three *days and* nights without food, "I offer thee reverence in atonement, so that bliss may attend me; "and do thou ask three favours *of me* as a recompense for what thou "hast suffered while dwelling in my house during these days past." *Nachiketa then made this as his first request, saying*, "Let, O Yama! "my father Gotama's apprehension *of my death* be removed, his "tranquillity of mind be restored, his anger against me extinguished, "and let him recognise me *on my return*, after having been set free "by thee. This is the first of three favours which I ask of thee."

Yama then replied:

"*Thy father*, styled Auddalaki and Aruni, shall have the same "regard for you as before; so that, being assured of thy existence, "he shall, through my power, repose the remaining nights *of his life* "free from sorrow, after having seen thee released from the grasp of "death." Nachiketa then made his second request. "In heaven, "where there is no fear whatsoever, and where even thou, O Yama! "canst not *always exercise thy authority*, and where, therefore, none "dread *thy power so much*, as weak mortals of the earth, the soul, "unafflicted either by thirst or hunger, and unmolested by sorrow, "enjoys gratification. As thou, O Yama! dost possess knowledge "respecting fire which is the means of attaining heaven, do thou "instruct me, who am full of faith, in that knowledge; for, those who "enjoy heaven, owing to their observance of sacred fire, are endowed "with the nature of celestial deities. This I ask of thee, as the "second favour which thou hast offered." *Yama replied*: "Being "possessed of a knowledge of fire, the means that lead to the "enjoyment of heavenly gratifications, I impart it to thee; which "do thou attentively observe. Know thou fire, as means to obtain "various mansions in heaven, as the support *of the world*, and as "residing in the body."

Yama explained to Nachiketa the nature of fire, as being prior to all creatures, and also the particulars of the bricks and their number,

which are requisite in forming the sacred fire, as well as the mode of preserving it. The youth repeated to Yama these instructions exactly as imparted to him; at which Yama being pleased, again spoke.

The liberal-minded Yama, satisfied with Nachiketa, thus says; "I shall bestow on thee another favour, *which is*, that this sacred fire "shall be styled after thy name; and accept thou this valuable and "various-coloured necklace. Receiving instructions from parents and "spiritual fathers, a person who has thrice collected fire, *as prescribed* "*in the Veda*, and also has been in habits of performing sacrifices, "studying the Vedas, and giving alms, is not liable to repeated birth "and death: he, having known and contemplated fire as originating "from Brahma, possessing superior understanding, full of splendour, "and worthy of praise, enjoys the highest fruition. A wise worshipper "of sacred fire, who, understanding the three things prescribed, has "offered oblation to fire, surmounting all afflictions during life, and "extricated from sorrow, will enjoy gratifications in heaven.

"This, O Nachiketa! is that knowledge of sacred fire, the means "of obtaining heaven, which thou didst require of me as the second "favour; men shall call it after thy name. Make, O Nachiketa! thy "third request."

Nachiketa then said: "Some are of opinion that after man's "demise existence continues, and others say it ceases. Hence a doubt "has arisen *respecting the nature of the soul*; I therefore wish to be "instructed by thee in this matter. This is the last of the favours thou "hast offered." *Yama replied*: "Even gods have doubted and disputed "on this subject; which being obscure, never can be thoroughly "comprehended: Ask, O Nachiketa! another favour *instead of this*. "Do not thou take advantage of my promise, but give up this "request." *Nachiketa replied*: "*I am* positively informed that gods "entertained doubts on this subject; and even thou, O Yama! callest "it difficult of comprehension. But no instructor on this point equal "to thee can be found, and no other object is so desirable as this." Yama said: "Do thou rather request of me to give thee sons and "grandsons, each to attain the age of an hundred years; numbers of "cattle, elephants, goats, and horses; also extensive empire on earth, "where thou shalt live as many years as thou wishest.

"If thou knowest another object equally desirable with these, ask "it; together with wealth and long life. Thou mayest reign, O

"Nachiketa! over a great kingdom: I will enable thee to enjoy all "wished-for objects.

"Ask according to thy desire all objects that are difficult of "acquisition in the mortal world. Ask these beautiful women, with "elegant equipages and musical instruments, as no man can acquire "any thing like them *without our gift.* Enjoy thou the attendance "of these women, whom I may bestow on thee; but do not put to me, "O Nachiketa! the question respecting existence after death."

Nachiketa then replied. "The acquisition of the enjoyments thou "hast offered, O Yama! is *in the first place* doubtful; and should "they be obtained, they destroy the strength of all the senses; and "even the life of Brahma is, indeed, comparatively short. Therefore "let thy equipages, and thy dancing and music, remain with thee.

"No man can be satisfied with riches; and as we have *fortunately* "beheld thee, we may acquire wealth, should we feel desirous of it, "and we also may live as long as thou exercisest the authority of the "god of death; but the only object I desire is what I have already "begged *of thee.*

"A mortal being, whose habitation is the low mansion of earth, "and who is liable to sudden reduction, approaching the gods ex-"empted from death and debility, and understanding from them *that "there is a knowledge of futurity, should not ask of them any inferior "favour*—and knowing the fleeting nature of music, sexual gratifica-"tion, and sensual pleasures, who can take delight in a long life on "earth? Do you instruct us in that knowledge which removes "doubts respecting existence after death, and is of great importance "with a view to futurity, and which is obscure and acquirable with "difficulty. I, Nachiketa, cannot ask any other favour but this."

End of the first Section of the first Chapter (1st Valli).

Yama now, after a sufficient trial of Nachiketa's resolution, answers the third question, saying, "Knowledge of God which leads to "absorption, is one thing; and rites, which have fruition for their "object, another: each of these producing different consequences, "holds out to man inducements to follow it. The man, who of these "two chooses knowledge, is blessed; and he who, *for the sake of "reward,* practises rites, is excluded from the enjoyment of eternal "beatitude. Knowledge and rites both offer themselves to man; but

"he who is possessed of wisdom, taking their respective natures into "serious consideration, distinguishes one from the other, and chooses "faith, despising fruition; and a fool, for the sake of advantage and "enjoyment, accepts the offer of rites.

"Thou, O Nachiketa! knowing the perishable nature of the "desirable and gratifying objects offered by me, hast rejected them, "and refused the adoption of that contemptible practice, which leads "to fruition and to riches, and to which men in general are attached. "Wise men *are sensible* that a knowledge of God *which procures* "*absorption*, and the performance of rites *that produces fruition*, are "entirely opposite to each other, and yield different consequences. I "conceive thee, Nachiketa, to be desirous of a knowledge of God, for "the numerous estimable objects offered by me cannot tempt thee. "Surrounded by the darkness of ignorance, fools consider themselves "wise and learned, and wander about in various directions, like "blind men when guided by a blind man.

"To an indiscreet man who lives carelessly, and is immersed in "the desire of wealth, the means of gaining heavenly beatitude are "not manifest. He thinks that this visible world alone exists, and "that there is nothing hereafter; consequently he is repeatedly sub-"jected to my control. The soul is that of whose real nature many "persons have never heard; and several though they have heard, "have not comprehended. A man who is capable of giving instruc-"tion on this subject is rare: one who listens to it attentively, must "be intelligent: and that one who, being taught by a wise teacher, "understands it, is uncommon.

"If a man of inferior abilities describe the nature of the soul, no "one will thoroughly understand it; for various opinions are held *by* "*contending parties*. When the subject is explained by a person "who believes the soul to emanate from God, doubt, in regard to its "eternity, ceases; but otherwise it is inexplicable and not capable of "demonstration.

"The knowledge respecting the soul which thou wilt gain by me, "cannot be acquired by means of reason alone; but it should be "obtained from him who is versed in the sacred authorities. Oh, "beloved pupil, Nachiketa! may we have enquirers like thee, who "art full of resolution. I know that fruition, acquirable by means "of rites, is perishable; for nothing eternal can be obtained through "perishable means. *Notwithstanding my conviction of the destruc-*

"*tible nature of fruition*, I performed the worship of the sacred fire, "whereby I became possessed of this sovereignty of long duration.

"Thou, Oh wise Nachiketa ! hast through firmness refused, though "offered to thee, the state of Brahma, which satisfies every desire, "and which is the support of the world—the best consequence of the "performance of rites without limit or fear—praiseworthy—full of "superhuman power—extensive and stable.

"The soul is that which is difficult to be comprehended—most "obscure—veiled by the ideas acquired through the senses, and which "resides in faculties—does not depart even in great danger, and exists "unchangeable. A wise man knowing the resplendent soul, through a "mind abstracted from worldly objects, and constantly applied to it, "neither rejoices nor does he grieve.

"A mortal who, having heard the pure doctrines relative to the "soul and retained them in his memory, knowing the invisible soul "to be distinct from *the body*, feels rejoiced at his acquisition. I think "the abode of the knowledge of God is open to thee."

Nachiketa then asked. "If thou knowest any Being who *exists* "distinctly from rites, their consequences and their observers, and "also from evil, and who is different from effects and their respec-"tive causes, and is above past, future, and present time, do thou "inform me."

Yama replies: "I will explain to thee briefly that Being whom all "the Vedas treat of, *either directly or indirectly*, to whom all austeri-"ties are directed, and who is the main object of those who perform "the duties of an ascetic, He to wit, whom the word Om implies, is "the Supreme Being.

"That Om is the title of Brahma and also of the Supreme Being, "through means of which man may gain what he wishes; (*that is, if he worship Brahma by means of Om, he shall be received into his mansion; or if through it he elevate his mind to God, he shall obtain absorption.*)

"Om is the best of all means *calculated* to direct the mind towards "God; and it is instrumental either in the acquisition of the knowledge "of God *or of the dignity of Brahma*: man therefore having recourse "to this word, shall either be absorbed in God, or revered like Brahma.

"The soul is not liable to birth nor to death : it is mere understand-"ing : neither does it take its origin from any other or from itself : "hence it is unborn, eternal without reduction and unchangeable;

"therefore the soul is not injured by the hurt which the body may "receive. If any one ready to kill another imagine that he can destroy "his soul, and the other think that his soul shall suffer destruction, "they both know nothing; for neither does it kill nor is it killed by "another.

"The soul is the smallest of the small, and greatest of the great. "It resides in the hearts of all living creatures. A man who knows "it and its pure state, through the steadiness of the external and "internal senses, acquired from the abandoning of worldly desires, "overcomes sorrow and perplexity.

"The soul, although without motion, seems to go to furthest space; "and though it resides in the body at rest, yet seems to move every-"where. Who can perceive besides myself, that splendid soul, the "support of the sensation of happiness and pain?

"The soul, although it is immaterial, yet resides closely attached "to perishable material objects: knowing it as great and extensive, "a wise man never grieves for it. A knowledge of the soul is not "acquirable from the study of the Vedas, nor through rententive "memory, nor yet by constant hearing of spiritual instruction: but "he who seeks to obtain a knowledge of it, is gifted with it, the soul "rendering itself conspicuous to him.

"No man can acquire a knowledge of the soul without abstaining "from evil acts; without having control over the senses and the "mind; nor can he gain it with a mind, though firm, yet filled with "the desire of fruition; but man may obtain a knowledge of the soul "through his knowledge of God.

"No *ignorant* man can, in a perfect manner, know the state of "the existence of that God whose food is *all things* even the Brahma "and the Kshatra; (*that is, who destroys every object bearing figure "and appellation*); and who consumes death itself even as butter."

The end of the second Section of the first Chapter (2nd Valli).

"God and the soul* entering into the heart, the excellent divine "abode, consume, while residing in the body, the necessary consequen-"ces of its actions; *that is, the latter is rewarded or punished according "to its good or evil actions, and the former witnesses all those events.*

* The word soul here means the human soul, *Jivatma*; but generally in these translations it is used for *Paramatma*, the "Oversoul"—Ed.

"Those who have a knowledge of God, consider the former as light and "the latter as shade: observers of external rites also, as well as those "who have collected fire three times for worship, believe the same.

"We can *know and collect fire*, which is a bridge to the observers "of rites; and can know the eternal and fearless God, who is the con-"veyer of those who wish to cross the ocean of ignorance. Consider "the soul as a rider, the body as a car, the intellect its driver, the mind "as its rein, the external senses are called the horses restrained by "the mind, external objects are the roads: so wise men believe the "soul united with the body, the senses and the mind, to be the partaker "*of the consequences of good or evil acts.*

"If that intellect, *which is represented as the driver*, be indiscreet, "and the rein of the mind loose, all the senses *under the authority of* "*the intellectual power* become unmanageable; like wicked horses under "the control of an *unfit* driver.

"If the intellect be discreet and the rein of the mind firm, all the "senses prove steady and manageable; like good horses under an "excellent driver.

"He, who has not a prudent intellect and steady mind and who "consequently lives always impure, cannot arrive at the divine glory, "but descends to the world.

"He who has a prudent intellect and steady mind, and consequently "lives always pure, attains that glory from whence he never will descend.

"Man who has intellect as his prudent driver, and a steady mind "as his rein, passing over the paths of mortality, arrives at the high "glory of the omnipresent God.

"The origin of the senses is more refined than the senses; the "essence of the mind is yet more refined than that origin: the source "of intellect is again more exalted than that of the mind; the prime "sensitive particle is superior to the source of intellect; nature, the ap-"parent cause of the universe, is again superior to that particle, to "which the omnipresent God is still superior: nothing is more exalted "than God: he is therefore superior to all existences, and is the Supreme "object of all. God exists obscurely throughout the universe, con-"*sequently* is not perceived; but he is known through the acute intellect "constantly directed towards him by wise men of penetrating under-"standings. A wise man shall transfer the power of speech and that of "the senses to the mind, and the mind to the intellect, and the intellect "to the *purified* soul, and the soul to the unchangeable Supreme Being.

"Rise up and awake *from the sleep of ignorance*; and having "approached able teachers, acquire knowledge *of God, the origin of the* "*soul*: for the way to the knowledge of God is considered by wise men "difficult as the passage over the sharp-edge of a razor. The Supreme "Being is not organised with the faculties of hearing, feeling, vision, "taste or smell. He is unchangeable and eternal; without beginning "or end; and is beyond that particle which is the origin of the intellect: "*man* knowing him thus, is relieved from the grasp of death."

A wise man reading to *Brahmans*, or hearing *from a teacher*, this ancient doctrine imparted to Nachiketa by Yama, is absorbed into God.

He who reads this most secret doctrine before an assemblage of Brahmans, or at the time of offering oblations to his forefathers, enjoys innumerable good consequences.

The end of the third Section of the first Chapter (3rd Valli).

"God has created the senses to be directed towards external objects; "they consequently are apt to perceive outward things only, and not the "eternal spirit. But a wise man being desirous of eternal life, with-"drawing his senses from their natural course, apprehends the omni-"present Supreme Being.

"The ignorant seek external and desireable objects only; "*consequently* they are subjected to the chain of all-seizing death. "Hence the wise, knowing that God alone is immortal and eternal in "this perishable world, do not cherish a wish *for those objects*.

"To Him, owing to whose presence alone the animate beings, "*composed of insensible particles*, perceive objects through vision, the "power of taste, of feeling, and of hearing, and also the pleasure "derivable from sexual intercourse, nothing can be unknown: he is "that existence which *thou desiredst to know*.

"A wise man after having known that the soul, owing to whose "presence living creatures perceive objects whether they dream or "wake, is great and extensive, never grieves.

"He who believes that the soul, which enjoys the fruits of good "or evil actions, intimately connected with the body, originates from "and is united with God, the Lord of past and future events, will not "conceal its nature: he is that existence which thou desiredst to know. "He who knows that the prime sensitive particle, which proceeded from "God prior to the creation of water and the other elements, having

" entered into the heart, exists united with material objects, knows the " Supreme Being. He is that existence which thou desiredst to know.

" That sensitive particle which perceives objects, and includes all " the celestial deities, and which was created with all the elements, " exists, entering into the space of the heart, and there resides. It " is that existence which thou desiredst to know.

" The sacred fire, the receiver of oblations after the wood has been " kindled below and above, is preserved by its observers with the same " care as pregnant women take of their fœtus : it is praised daily by " prudent observers, and men habituated to constant devotion. That " atmosphere from whence the sun ascends, and in which he goes " down, on which all the world, *including fire, speech, and other* things " rest, and independently of which nothing exists, is that existence " which thou desiredst to know. Whatever individual intellect there " is connected with the body, is that intellectual principle, which is " pure and immaterial existence, and the intellectual overspreading " principle is the individual intellect ; but he who thinks here that they " are different in nature, is subject to repeated transmigrations.

" Through the mind, *purified by spiritual instructions*, the know- " ledge that the soul is of divine origin, and by no means is different " *from its source*, shall be acquired, whereby the idea of duality " entirely ceases. He who thinks there is variety of intellectual " principle, undergoes transmigration.

" The omnipresent spirit, extending over the space of the heart, which " is the size of a finger, resides within the body ; and persons knowing " him the Lord of past and future events, will not again attempt to " conceal his nature : He is that existence which thou desiredst to know.

" The omnipresent spirit which extends over the space of the " heart, the size of a finger, is the most pure light. He is the Lord " of past and future events ; He alone pervades *the universe* now and " ever ; He is that existence which thou desiredst to know. In the " same way as water falling on uneven ground disperses throughout " the hollow places, and is lost, so a man who thinks that the souls " of different bodies are distinct in nature from each other, shall be " placed in various forms by transmigration.

" As water falling on even grounds remains unchanged, so the soul " of a wise man of steady mind is *always* pure, freed from the idea of " duality."

End of the first Section of the second Chapter (4th Valli).

"The body is a dwelling with eleven gates, belonging to the "unborn and unchangeable spirit, through whose constant contem-"plation man escapes grief, and acquiring absorption, is exempted from "transmigration. He is that existence which thou desiredst to know.

"That spiritual Being acts *always* and moves in heaven; preserves "all material existence as depending on him; moves in space; resides "in fire; walks on the earth; enters like a guest into sacrificial vessels; "dwells in man, in gods, in sacrifices; moves throughout the sky; "seems to be born in water, *as fishes, &c.*; produced on earth, *as vege-"tables*, on the tops of mountains, *as rivers*, and also as members of "sacrifices: yet is he truly pure and great. He who causes breath to "ascend above the heart and peditum to descend, resides in the heart: "He is adorable; and to him all the senses offer oblation of the objects "which they preceive.

"When the soul, which is connected with the body, leaves it, no-"thing then remains in the body which may preserve the system: It "is that existence which thou desiredst to know.

"Neither by the help of breath, nor from the presence of other "powers, can a mortal exist: but they all exist owing to that other "existence on which both breath and the senses rest.

"I will now disclose to you the secret doctrine of the eternal "God: and also how man, *void of that knowledge*, O Gautama! "transmigrates after death.

"Some of those *who are ignorant of this doctrine* enter after death "the womb of females to appear in the animal shape, while others "assume the form of trees, according to their conduct and knowledge "*during their lives.*

"The Being who continues to operate even at that time of sleep, "when all the senses cease to act, and then creates desirable objects "of various descriptions, is pure and the greatest of all; and he alone is "called eternal, on whom all the world rests, and independently of "whom nothing can exist: He is that existence which thou desiredst "to know. As fire, although one in essence, on becoming visible in the "world, appears in various forms and shapes, according to its different "locations, so God, the soul of the universe, though one, appears in "various modes, according as he connects himself with different "material objects, and, *like space*, extends over all.

"As air, although one in essence, in becoming operative in the "body appears in various natures, as breath and other vital airs, so

"God, the soul of the universe, though one, appears in different "modes, according as he connects himself with various material "objects, and, *like space*, extends over all.

"As the sun, though he serves as the eye of all living creatures, "yet is not polluted externally *or internally* by being connected with "visible vile objects, so God, the soul of the universe, although one "and omnipresent, is not affected by the sensations of individual "pain, for he is beyond its action.

"God is but one; and he has the whole world under his control, "for he is the operating soul in all objects; He, *through his omni-* "*science*, makes his sole existence appear in the form of the universe. "To those wise men who acquire a knowledge of him who is operative "on the human faculties, is eternal beatitude allotted, and not to "those who are void of that knowledge.

"God is eternal amidst the perishable universe; and is the source "of sensation among all animate existences: and he alone assigns to "so many objects their respective purposes: To those wise men who "know him the ruler of the intellectual power, everlasting beatitude "is allotted; but not to those who are void of that knowledge.

"How can I acquire that most gratifying divine knowledge, which, "though beyond comprehension, *wise men, by constant application of* "*mind, alone obtain*, as if it were present? Does it shine conspi- "cuously?—and does it appear to the human faculties?

"Neither the sun, nor the moon, nor yet the stars can throw light "on God: Even the illuminating lightning cannot throw light upon "him; much less can limited fire give him light: But they all imitate "him, and all borrow their light from him—*that is, nothing can* "*influence God and render him perspicuous: But God himself imparts* "*his knowledge to the heart freed from passion and desire.*"

End of the second Section of the second Chapter (*5th Valli*).

"The world is a fig-tree of long duration, whose origin is above, "and the branches of which, *as different species*, are below. The "origin alone is pure and supreme; and he alone is eternal on whom "all the world rests, and independently of whom nothing can exist. "He is that existence which thou desiredst to know.

"God being eternal existence,t he universe, whatsoever it is, exists "and proceeds from him. He is the great dread of all *heavenly* "*bodies*, as if he were prepared to strike them with thunderbolts;

" *so that none of them can deviate from their respective courses* " *established by him.* Those who know him as the eternal power " acquire absorption.

" Through his fear fire supplies *us* with heat; and the sun, " through his fear, shines *regularly*; and also Indra, and air, and " fifthly, death, are through his fear constantly in motion.

" If *man* can acquire a knowledge of God in this world, before the " fall of his body, *he becomes happy for ever:* Otherwise he assumes " new forms in different mansions. *A knowledge of God shines* on the " purified intellect in this world, as clearly as an object is seen by " reflection in a polished mirror: In the region of the deified Progeni- " tors of mankind *it is viewed* as obscurely as objects perceived in the " state of dreaming; and in the mansion of Gandharvas, in the same " degree as the reflection of an object on water; but in the mansion " of Brahma it appears as distinctly as the difference between light " and darkness.

" A wise man, knowing the soul to be distinct from the senses, " which proceed from different origins, and also from the state of " waking and of sleep, never again grieves.

" The mind is more refined than the external senses; and the " intellect is again more exalted than the mind. The prime sensitive " particle is superior to the intellect;—nature, the apparent cause " of the universe, is again superior to that particle unaffected by " matter: *Superior to nature is God,* who is omnipresent and without " material effects; by acquisition of whose knowledge man becomes " extricated from ignorance and distress, and is absorbed into Him " *after death.* His substance does not come with in the reach of vision; " no one can apprehend him through the senses: By constant direction " of the intellect, free from doubts, he perspicuously appears; and " those who know him in the prescribed manner, enjoy eternal life.

" The part of life wherein the power of the five external senses and " the mind are directed towards the Supreme Spirit, and the intellec- " tual power ceases its action, is said to be most sacred; and this " steady control of the senses and mind is considered to be *Yoga (or* " *withdrawing the senses and the mind from worldly objects):* Man " should be vigilant in the acquisition of that state; for such control " proceeds from constant exercise, and ceases by neglect.

" Neither through speech, nor through intellectual power, nor yet " through vision, can man acquire a knowledge of God; but, save him

"who believes in the existence of God *as the cause of the universe*, no "one can have a notion of that Being. A man should acquire, first, "a belief in the existence of God, the origin of the universe; and "next, a real knowledge of him; to wit, that he is incomprehensible; "for the means which lead men to acquire a knowledge of his existence, "graciously conduct them to the belief of his incomprehensibility. "When all the desires settled in the heart leave man, the mortal then "become immortal, and acquire absorption even in this life. When "the deep ignorance *which occasions duality* is entirely destroyed, "the mortal become immortal: This is the only doctrine which *the* "*Vedanta* inculcates.

"There are one hundred and one tubes connected with the heart, "one of *which, called Sushumna,* proceeds to the head: The soul of a "devotee proceeding through the hundred and first, is carried to the "mansion of the immortal Brahma; and those of others, which ascend "by other tubes, assume different bodies, *according to the evil or good* "*acts which they perform.*

"The omnipresent eternal spirit resides always within that space of "the human heart which is as large as a finger: Man should, by firmness "of mind, separate that spirit from the body, in the same manner as "the pith is removed from the plant Munja: *that is, the spirit should* "*be considered totally distinct from matter and the effects of matter*— "and man should know that separated spirit to be pure and eternal."

Having thus acquired this divine doctrine, imparted to the God of death, with every thing belonging to it, Nachiketa, freed from the consequences of good or evil acts, and from mortality, was absorbed into God; and whatever person also can acquire that knowledge, shall obtain absorption.

End of the third Section of the second Chapter (6th Valli).

End of the Katha Upanishad.

TRANSLATION

OF THE

ISHOPANISHAD,

ONE OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE

YAJUR VED:

ACCORDING TO THE COMMENTARY OF THE CELEBRATED

SHANKAR-ACHARYA:

ESTABLISHING THE UNITY AND

INCOMPREHENSIBILITY OF

THE SUPREME BEING;

AND THAT

HIS WORSHIP ALONE

CAN LEAD TO ETERNAL BEATITUDE.

CALCUTTA:

1816.

PREFACE.

THE most learned Vyasa shows, in his work of the Vedanta, that all the texts of the Veda, with one consent, prove but the Divinity of that Being, who is out of the reach of comprehension and beyond all description. For the use of the public, I have made a concise translation of that celebrated work into Bengalee, and the present is an endeavour to translate* the principal Chapters of the Veda, in conformity to the Comments of the great Sankar-Acharya. The translation of the Isopanishad belonging to the Yajur, the second division of the Vedas, being already completed, I have put it into the press; † and the others will successively be printed, as soon as their translation is completed. It is evident, from those authorities, that the sole regulator of the Universe is but one, who is omnipresent, far surpassing our powers of comprehension; above external sense; and whose worship is the chief duty of mankind and the sole cause of eternal beatitude; and that all that bear figure and appellation are inventions. Should it be asked, whether the assertions found in the Puranas‡ and Tantras, &c., respecting the worship of the several gods and goddesses, are false, or whether Puranas and Tantras are not included in the Sastra, the answer is this:—The Purana and Tantra,§ &c., are of course to be considered as Sastra, for they repeatedly declare God to be one and above the apprehension of external and internal senses; they indeed expressly declare the divinity of many gods and goddesses, and the modes of their worship; but they reconcile those contradictory assertions by affirming frequently, that the directions to worship any figured beings are only applicable to those who are incapable of elevating their minds to the idea of an invisible Supreme Being, in order that such persons, by fixing their

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* I must confess how much I feel indebted to Doctor H. H. Wilson, in my translations from Sanskrit into English, for the use of his Sanskrit and English Dictionary.

† Wherever any comment, upon which the sense of the original depends, is added to the original, it will be found written in Italics.

‡ Said to have been written by Vyasa.

§ Supposed to have been composed by Siva.

attention on those invented figures, may be able to restrain themselves from vicious temptations, and that those that are competent for the worship of the invisible God, should disregard the worship of Idols. I repeat a few of these declarations as follows. The authority of Jamadagni is thus quoted by the great Raghunandana : " For the " benefit of those who are inclined to worship, figures are invented to " serve as representations of God, who is merely understanding, and " has no second, no parts, nor figure ; consequently, to these represen- " tatives, either male or female forms and other circumstances are " fictitiously assigned." In the second Chapter of the first part of the Vishnu Purana it is said ; " God is without figure, epithet, definition " or description. He is without defect, not liable to annihilation, " change, pain or birth ; we can only say, That he, who is the " eternal being is God." " The vulgar look for their gods in " water ; men of more extended knowledge in celestial bodies ; " the ignorant in wood, bricks, and stones ; but learned men in " the universal soul." In the 84th Chapter of the tenth division of the Sri Bhagavata, Krishna says to Vyasa and others : It " is impossible for those who consider pilgrimage as devotion, and " believe that the divine nature exists in the image, to look up " to, communicate with, to petition and to revere true believers " in God. He who views as the soul this body formed of phlegm, " wind and bile, or regards only wife, children, and relations as him- " self (that is, he who neglects to contemplate the nature of the soul), " he who attributes a divine nature to earthen images, and believes in " the holiness of water, yet pays not such respect to those who are " endowed with a knowledge of God, is as an ass amongst cows." In the 9th Chapter of the Kularnava it is written : " A knowledge " of the Supreme Being, who is beyond the power of expression and " unchangeable, being acquired, all gods and goodesses, and their " texts which represent them, shall become slaves " " After a know- " ledge of the Supreme Being has been attained, there is no need to " attend to ceremonies prescribed by Sastras—no want of a fan should " be felt, when a soft southern wind is found to refresh." The Mahanirvana says, " Thus corresponding to the nature of different " powers or qualities, numerous figures have been invented for the " benefit of those who are not possessed of sufficient understanding." From the foregoing quotations it is evident, that though the Vedas, Puranas, and Tantras, frequently assert the existence of the plurality

of gods and goddesses, and prescribe the modes of their worship for men of insufficient understanding, yet they have also declared in a hundred others places, that these passages are to be taken merely in a figurative sense.

It cannot be alleged in support of Idolatry, that "although a know-"ledge of God is certainly above all things, still as it is impossible to "acquire that knowledge, men should of course worship figured gods;" for, had it been impossible to attain a knowledge of the Supreme Being, the Vedas and Puranas, as well as Tantras, would not have instructed mankind to aim at such attainment; as it is not to be supposed that direction to acquire what is obviously unattainable could be given by the Sastra, or even by a man of common sense. Should the Idolater say, " that the acquisition of a knowledge of God, "although it is not impossible, is most difficult of comprehension," I will agree with him in that point; but infer from it, that we ought, therefore, the more to exert ourselves, to acquire that knowledge; but I highly lament to observe, that so far from endeavouring to make such an acquisition, the very proposal frequently excites his anger and displeasure.

Neither can it be alleged that the Vedas, Puranas, &c., teach both the adoration of the Supreme Being and that of celestial gods and goddesses, but that the former is intended for Yatis or those that are bound by their profession to forsake all worldly considerations, and the latter for laymen; for, it is evident from the 48th Text of the 3rd Chapter of the Vedanta that a householder also is required to perform the worship of the Supreme Being.

Manu, also, the chief of Hindu lawgivers, after having prescribed all the varieties of rites and ceremonies, in Chapter 12th, Text 92, says, " Thus must the chief of the twice-born, though he neglect the "ceremonial rites mentioned in the Sastras, be diligent in attaining a "knowledge of God, in controlling his organs of sense, and in repeat-"ing the Veda."

Again in the 4th Chapter, in describing the duties of laymen, the same author says, "Some, who well know the ordinances for the "oblations, do not perform externally the five great sacraments, but "continually make offerings in their own organs *of sensation and* "*intellect.*"

"Some constantly sacrifice their breath in their speech, *when they* "*instruct others of God aloud*, and their speech in their breath, *when*

"*they meditate in silence*, perceiving in their speech and breath thus "employed the imperishable fruit of a sacrificial offering."

"Other Brahmans incessantly perform those sacrifices only, seeing "with the eye of divine learning, that the scriptural knowledge is the "root of every ceremonial observance."

In the Yajnavalkya (Smriti) it is written :—"Even a householder, "who acquires a livelihood honestly, has faith in the Supreme Being, "shows hospitality to his guests, performs sacramental rites to his "forefathers, and is in the practice of telling truth, shall be absorbed "into the supreme essence." Should be it said, "It still remains "unaccountable, that notwithstanding the Vedas and Puranas re-"peatedly declare the unity of the Supreme Being, and direct "mankind to adore him alone, yet the generality of Hindus have "a contrary faith, and continue to practise idolatry," I would in answer request attention to the foundation on which the practical part of the Hindu religion is built. Many learned Brahmans are perfectly aware of the absurdity of idolatry, and are well informed of the nature of the purer mode of divine worship. But as in the rites, ceremonies, and festivals of idolatry, they find the source of their comforts and fortune, they not only never fail to protect idol-worship from all attacks, but even advance and encourage it to the utmost of their power, by keeping the knowledge of their scriptures concealed from the rest of the people. Their followers, too, confiding in these leaders, feel gratification in the idea of the Divine Nature residing in a being resembling themselves in birth, shape, and propensities; and are naturally delighted with a mode of worship agreeable to the senses, though destructive of moral principles, and the fruitful parent of prejudice and superstition.

Some Europeans, indued with high principles of liberality, but unacquainted with the ritual part of Hindu idolatry, are disposed to palliate it by an interpretation which, though plausible, is by no means well founded. They are willing to imagine, that the idols which the Hindus worship, are not viewed by them in the light of gods or as real personifications of the divine attributes, but merely as instruments for raising their minds to the contemplation of those attributes which are respectively represented by different figures. I have frequently had occasion to remark, that many Hindus also who are conversant with the English language, finding this interpretation a more plausible apology for idolatry than any with which they are

furnished by their own guides, do not fail to avail themselves of it, though in repugnance both to their faith and to their practice. The declarations of this description of Hindus naturally tend to confirm the original idea of such Europeans, who from the extreme absurdity of pure unqualified idolatry, deduce an argument against its existence. It appears to them impossible for men, even in the very last degree of intellectual darkness, to be so far misled as to consider a mere image of wood or of stone as a *human being*, much less as divine existence. With a view, therefore, to do away any misconception of this nature which may have prevailed, I beg leave to submit the following considerations.

Hindus of the present age, with a very few exceptions, have not the least idea that it is to the attributes of the Supreme Being, as figuratively represented by shapes corresponding to the nature of those attributes, they offer adoration and worship under the denomination of gods and goddesses. On the contrary, the slightest investigation will clearly satisfy every inquirer, that it makes a material part of their system to hold as articles of faith all those particular circumstances, which are essential to belief in the independent existence of the objects of their idolatry as deities clothed with divine power.

Locality of habitation and a mode of existence analogous to their own views of earthly things, are uniformly ascribed to each particular god. Thus the devotees of Siva, misconceiving the real spirit of the Scriptures, not only place an implicit credence in the separate existence of Siva, but even regard him as an omnipotent being, the greatest of all the divinities, who, as they say, inhabit the northern mountain of Kailasa; and that he is accompanied by two wives and several children, and surrounded with numerous attendants. In like manner the followers of Vishnu, mistaking the allegorical representations of the Sastras for relation of real facts, believe him to be chief over all other gods, and that he resides with his wife and attendants on the summit of heaven. Similar opinions are also held by the worshippers of Kali, in respect to that goddess. And in fact, the same observations are equally applicable to every class of Hindu devotees in regard to their respective gods and goddesses. And so tenacious are those devotees in respect to the honour due to their chosen divinities, that when they meet in such holy places as Haridwar, Prayag, Siva-Kanchi, or Vishnu-Kanchi in the Dekhin, the adjustment of the point of prece-

dence not only occasions the warmest verbal altercations, but sometimes even blows and violence. Neither do they regard the images of those gods merely in the light of instruments for elevating the mind to the conception of those supposed beings; they are simply in themselves made objects of worship. For whatever Hindu purchases an idol in the market, or constructs one with his own hands, or has one made under his own superintendence, it is his invariable practice to perform certain ceremonies called Prana-Pratishtha, or the endowment of animation, by which he believes that its nature is changed from that of the mere materials of which it is formed, and that it acquires not only life but supernatural powers. Shortly afterwards, if the idol be of the masculine gender, he marries it to a feminine one, with no less pomp and magnificence than he celebrates the nuptials of his own children. The mysterious process is now complete, and the god and goddess are esteemed the arbiters of his destiny, and continually receive his most ardent adoration.

At the same time, the worshipper of images ascribes to them at once the opposite natures of human and of superhuman beings. In attention to their supposed wants as living beings, he is seen feeding, or pretending to feed them every morning and evening; and as in the hot season he is careful to fan them, so in the cold he is equally regardful of their comfort, covering them by day with warm clothing and placing them at night in a snug bed. But superstition does not find a limit here: the acts and speeches of the idols, and their assumption of various shapes and colours, are gravely related by the Brahmans, and with all the marks of veneration are firmly believed by their deluded followers. Other practices they have with regard to those idols which decency forbids me to explain. In thus endeavouring to remove a mistake, into which I have reason to believe many European gentlemen have been led by a benevolent wish to find an excuse for the errors of my countrymen, it is a considerable gratification to me to find that the latter have begun to be so far sensible of the absurdity of their real belief and practices, as to find it convenient to shelter them under such a cloak, however flimsy and borrowed. The adoption of such a subterfuge encourages me greatly to hope, that they will in time abandon what they are sensible cannot be defended; and that, forsaking the superstition of idolatry, they will embrace the rational worship of the God of Nature, as enjoined by the Vedas and confirmed by the dictates of common sense.

The argument which is frequently alleged in support of idolatry is that "those who believe God to be omnipresent, as declared by "the doctrines of the Vedanta, are required by the tenets of such "belief to look upon all existing creatures as God, and to shew divine "respect to birds, beasts, men, women, vegetables, and all other "existences; and as practical conformity to such doctrines is almost "impossible, the worship of figured gods should be admitted." This misrepresentation, I am sorry to observe, entirely serves the purpose intended, by frightening Hindus in general from attending to the pure worship of the Supreme Regulator of the universe. But I am confident that the least reflection on the subject will clear up this point beyond all doubt; for the Vedanta is well known as a work which inculcates only the unity of God; but if every existing creature should be taken for a god by the followers of the Vedanta, the doctrines of that work must be admitted to be much more at variance with that idea than those of the advocates of idolatry, as the latter are contented with the recognition of only a few millions of gods and goddesses, but the Vedanta in that case must be supposed to admit the divinity of every living creature in nature. The fact is, that the Vedanta by declaring that "God is everywhere, and everything is in God," means that nothing is absent from God, and nothing bears real existence except by the volition of God, whose existence is the sole support of the conceived existence of the universe, which is acted upon by him in the same manner as a human body is by a soul. But God is at the same time quite different from what we see or feel.

The following texts of the Vedanta are to this effect [11th text of the 2nd section of the 3rd chapter of the Vedanta]: "That being, which is distinct from matter, and from those "which are contained in matter, is not various, because he is "declared by all the Vedas to be one beyond description;" and again, "The Veda has declared the Supreme Being to be mere understand-"ing." Moreover, if we look at the conduct of the ancient true believers in God, as Janaka, the celebrated prince of Mithila, Vasisht'ha, Sanaka, Vyasa, Sankaracharya, and others whose characters as believers in one God are well known to the public by their doctrines and works, which are still in circulation, we shall find that these teachers, although they declared their faith in the omnipresent God according to the doctrines of the Vedanta, assigned to every creature the particular character and respect he was entitled to. It is, how-

ever, extremely remarkable, that the very argument which they employ to shew the impossibility of practical conformity to faith in the omnipresence of God, may be alleged against every system of their own idolatry; for the believers in the godhead of Krishna, and the devotees of Kali, as well as the followers of Siva, believe firmly in the omnipresence of Krishna,* Kali,† and Siva,‡ respectively. The authorities, then, for the worship of those gods, in declaring their omnipresence, would according to their own argument, enjoin the worship of every creature as much as of those supposed divinities. Omnipresence, however, is an attribute much more consonant with the idea of a Supreme Being than with that of any fictitious figure to which they pay divine honours! Another argument is, that "No man "can have, as it is said by the Sastra, a desire of knowledge respecting "the Supreme Being, unless his mind be purified; and as idol-worship "purifies men's minds, it should be therefore attended to." I admit the truth of the first part of this argument, as a desire of the acquisition of a knowledge of God is an indication of an improved mind; consequently whenever we see a person possessed of that desire, we should attribute it to some degree of purification; but I must affirm with the Veda, that purity of mind is the consequence of divine worship, and not of any superstitious practices.

The Brihadaranyaka says, "Adore God alone." Again, "Nothing "excepting the Supreme Being should be adored by wise men." "God alone rules the mind and relieves it from impurity."

The last of the principal arguments which are alleged in favour of idolatry is, that it is established by custom. "Let the authors of "the Vedas, Puranas, and Tantras," it is said, "assert what they may "in favour of devotion to the Supreme Being, but idol-worship has "been practised for so many centuries that custom renders it proper "to continue that worship." It is however evident to every one possessed of common sense, that custom or fashion is quite different from divine faith; the latter proceeding from spiritual authorities and correct reasoning, and the former being merely the fruit of vulgar caprice.

What can justify a man, who believes in the inspiration of his religious books, in neglecting the direct authorities of the same

* *Vide* 10th chapter of the Gita.
† *Vide* 23rd text of the 11th chap. of the Devi-mahatmya.
‡ *Vide* Rudra-mahatmya in the Dana-dharma.

works, and subjecting himself entirely to custom and fashion, which are liable to perpetual changes and depend upon popular whim? But it cannot be passed unnoticed that those who practise idolatry and defend it under the shield of custom, have been violating their customs almost every twenty years, for the sake of little convenience, or to promote their worldly advantage: a few instances which are most commonly and publicly practised, I beg leave to state here.

1st. The whole community in Bengal, with very few exceptions, have, since the middle of last century, forsaken their ancient modes of the performance of ceremonial rites of religion, and followed the precepts of the late Raghunandan, and consequently differ in the most essential points of ceremonies from the natives of Behar, Tirhoot, and Benares. *2nd.* The system of their sub-divisions in each caste, with the modes of marriage and intermarriage, is also a modern introduction altogether contrary to their law and ancient customs. *3rd.* The profession of instructing European gentlemen in the Vedas, Smritis and Puranas, is a violation of their long established custom; and, *4th.* The supplying their European guests with wine and victuals in presence of their gods and goddesses is also a direct breach of custom and law. I may conclude this subject with an appeal to the good sense of my countrymen, by asking them, " whose advice appears the most disinterested and most rational—that of those who, concealing your scriptures from you, continually teach you thus, 'Believe whatever we may say—don't examine or even touch your scriptures, neglect entirely your reasoning faculties—do not only consider us, whatever may be our principles, as gods on earth, but humbly adore and propitiate us by sacrificing to us the greater part (if not the whole) of your property:' or that of the man who lays your scriptures and their comments as well as their translations before you, and solicits you to examine their purport, without neglecting the proper and moderate use of reason; and to attend strictly to their directions, by the rational performance of your duty to your sole Creator, and to your fellow-creatures, and also to pay true respect to those who think and act righteously." I hope no one can be so prejudiced as to be unable to discern which advice is most calculated to lead him to the best road to both temporal and eternal happiness.

INTRODUCTION.

The physical powers of man are limited, and when viewed comparatively, sink into insignificance; while in the same ratio, his moral aculties rise in our estimation, as embracing a wide sphere of action, and possessing a capability of almost boundless improvement. If the short duration of human life be contrasted with the great age of the universe, and the limited extent of bodily strength with the many objects to which there is a necessity of applying it, we must necessarily be disposed to entertain but a very humble opinion of our own nature; and nothing perhaps is so well calculated to restore our self-complacency as the contemplation of our more extensive moral powers, together with the highly beneficial objects which the appropriate exercise of them may produce.

On the other hand, sorow and remorse can scarcely fail, sooner or later, to be the portion of him who is conscious of having neglected opportunities of rendering benefit to his fellow-creatures. From considerations like these it has been that I (although born a Brahman, and instructed in my youth in all the principles of that sect), being thoroughly convinced of the lamentable errors of my countrymen, have been stimulated to employ every means in my power to improve their minds, and lead them to the knowledge of a purer system of morality. Living constantly amongst Hindoos of different sects and professions, I have had ample opportunity of observing the superstitious puerilities into which they have been thrown by their self-interested guides, who, in defiance of the law as well as of common sense, have succeeded but too well in conducting them to the temple of idolatry; and while they hid from their view the true substance of morality, have infused into their simple hearts a weak attachment for its mere shadow.

For the chief part of the theory and practice of Hindooism, I am sorry to say, is made to consist in the adoption of a peculiar mode of diet; the least aberration from which (even though the conduct of the offender may in other respects be pure and blameless) is not only visited with the severest censure, but actually punished by exclusion

from the society of his family and friends. In a word, he is doomed to undergo what is commonly called loss of caste.

On the contrary, the rigid observance of this grand article of Hindoo faith is considered in so high a light as to compensate for every moral defect. Even the most atrocious crimes weigh little or nothing in the balance against the supposed guilt of its violation.

Murder, theft, or perjury, though brought home to the party by a judicial sentence, so far from inducing loss of caste, is visited in their society with no peculiar mark of infamy or disgrace.

A trifling present to the Brahman, commonly called *Prayaschit*, with the performance of a few idle ceremonies, are held as a sufficient atonement for all those crimes; and the delinquent is at once freed from all temporal inconvenience, as well as all dread of future retribution.

My reflections upon these solemn truths have been most painful for many years. I have never ceased to contemplate with the strongest feelings of regret, the obstinate adherence of my countrymen to their fatal system of idolatry, inducing, for the sake of propitiating their supposed Deities, the violation of every humane and social feeling. And this in various instances; but more especially in the dreadful acts of self-destruction and the immolation of the nearest relations, under the delusion of conforming to sacred religious rites. I have never ceased, I repeat, to contemplate these practices with the strongest feelings of regret, and to view in them the moral debasement of a race who, I cannot help thinking, are capable of better things; whose susceptibility, patience, and mildness of character, render them worthy of a better destiny. Under these impressions, therefore, I have been impelled to lay before them genuine translations of parts of their scripture, which inculcates not only the enlightened woship of one God, but the purest principles of morality, accompanied with such notices as I deemed requisite to oppose the arguments employed by the Brahmans in defence of their beloved system. Most earnestly do I pray that the whole may, sooner or later, prove efficient in producing on the minds of Hindus in general, a conviction of the rationality of believing in and adoring the Supreme Being only; together with a complete perception and practice of that grand and comprehensive moral principle—*Do unto others as ye would be done by.*

ISA UPANISHAD

OF THE

YAJUR VEDA.

1st. ALL the material extension in this world, whatsoever it may be, should be considered as clothed with the existence of the Supreme regulating spirit: by thus abstracting thy mind *from worldly thoughts*, preserve thyself *from self-sufficiency*, and entertain not a covetous regard for property belonging to any individual.

2nd. Let man desire to live a whole century, practising, in this world, during that time, religious rites, because for such A SELFISH MIND AS THINE, besides the observance of these rites, there is no other mode the practice of which would not subject thee to evils.

3rd. THOSE THAT NEGLECT THE CONTEMPLATION OF THE SUPREME SPIRIT, *either by devoting themselves solely to the performance of the ceremonies of religion, or by living destitute of religious ideas, shall after death*, ASSUME THE STATE OF DEMONS, *such as that of the celestial gods, and of other created beings*, WHICH ARE SURROUNDED WITH THE DARKNESS OF IGNORANCE.

4th. The Supreme Spirit is one and unchangeable: he proceeds more rapidly than the comprehending power of the mind: Him no external sense can apprehend, for a knowledge of him outruns even the internal sense: He though free from motion, seems to advance, leaving behind human intellect, which strives to attain a knowledge respecting him: He being the eternal ruler, the atmosphere regulates under him the whole system of the world.

5th. He, the Supreme Being, seems to move everywhere, although he in reality has no motion; he seems to be distant *from those who have no wish to attain a knowledge respecting him*, and he seems to be near *to those who feel a wish to know him*: but, in fact, He pervades the internal and external parts of this whole universe.

6th. He, who perceives the whole universe in the Supreme Being (*that is, he who perceives that the material existence is merely dependent upon the existence of the Supreme Spirit*); and who also perceives the Supreme Being in the whole universe (*that is, he who perceives that*

the Supreme Spirit extends over all material extension); does not feel contempt *towards any creature whatsoever.*

7th. When a person possessed of true knowledge conceives that God extends over the whole universe (*that is, that God furnishes every particle of the universe with the light of his existence*), how can he, as an observer of the real unity of the pervading Supreme existence, be affected with infatuation or grievance?

8th. He overspreads all creatures: is merely spirit, without the form either of any minute body, or of an extended one, which is liable to impression or organization: He is pure, perfect, omniscient, the ruler of the intellect, omnipresent, and the self-existent: He has from eternity been assigning to all creatures their respective purposes.

9th. Those observers of religious rites that perform only the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men, and the other creatures, without regarding the worship of celestial gods, shall enter into the dark regions: and those practisers of religious ceremonies who habitually worship the celestial gods only, disregarding the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men, and to other creatures, shall enter into a region still darker than the former.

10th. It is said that adoration of the celestial gods produces one consequence; and that the performance of the worship of sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men, and to other creatures, produce another: thus have we heard from learned men who have distinctly explained the subject to us.

11th. Of those observers of ceremonies, whosoever, knowing that the adoration of celestial gods, as well as the worship of the sacred fire, and oblation to sages, to ancestors, to men, and to other creatures, should be observed alike by the same individual, performs them both, will, by means of the latter, surmount the obstacles presented by natural temptations, and will attain the state of the celestial gods through the practice of the former.

12th. Those observers of religious rites who worship Prakriti* alone, shall enter into the dark region: and those practisers of religious ceremonies that are devoted to worship solely the prior operating sensitive particle, allegorically called Brahma, shall enter into a region much more dark than the former.

*Prakriti (or nature) who though insensible, influenced by the Supreme Spirit, operates throughout the universe.

13th. It is said that one consequence may be attained by the worship of Brahma, and another by the adoration of Prakriti. Thus have we heard from learned men who have distinctly explained the subject to us.

14th. Of those observers of ceremonies, whatever person, knowing that the adoration of Prakriti and that of Brahma should be together observed by the same individual, performs them both, will, by means of the latter, overcome indigence, and will attain the state of Prakriti, through the practice of the former.

15th. "Thou hast, O sun," *(says to the sun a person agitated on the approach of death, who during his life attended to the performance of religious rites, neglecting the attainment of a knowledge of God,)* "thou hast, O sun, concealed by thy illuminating body the way to "the true Being, who rules in thee. Take off that veil for the guidance of me thy true devotee."

16th. "O thou" (continues he), "who nourishest the *world*, "movest singly and who dost regulate the *whole mundane* system— "O sun, son of Kasyapa, disperse thy rays for my passage, and with-"draw thy violent light, so that I may by thy grace behold thy most "prosperous aspect." "*Why should I*" *(says he, again retracting himself on reflecting upon the true divine nature)* "*why should I* "*entreat the sun, as* I AM WHAT HE IS," *that is*, "*the Being who rules* "*in the sun rules also in me.*"

17th. "Let my breath," *resumes he*, "be absorbed *after death* "into the wide atmosphere; and let this my body be burnt to ashes. "O my intellect, think *now on what may be beneficial to me.* O fire, "remember what religious rites I have hitherto performed."

18th. "O illuminating fire," *continues he*, "observing all our "religious practices, carry us by the right path to the enjoyment of "the consequence of our deeds, and put an end to our sins; we being "now unable to perform thy various rites, offer to thee our last "salutation."*

*This example from the Vedas, of the unhappy agitation and wavering of an idolater on the approach of death, ought to make men reflect seriously on the miserable consequence of fixing their mind on any other object of adoration but the one Supreme Being.

A TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH OF A SUNSKRIT TRACT,

INCULCATING

THE DIVINE WORSHIP;

ESTEEMED

BY THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN THE REVELATION OF THE VEDS AS MOST APPROPRIATE TO THE NATURE OF

THE SUPREME BEING.

CALCUTTA:

1827.

PRESCRIPT

FOR

OFFERING SUPREME WORSHIP

BY MEANS OF

THE GAYATRI,

THE MOST SACRED TEXT OF THE VEDAS.

THUS says the illustrious Manu: "The three great immutable "words (Bhuh, Bhuvah, Swah, or Earth, Space, Heaven)", preceded by the letter Om;* and also the "Gayatri, consisting of three measured "lines, must be considered as the entrance to divine bliss."†

* Om, when considered as one letter uttered by the help of one articulation, is the symbol of the Supreme Spirit. It is derived from the radical अव् to preserve with the affix मन् "One letter (Om) is the emblem of the most High." --*Manu*, II. 83. "This one letter, Om, is the emblem of the Supreme Being"—*Bhagavadgita.* It is true that this emblem conveys two sounds, that of *o* and of *m*, nevertheless it is held to be one letter in the above sense; and we meet with instances even in the ancient and modern languages of Europe that can justify such privileges, such as Ξ (Xi) and Ψ (Psi) reckoned single letters in Greek, and Q, W, X, in English and others. But when considered as a triliteral word consisting of अ, उ, म, Om implies, the three Vedas, the three states of human nature, the three divisions of the universe, and the three deities, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, agents in the creation, preservation, and destruction of this world; or, properly speaking, the three principal attributes of the Supreme Being personified as Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. In this sense it implies, in fact, the universe controlled by the Supreme Spirit.

In all the Hindoo treatises of philosophy (the Puranas or didactic parables excepted), the methodical collection or expansion of matter is understood by the term creation, the gradual or sudden perversion of order is intended by destruction, and the power which wards off the latter from the former is meant by preservation.

The reason the authors offer for this interpretation is, that they in common with others, are able to acquire a notion of a Superintending Power, though unfelt and invisible, solely through their observation of material phenomena; and that should they reject this medium of conviction, and force upon themselves a belief of the production of matter from nothing, and of its liability to entire annihilation, then nothing would remain in the ordinary course of reasoning to justify their maintaining any longer a notion of that unknown Supreme Superintending Power.

† The last clause admits of another interpretation, viz., "must be considered as the mouth, *or principal part* of the Vedas."

"Whoever shall repeat them day by day, for three years, without "negligence, shall approach the most High God, become *free* as air, "and *acquire after death* an ethereal essence."

"From the three Vedas the most exalted Brahma successively "milked out the three lines of this sacred text, beginning with *the* "*word* Tat and entitled Savitri or Gayatri."

Yogi Yajnavalkya also declares, "By means of Om Bhuh, "Bhuvah, and Swah; and the Gayatri, collectively, or each of the "three singly, the most High God, the source of intellect, should be "worshipped."

So Brahma himself formerly defined Bhuh, Bhuvah, Swah, (Earth, "Space, Heaven) as the body of the Supreme Intelligence; hence "these *three words* are called the Defined."

[Those that maintain the doctrine of the Universe being the body of the Supreme Spirit, found their opinion upon the following considerations :—

1st. That there are innumerable millions of bodies, properly speaking worlds, in the infinity of space.

2ndly. That they move, mutually preserving their regular intervals between each other, and that they maintain each other by producing effects primary or secondary, as the members of the body support each other.

3rdly. That those bodies, when viewed collectively, are considered one, in the same way as the members of an animal body or of a machine, taken together, constitute one whole.

4thly. Any material body whose members move methodically, and afford support to each other in a manner sufficient for their preservation, must be actuated either by an internal guiding power named the soul, or by an external one as impulse.

5thly. It is maintained that body is as infinite as space, because body is found to exist in space as far as our perceptions, with the naked eye or by the aid of instruments, enable us to penetrate.

6thly. If body be infinite as space, the power that guides its members must be internal, and therefore styled the SOUL, and not external, since there can be no existence even in thought without the idea of location.

Hence this sect suppose that the Supreme all-pervading power is the soul of the universe, both* existing from eternity to eternity; and

* The human soul and the Supreme Spirit.—ED.

that the former has somewhat the same influence over the universe as the individual soul has over the individual body.

They argue further, that in proportion as the internally impelled body is excellent in its construction, the directing soul must be considered excellent. Therefore, inasmuch as the universe is infinite in extent, and is arranged with infinite skill, the soul by which it is animated must be infinite in every perfection.]

He (Yajnavalkya) again expounds the meaning of the Gayatri in three passages:

" We, say the adorers of the Most High, meditate on the supreme " and omnipresent internal spirit of this splendid Sun. We meditate " on the same Supreme Spirit, earnestly sought for by such as dread " further mortal birth; who residing in every body as the all-per- " vading soul and controller of the mind, constantly directs our " intellect and intellectual operations towards *the acquisition of* virtue, " wealth, physical enjoyment, and final beatitude."

So, at the end of the Gayatri, the utterance of the letter Om is commanded by the sacred passage cited by Guna-Vishnu: "A " Brahman shall in every instance pronounce Om, at the beginning " and at the end; for unless the letter Om precede, *the desirable* " *consequence* will fail; and unless it follow, it will not be long " retained."

That the letter Om, which is pronounced at the beginning and at the end *of the Gayatri* expressly signifies the Most High, is testified by the Veda: *viz.*, "Thus through the help of Om, you contemplate " the Supreme Spirit." (*Mundaka Upanishad.*)

Manu also calls to mind the purport of the same passage: "And " rites obtained in the Veda, such as oblation to fire and solemn " offerings, pass away; but the letter Om is considered that which " passes not away; since it is *a symbol of* the most High the Lord of " created beings."

" By the sole repetition *of Om and the Gayatri*, a Brahman may " indubitably attain beatitude. Let him perform or not perform any " other religious rites, he being a friend *to all creatures* is styled a " knower of God."

So Yogi Yajnavalkya says: "God is declared to be the object " signified, and Om to be the term signifying: By means of a " knowledge even of the letter Om, the symbol, God becomes propi- " tious."

In the Bhagavadgita: "Om* (the cause), Tat† (that), Sat‡ (existing), "these are considered three kinds of description of the Supreme Being."

In the concluding part of the commentary on the Gayatri by the ancient Bhatta Guna-Vishnu, the meaning of the passage is briefly given by the same author.

"He the spirit who is thus described, guides us. He, as the soul "of the three mansions (*viz.*, earth, space and heaven), of water, light, "moisture, and the individual soul of all moving and fixed objects, "and of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, the sun and other gods of various "descriptions, the Most High God, illuminating, like a brilliant lamp, "the seven mansions, having carried my individual soul, as spirit, to "the seventh heaven, the mansion of the worshippers of God called "the True mansion, the residence of Brahma, absorbs it (my soul), "through his divine spirit, into his own divine essence. The worship-"per, thus contemplating, shall repeat the Gayatri."

Thus it is said by Raghunandan Bhattacharya, a modern expounder of law in the country of Gaur, when interpreting the passage beginning with "Pranava Vyahritibhyam:"§ "By means of pro-"nouncing Om and Bhuh, Bhuvah, Swah,|| and the Gayatri, all "signifying the Most High, and reflecting on their meaning, the "worship of God shall be performed, and his grace enjoyed."

And also in the Maha Nirvana Tantra: "In like manner, among "all texts the Gayatri is declared to be the most excellent: the "worshipper shall repeat it when inwardly pure, reflecting on the "meaning of it. If the Gayatri be repeated with Om and the "Vyahriti (*viz.*, Bhuh, Bhuvah, Swah), it excels all other theistical "knowledge, in producing immediate bliss. Whosoever repeats it in

* "Om" implies the Being on whom all objects, either visible or invisible, depend in their formation, continuance, and change.

† "Tat" implies the Being that can be described only by the demonstrative pronoun "that," and not by any particular definition.

‡ "Sat" implies what "truly exists" in one condition independent of others. These three terms collectively imply, that the object contemplated through "Om" can be described only as "that" which "is existing."

The first term "Om" bears a striking similarity, both in sound and application, to the participle "ων" of the ve rbειμι *to be*, in Greek; and it is therefore not very improbable that one might have had its origin from the other. As to the similarity in sound, it is too obvious to require illustration; and a reference to the Septuagint will shew that ων like "Om" is applied to Jehova the ever existing God. Exodus, iii, 14. "Εγω ειμι ὁ Ων" "ὁ Ων απεσαλκε με πδος ὑμας."

§ प्रणवव्याहृतिभ्याम् || ओं भूः भुवः स्वः

" the morning or evening or during the night, while meditating on " the Supreme Being, being freed from all past sins, shall not be " inclined to act unrighteously. The worshipper shall first pronounce " Om, then the three Vyahritis, and afterwards the Gayatri of three " lines, and shall finish it with the term Om. We meditate on him " from whom proceed the continuance, perishing, and production *of* " *all things* ; who spreads over the three mansions ; that eternal Spirit, " who inwardly rules the sun and all living creatures ; most desirable " and all-pervading ; and who, residing in intellect, directs the opera- " tions of the intellectual power of all of us material beings. The " worshipper, by repeating every day these three texts expressing the " above meaning, attains all desirable objects without any other " religious observance or austerity. 'One only without a second' is " the doctrine maintained by all the Upanishads : that imperishable " and incomprehensible Being is understood by these three texts. " Whoever repeats them once or ten, or a hundred times, either alone " or with many others, attains bliss in a proportionate degree. " After he has completed the repetition, he shall again meditate on " Him who is one only without a second, and all-pervading : thereby " all religious observances, though not performed, shall have been " virtually performed. Any one, whether a householder or not, " whether a Brahman or not, all have equal right to the use of these " texts as found in the Tantra."

Here Om, in the first instance, signifies that Supreme Being who is the sole cause of the continuance, perishing, and production of all worlds. " He from whom these creatures are produced, by whom " those that are produced exist, and to whom after death they return, " is the Supreme Being, whom thou dost seek to know."—The text of the Veda quoted by the revered Sankara Acharya in the Commentary on the first text of the Vedanta Darsana.

The doubt whether or not that cause signified by "Om" exists separately from these effects, having arisen, the second text, Bhuh, Bhuvah, Swah, is next read, explaining that God, the sole cause, eternally exists pervading the universe, " Glorious, invisible, perfect, " unbegotten, pervading all, internally and externally, is He *the Supreme* " *Spirit.*"—*Mundaka Upanishad.*

It being still doubted whether or not living creatures large and small in the world act independently of that sole cause, the Gayatri, as the third in order, is read. " Tat Savitur varenyam, Bhargo

"devasya dhimahi, dhiyo yo nah prachodayat." We meditate on that indescribable spirit inwardly ruling the splendid Sun, the express object *of worship.* He does not only inwardly rule the sun, but he, the spirit, residing in and inwardly ruling all us material beings, directs mental operations towards their objects. "He who inwardly rules the sun is the same immortal spirit who inwardly rules thee."—*Chhandogya Upanishad.* "God resides in the heart of all creatures." —*Bhagavadgita.*

The object signified by the three texts being one, their repetition collectively is enjoined. The following is their meaning in brief :—

"We meditate on the cause of all, pervading all, and internally "ruling all material objects, from the sun down to us and others."

[The following is a literal translation of the Gayatri according to the English idiom : "We meditate on that Supreme Spirit of the splendid sun who directs our understandings."

The passage, however, may be rendered somewhat differently by transferring the demonstrative "that" from the words "Supreme Spirit" to the words "splendid sun." But this does not appear fully to correspond with the above interpretation of Yajnavalkya].

While translating this essay on the Gayatri, I deemed it proper to refer to the meaning of the text as given by Sir William Jones, whose talents, acquisitions, virtuous life, and impartial research, have rendered his memory an object of love and veneration to all. I feel so much delighted by the excellence of the translation, or rather the paraphrase, given by that illustrious character, that with a view to connect his name and his explanation of the passage with this humble treatise, I take the liberty of quoting it here.

The interpretation in question is as follows :—

"THE GAYATRI, OR HOLIEST VERSE OF THE VEDAS."

"Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun,* the god-head † who illuminates all, "who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to "direct our understandings aright in our progress toward his holy seat

* * * *

"What the sun and light are to this visible world, that are the *Supreme good* and *truth* "to the intellectual and invisible universe; and, as our corporeal eyes have a distinct "perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire certain knowledge, "by meditating on the light of truth, which emanates from the Being of beings: "*that* is the light by which alone our minds can be directed in the path to beatitude."

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* Opposed to the visible luminary.

† *Bhargas*, a word consisting of three consonants, derived from *bha*, to shine; *ram*, to delight; *gam*, to move.

A DEFENCE

OF

HINDOO THEISM,

IN REPLY TO THE

ATTACK OF AN ADVOCATE FOR IDOLATRY AT MADRAS.

CALCUTTA:

1817.

A DEFENCE

OF

HINDOO THEISM.*

BEFORE I attempt to reply to the observations that the learned gentleman, who signs himself Sankara Sastri, has offered in his letter of the 26th December last, addressed to the Editor of the *Madras Courier*, on the subject of an article published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, and on my translation of an abridgment of the Vedanta and of the two chapters of the Vedas, I beg to be allowed to express the disappointment I have felt in receiving from a learned Brahman controversial remarks on Hindoo Theology written in a foreign language, as it is the invariable practice of the natives of all provinces of Hindoostan to hold their discussions on such subjects in Sanskrit, which is the learned language common to all of them, and in which they may naturally be expected to convey their ideas with perfect correctness and greater facility than in any foreign tongue : nor need it be alleged that, by adopting this established channel of controversy, the opportunity of appealing to public opinion on the subject must be lost, as a subsequent translation from the Sanskrit into English may sufficiently serve that purpose. The irregularity of this mode of proceeding, however, gives me room to suspect that the letter in question is the production of the pen of an English gentleman, whose liberality, *I suppose*, has induced him to attempt an apology even for the absurd idolatry of his fellow-creatures. If this inference be correct, while I congratulate that gentleman on his progress in a knowledge of the sublime doctrines of the Vedanta, I must, at the same

* "The year 1817 saw further progress of the movement. Rammohun's publications now began to call forth learned and animated replies from the defenders of Hinduism. The *Madras Courier*, in December, 1816, contained a long letter from the head English master in the Madras Government College, Sankara Sastri, controverting Rammohun's views as shown in his writings, and pleading for the worship of Divine attributes as virtual deities. Rammohun reprinted this letter with a masterly reply entitled *A Defence of Hindoo Theism,......*".—Miss Collet's *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 23

time, take the liberty of entreating that he will, for the future, prefer consulting the original works written upon those doctrines, to relying on the second-hand information on the subject, that may be offered him by any person whatsoever.

The learned gentleman commences by objecting to the terms *discoverer* and *reformer*, in which the Editor of the *Calcutta Gazette* was pleased to make mention of me. He states, "That people of "limited understanding, not being able to comprehend the system "of worshipping the invisible Being, have adopted false doctrines, "and by that means confounded weak minds in remote times; but "due punishment was inflicted on those heretics, and religion was "very well established throughout India by the Reverend Sankara-"charya and his disciples, who, however, did not pretend to *reform* "or *discover* them, or assume the title of a *reformer* or *discoverer*." In none of my writings, nor in any verbal discussion, have I ever pretended to reform or to discover the doctrines of the unity God, nor have I ever assumed the title of reformer or discoveror; so far from such an assumption, I have urged in every work that I have hitherto published, that the doctrines of the unity of God are real Hindooism, as that religion was practised by our ancestors, and as it is well-known even at the present age to many learned Brahmans: I beg to repeat a few of the passages to which I allude.

In the introduction to the abridgment of the Vedanta I have said: "In order, therefore, to vindicate my own faith and that of *our fore-"fathers*, I have been endeavouring, for some time past, to convince "my countrymen of the *true meaning of our sacred* books, and prove "that my aberration deserves not the opprobrium which some un-"reflecting persons have been so ready to throw upon me." In another place of the same introduction: "The present is an en-"deavour to render an abridgment of the same (the Vedanta) into "English, by which I expect to prove to my European friends, that "the superstitious practices which deform the Hindoo religion, have "nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates." In the introduction of the Kenopanishad: "This work will, I trust, by explaining to "my countrymen *the real spirit of the Hindoo scriptures which is "but the declaration of the unity of God*, tend in a great degree "to correct the erroneous conceptions which have prevailed with "regard to the doctrines they inculcate;" and in the Preface of the

Isopanishad: "*Many learned Brahmans* are perfectly aware of the "absurdity of idol-worship, and *are well informed of the nature of the* "*pure mode of divine worship.*" A reconsideration of these passages will, I hope, convince the learned gentleman, that I never advanced any claim to the title either of a reformer or of a discoverer of the doctrines of the unity of the Godhead. It is not at all impossible that from the perusal of the translations above alluded to, the Editor of the *Calcutta Gazette*, finding the system of idolatry into which Hindoos are now completely sunk, quite inconsistent with the real spirit of their scriptures, may have imagined that their contents had become entirely forgotten and unknown; and that I was the first to point out the absurdity of idol-worship, and to inculcate the propriety of the pure divine worship, ordained by their Vedas, their Smritis, and their Puranas. From this idea, and from finding in his intercourse with other Hindoos, that I was stigmatized by many, however unjustly, as an *innovator*, he may have been, not unnaturally, misled to apply to me the epithets of discoverer and reformer.

2ndly. The learned gentleman states: "There are an immense "number of books, namely, Vedas, Sastras, Puranas, Agams, Tantras, "Sutras, and Itihas, besides numerous commentaries, compiled by "many famous theologians, both of ancient and modern times, "respecting the doctrines of the worship of the invisible Being. They "are not only written in Sanskrit, but rendered into the Prakrita, "Telugu, Tamil, Gujrati, Hindoostani, Marhatti, and Canari langu- "ges, and immemorially studied by a great part of the Hindu nation, "attached to the adwaitam faith, &c." This statement of the learned gentleman, as far as it is correct, corroborates indeed my assertion with respect to the doctrines of the worship of the inivsible Supreme Spirit being unanimously inculcated by all the Hindoo Sastras, and naturally leads to severe reflctions on the selfishness which must actuate those Brahmanical teachers who, notwithstanding the unanimous authority of the Sastras for the adoption of pure worship, yet, with the view of maintaining the title of God which they arrogate to themselves and of deriving pecuniary and other advantages from the numerous rites and festivals of idol-worship, constanly advance and encourage idolatry to the utmost of their power. I must remark, however, that there is no translation of the Vedas into any of the modern languages of Hindoostan with which I am acquainted, and it is for that reason that I have translated into Bengali the Vedanta, the Kenopanishad of

the Sama Veda, the Isopanishad of the Yajur Veda, &c., with the contents of which none but the learned among my countrymen were at all acquainted.

3rdly. The learned gentleman states, that the translations of the scripture into the vulgar language are rejected by some people; and he assigns as reasons for their so doing, that "if the reader of them doubts "the truth of the principles explained in the translation, the divine "knowledge he acquired by them becomes a doubtful faith, and "that doubt cannot be removed unless he compare them with the "original work: in that case, the knowledge he lastly acquired be- "comes superior, and his study, in the first instance, becomes useless "and the cause of repeating the same work." When a translation of a work written in a foreign tongue is made by a person at all acquainted with that language into his native tongue, and the same translation is sanctioned and approved of by many natives of the same country, who are perfectly conversant with that foreign language, the translation, I presume, may be received with confidence as a satisfactory interpretation of the original work, both by the vulgar and by men of literature.

It must not be supposed, however, that I am inclined to assert that there is not the least room to doubt the accuracy of such a translation; because the meaning of authors, even in the original works, is very frequently dubious, especially in a language like Sanskrit, every sentence of which, almost, admits of being explained in different senses. But should the possibility of errors in every translation be admitted as reason for withholding all confidence in their contents, such a rule would shake our belief, not only in the principles explained in the translation of the Vedanta into the current language, but also in all information respecting foreign history and theology obtained by means of translations: in that case, we must either learn all the languages that are spoken by the different nations in the world, to acquire a knowledge of their histories and religions, or be content to know nothing of any country besides our own. The second reason which the learned gentleman assigns for their objection to the translation is, that "Reading the scripture in the vulgar languages is prohibited by the Puranas." I have not yet met with any text of any Puranas which prohibit the explanation of the scripture in the vulgar tongue; on the contrary, the Puranas allow that practice very frequently. I repeat one of these declarations from the Siva Dharma,

quoted by the great Raghunandana. "He who can interpret, according "to the ratio of the understanding of his pupils, through Sanskrit, or "through the vulgar languages, or by means of the current language "of the country, is entitled, spiritual father." Moreover, in every part of Hindoostan all professors of the Sanskrit language instructing beginners in the Vedas, Puranas, and in other Sastras, interpret them in the vulgar languages; especially spiritual fathers in the exposition of those parts of the Vedas and Puranas, which allegorically introduce a plurality of gods and idol-worship, doctrines which tend so much to their own worldly advantage.

The learred gentleman states, that "The first part of the Veda "prescribes the mode of performing *yagam* or sacrifice, bestowing "*danam* or alms; treats of penance, fasting, and of worshipping the "incarnations, in which the Supreme Deity has appeared on the "earth for divine purposes. The ceremonies performed according "to these modes, forsaking their fruits, are affirmed by the Vedas to "be mental exercises and mental purifications necessary to obtain "the knowledge of the divine nature." I, in common with the Vedas and the Vedanta, and Manu (the first and best of Hindoo lawgivers) as well as with the most celebrated Sankaracharya, deny these ceremonies being necessary to obtain the knowledge of the divine nature, as the Vedanta positively declares, in text 36, section 4th, chapter 3rd: "Man may acquire the true knowledge of God, even without observ-"ing the rules and rites prescribed by the Veda for each class: as it "is found in the Veda that many persons who neglected the perform-"ance of the rites and ceremonies, owing to their perpetual attention "to the adoration of the Supreme Being, acquired the true knowledge "respecting the Supreme Spirit." The Veda says: "Many learned "true believers never worshipped fire, or any celestial gods through "fire." And also the Vedanta asserts, in the 1st text of the 3rd section "of the 3rd chapter: The worship authorized by all the Vedas is "one, as the directions for the worship of the only Supreme Being are "invariably found in the Veda, and the epithets of the Supreme and "Omnipresent Being, &c., commonly imply God alone." Manu, as I have elsewhere quoted, thus declares on the same point, chapter 12th, text 92nd: "Thus must the chief of the twice-born, though he neglect "the ceremonial rites mentioned in the Sastra, be diligent in attaining "a knowledge of God, in controlling his organs of sense, and in "repeating the Veda." Again, chapter 4th, text 23rd: "Some constantly

"sacrifice their breath in their speech, *when they instruct others of* "*God aloud*, and their speech in their breath, *when they meditate in* "*silence*; perceiving in their speech and breath thus employed, the imperishable fruit of a sacrificial offering." 24th: "Other Brahmans "incessantly perform those sacrifices only, seeing with the eye of "divine learning, that the scriptural knowledge is the root of every ceremonial observance." And also the same author declares in chapter 2nd, text 84: "All rites ordained in the Veda, oblations to fire "and solemn sacrifices, pass away; but that which passes not away "is declared to be the syllable Om, thence called Akshara since it "is a symbol of God, the Lord of created beings."

5thly. The learned gentleman states, that "the difficulty of "attaining a knowledge of the Invisible and Almighty Spirit is "evident from the preceding verses." I agree with him in that point, that the attainment of perfect knowledge of the nature of the God-head is certainly difficult, or rather impossible; but to read the existence of the Almighty Being in his works of nature, is not, I will dare to say, so difficult to the mind of a man possessed of common sense, and unfettered by prejudice, as to conceive artificial images to be possessed, at once, of the opposite natures of human and divine beings, which idolaters constantly ascribe to their idols, strangely believing that things so *constructed* can be converted by ceremonies into *constructors* of the universe.

6thly. The learned gentleman objects to our introducing songs, although expressing only the peculiar tenets of monotheism, and says: "But the holding of meetings, playing music, singing songs, and "dancing, which are ranked among carnal pleasures, are not ordained "by scripture, as mental purification." The practice of dancing in divine worship, I agree, is not ordained by the scripture, and accordingly never was introduced in our worship; any mention of dancing in the *Calcutta Gazette* must, therefore, have proceeded from misinformation of the Editor. But respecting the propriety of introducing monotheistical songs in the divine worship, I beg leave to refer the gentleman to texts 114th and 115th of the 3rd chapter of Yajnavalkya, who authorizes not only scriptural music in divine contemplation, but also the songs that are composed by the vulgar. It is also evident that any interesting idea is calculated to make more impression upon the mind, when conveyed in musical verses, than when delivered in the form of common conversation.

7thly. The learned gentleman says: "All the Brahmans in this "peninsula are studying the same Vedam as are read in the other "parts of the country; but I do not recollect to have read or heard "of one treating on astronomy, medicine, or arms: the first is indeed "an angam of the Vedam, but the two latter are taught in separate "Sastras."—in answer to which I beg to be allowed to refer the gentleman to the following text of the Nirvana: "The Vedas, while "talking of planets, botany, austere duties, arms, rites, natural con-"sequences, and several other subjects, are purified by the inculcation "of the doctrines of the Supreme Spirit." And also to the latter end of the Mahanirvana agam.

From the perusal of these texts, I trust, he will be convinced that the Vedas not only treat of astronomy, medicine, and arms, but also of morality and natural philosophy, and that all arts and sciences that are treated of in other Sastras, were originally introduced by the Vedas: see also Manu, chapter 12, verses 97 and 98. I cannot of course be expected to be answerable for Brahmans neglecting entirely the study of the scientific parts of the Veda, and putting in practice, and promulgating to the utmost of their power, that part of them which, treating of rites and festivals, is justly considered as the source of their worldly advantages and support of their alleged divinity.

8thly. I observe, that on the following statement in my Introduction to the Kenopanishad, *viz.*, "Should this explanation given by "the Veda itself, as well as by its celebrated commentator, Vyasa, "not be allowed to reconcile those passages which are seemingly at "variance with each other, as those that declare the unity of the "invisible Supreme Being, with others which describe a plurality of "independent visible gods, the whole work must, I am afraid, not "only be stripped of its authority, but looked upon as altogether "unintelligible," the learned gentleman has remarked that "To say "the least of this passage, RAM MOHUN ROY appears quite as willing "to abandon as to defend the Scripture of his Religion."

In the foregoing paragraph, however, I did no more than logically confine the case to two points, *viz.*, that the explanation of the Veda and of its commentators must either be admitted as sufficiently reconciling the apparent contradictions between different passages of the Veda or must not be admitted. In the latter case, the Veda must necessarily be supposed to be inconsistent with itself, and therefore altogether unintelligible, which is directly contrary to the

faith of Hindus of every description; consequently they must admit that those explanations do sufficiently reconcile the seeming contradictions between the chapters of the Vedas.

9thly. The learned gentleman says that "Their (the attributes "and incarnations) worship under various representations, by means "of consecrated objects, is prescribed by the scripture to the human "race, by way of mental exercises," &c. I cannot admit that the worship of these attributes under various representations, by means of consecrated objects, has been prescribed by the Veda to the HUMAN RACE; as this kind of worship of consecrated objects is enjoined by the Sastra to those only who are incapable of raising their minds to the notion of an invisible Supreme Being. I have quoted several authorities for this assertion in my Preface to the Isopanishad, and beg to repeat here one or two of them: "The vulgar look for their God in "water; men of more extended knowledge in celestial bodies; the "ignorant in wood, bricks, and stones; but learned men in the "Universal Soul." "Thus corresponding to the nature of different "powers or qualities, numerous figures have been invented for the "benefit of those *who are not possessed of sufficient understanding.*" Permit me in this instance to ask, whether every Mussulman in Turkey and Arabia, from the highest to the lowest, every Protestant Christian at least of Europe, and many followers of Kabir and Nanak, do worship God without the assistance of consecrated objects? If so, how can we suppose that the human race is not capable of adoring the Supreme Being without the puerile practice of having recourse to visible objects?

10thly. The learned gentleman is of opinion that the attributes of God exist distinctly from God and he compares the relation between God and these attributes to that of a king to his ministers, as he says: "If a person be desirous to visit an earthly prince, he "ought to be introduced in the first instance by his ministers," &c.; and "in like manner the grace of God ought to be obtained by "the grace through the worship of his attributes." This opinion, I am extremely sorry to find, is directly contrary to all the Vedanta doctrines interpreted to us by the most revered Sankaracharya, which are real adwaita or non-duality; they affirm that God has no second that may be possessed of eternal existence, either of the same nature with himself or of a different nature from him, nor any second of that nature that might be called either his part or his

quality. The 16th text of the 2nd section of the 3rd chapter: "The "Veda has declared the Supreme Being to be mere understanding." The Veda says; "God is real existence, wisdom and eternity." The Veda very often calls the Supreme Existence by the epithets of Existent, Wise, and Eternal; and assigns as the reason for adopting such epithets, that the Veda in the first instance speaks of God according to the human idea, which views quality separately from person, in order to facilitate our comprehension of objects. In case these attributes should be supposed, as the learned gentleman asserts, to be separate existences, it necessarily follows, that they must be either eternal or non-eternal. The former case, *viz.* the existence of a plurality of beings imbued like God himself with the property of eternal duration, strikes immediately at the root of all the doctrines relative to the unity of the Supreme Being contained in the Vedanta. By the latter sentiment, namely, that the power and attributes of God are not eternal, we are led at once into the belief that the nature of God is susceptible of change, and consequently that He is not eternal, which makes no inconsiderable step towards atheism itself. These are the obvious and dangerous consequences, resulting from the learned gentleman's doctrine, that the attributes of the Supreme Being are distinct existences. I am quite at a loss to know how these attributes of the pure and perfect Supreme Being (as the learned gentleman declares them to exist really and separately, and not fictitiously and allegorically,) can be so sensual and destitute of morality as the creating attribute or Brahma is said to be by the Puranas, which represent him in one instance as attempting to commit a rape upon his own daughter. The protecting attribute, or Vishnu, is in another place affirmed to have fraudulently violated the chastity of Brinda, in order to kill her husband. Siva, the destroying attribute, is said to have had a criminal attachment to Mohini, disregarding all ideas of decency. And a thousand similar examples must be familiar to every reader of the Puranas. I should be obliged by the learned gentleman's showing how the contemplation of such circumstances, which are constantly related by the worshippers of these attributes, even in their sermons, can be instrumental towards the purification of the mind, conducive to morality, and productive of eternal beatitude. Besides, though the learned gentleman in this instance considers these attributes to be separate existences, yet in another place he seems to view them as parts of the Supreme Being,

as he says: "If one part of the ocean be adored, the ocean is adored." I am somewhat at a loss to understand how the learned gentleman proposes to reconcile this apparent contradiction. I must observe, however, in this place, that the comparison drawn between the relation of God and those attributes, and that of a king and his ministers, is totally inconsistent with the faith entertained by Hindoos of the present day; who, so far from considering these objects of worship as mere instruments by which they may arrive at the power of contemplating the God of nature, regard them in the light of independent gods, to each of whom, however absurdly, they attribute almighty power, and a claim to worship, solely on his own account.

11thly. The learned gentleman is dissatisfied with the objection mentioned in my translation to worshipping these fictitious representations, and remarks, that "the objections to worshipping the attributes are not satisfactorily stated by the author." I consequently repeat the following authorities, which I hope may answer my purpose. The following are the declarations of the Veda; "He "who worships any God excepting the Supreme Being, and thinks "that he himself is distinct and inferior to that God, knows nothing, "and is considered as a domestic beast of these gods." "A state "even so high as that of Brahma does not afford real bliss." "Adore "God alone." "None but the Supreme Being is to be worshipped; "nothing excepting him should be adored by a wise man." I repeat also the following text of the Vedanta: "The declaration of the "Veda, that those that worship the celestial gods are the food of "such gods, is an allegorical expression, and only means, that they are "comforts to the celestial gods as food to mankind; for he who has "no faith in the Supreme Being is rendered subject to these gods. "The Veda affirms the same."

And the revered Sankaracharya has frequently declared the state of celestial gods to be that of demons, in the Bhashya of the Isopanishad and of others.

To these authorities a thousand others might be added. But should the learned gentleman require some practical grounds for objecting to the idolatrous worship of the Hindoos, I can be at no loss to give him numberless instances, where the ceremonies that have been instituted under the pretext of honouring the all-perfect Author of Nature, are of a tendency utterly subversive of every moral principle.

I begin with Krishna as the most adored of the incarnations, the number of whose devotees is exceedingly great. His worship is made to consist in the institution of his image or picture, accompanied by one or more females, and in the contemplation of his history and behaviour, such as his perpetration of murder upon a female of the name of Putana; his compelling a great number of married and unmarried women to stand before him denuded; his debauching them and several others, to the mortal affliction of their husbands and relations; his annoying them, by violating the laws of cleanliness and other facts of the same nature. The grossness of his worship does not find a limit here. His devotees very often personify (in the same manner as European actors upon stages do) him and his female companions, dancing with indecent gestures, and singing songs relative to his love and debaucheries. It is impossible to explain in language fit to meet the public eye, the mode in which Mahadeva, or the destroying attribute, is worshipped by the generality of the Hindoos: suffice it to say, that it is altogether congenial with the indecent nature of the image, under whose form he is most commonly adored.

The stories respecting him which are read by his devotees in the Tantras, are of a nature that, if told of any man, would be offensive to the ears of the most abandoned of either sex. In the worship of Kali, human sacrifices, the use of wine, criminal intercourse, and licentious songs are included: the first of these practices has become generally extinct; but it is believed that there are parts of the country where human victims are still offered.

Debauchery, however, universally forms the principal part of the worship of her followers. Nigam and other Tantras may satisfy every reader of the horrible tenets of the worshippers of the two latter deities. The modes of worship of almost all the inferior deities are pretty much the same. Having so far explained the nature of worship adopted by Hindoos in general, for the propitiation of their allegorical attributes, in direct opposition to the mode of pure divine worship inculcated by the Vedas, I cannot but entertain a strong hope that the learned gentleman, who ranks even monotheistical songs among carnal pleasures, and consequently rejects their admittance in worship, will no longer stand forward as an advocte for the worship of separate and independent attributes and incarnations.

12thly. The learned gentleman says, " that the Saviour, " meaning Christ, " should be considered a personification of the mercy and kindness of God (I mean actual not allegorical personification)." From the little knowledge I had acquired of the tenets of Christians and those of anti-Christians, I thought there were only three prevailing opinions respecting the nature of Christ, *viz.*, that he was considered by some as the expounder of the laws of God, and the mediator between God and man; by many to be one of the three mysterious persons of the Godhead; whilst others, such as the Jews, say that he was a mere man. But to consider Christ as a personification of the mercy of God is, if I mistake not, a new doctrine in Christianity, the discussion of which, however, has no connexion with the present subject. I, however, must observe that this opinion, which the learned gentleman has formed of Christ being a personification of the mercy of God, is similar to that entertained by Mussulmans, for a period of upwards of a thousand years, respecting Mohummud, whom they call the mercy of God upon all his creatures. The learned gentleman, in the conclusion of his observations, has left, as he says, the doctrines of pure allegory to me. It would have been more consistent with justice had he left pure allegory also to the Vedas, which declare, " appellations and figures of all kinds are innovations," and which have allegorically represented God in the figure of the universe: " Fire is his head, the sun and the moon are his two eyes," &c.; and which have also represented all human internal qualities by different earthly objects; and also to Vyasa who has strictly followed the Vedas in these figurative representations, and to Sankaracharya, who also adopted the mode of allegory in his Bhashya of the Vedanta and of the Upanishads.

A SECOND DEFENCE OF THE MONOTHEISTICAL SYSTEM OF THE VEDS;

IN REPLY TO

AN APOLOGY FOR THE PRESENT STATE OF HINDOO WORSHIP.

CALCUTTA:

1817.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Two publications only have yet appeared with the professed object of defending Hindoo idolatry against the arguments which I have adduced from the Vedanta and other sacred authorities, in proof of the erroneousness of that system. To the first, which appeared in a Madras journal, my reply has been for some time before the public. The second, which is the object of the present answer, and is supposed to be the production of a learned Brahman* now residing in Calcutta, was printed both in Bengali and in English; and I have therefore been under the necessity of preparing a reply in both of those languages. That which was intended for the perusal of my countrymen, issued from the press a few weeks ago. For my European readers I have thought it advisable to make some additional remarks to those contained in the Bengali publication, which I hope will tend to make my arguments more clear and intelligible to them than a bare translation would do.

* "Another defender of Hinduism appeared some months later in the head Pandit of the Government College at Calcutta, Mrityunjaya Vidyalankar, who published a tract entitled *Vedanta Chandrika*"—Miss Collet's *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, p 23.

A

SECOND DEFENCE.

&c. &c.

THE learned Brahman, in his defence of idolatry, thus begins: "Let it not be supposed that the following treatise has been written "with a view to refute the doctrines of those assuming inventors and "self-interested moderns," &c. "It is solely with the intention of "expressing the true meaning of these authorities that this brief "treatise has been composed;" and he thus concludes: "The Vedanta "Chandrika, or lunar light of the Vedanta, has thus been made "apparent, and thus the glow-worm's light has been eclipsed." It is very much to be feared that, from the perusal of this treatise, called the lunar light of the Vedanta, but filled up with* satirical fables,† abusive expressions, and contradictory assertions, sometimes admitting monotheism, but at the same time blending with it and defending polytheism,‡ those foreign gentlemen, as well as those natives of this country who are not acquainted with the real tenets of the Vedanta, might on a superficial view form a very unfavourable opinion of that theology, which, however, treats with perfect consistency of the unity and universality of the Supreme Being, and forbids, positively, treating with contempt or behaving ill towards any creature whatsoever.

As to the satire § and abuse, neither my education permits any return by means of similar language, nor does the system of my religion admit even a desire of unbecoming retaliation: situated as I am, I must bear them tranquilly.

Besides, a sect of people who are apt to make use of the most foul language, when they feel angry with their supposed deities,|| cannot

* P. 1, l. 26; p. 2, l. 17; pp. 19 and 20, margin.
† P. 1; p. 3, l. 9; p. 8, l. 17; p. 38, l. 14; p. 48, l. 19, &c. &c.
‡ P. 13, l. 14.
§ Vide the "Apology," passim.
|| As may be observed when at the annual festival of Jagannath, the car in which he is conveyed happens to be impeded in its progress by any unseen obstacle. In this case, the difficulty is supposed to be occasioned by the malicious opposition of that god, on whom the most gross abuse is liberally bestowed by his devotees.

of course be expected, when irritated with contradiction, to pay due attention, unless checked by fear, to the propriety of the use of decent expressions, either in common conversation or in religious controversy.

The total sum of the arguments, set forth as far as page 13, of the translation of this treatise (however inconsistent they are with each other), seems intended to prove that faith in the Supreme Being, when united with moral works, leads men to eternal happiness.

This doctrine, I am happy to observe, strongly corroborates every assertion that I have made in my translation, a few paragraphs of which I beg leave to repeat here for the satisfaction of my readers. In the abridgment of the Vedanta, page 14: "The Vedanta shews "that moral principle is a part of the adoration of God, *viz.*, a com- "mand over passions and over the external senses of the body, and "good acts are declared by the Veda to be indispensable in the mind's "approximation to God; they should therefore be strictly taken care "of, and attended to both previously and subsequently to such approxi- "mation to the Supreme Being; that is to say, we should not indulge "our evil propensities, but should endeavour to have entire control "over them: reliance on, and self-resignation to the only true Being, "with an aversion to worldly considerations, are included in the good "acts above alluded to." In the introduction to the *Isopanishad* (page 74): "Under these impressions, therefore, I have been impelled "to lay before them genuine translations of parts of their scriptures, "which inculcate not only the enlightened worship of One God, but "the purest principles of morality." But the learned Brahman asserts, in two instances, among arguments above noticed, that the worship of a favoured deity and that of an image are also considered to be acts of morality. The absurdity of this assertion will be shown afterwards, in considering the subject of idol-worship. To English readers, however, it may be proper to remark, that the Sanskrit word which signifies *works*, is not to be understood in the same sense as that which it implies in Christian theology, when works are opposed *to faith. Christians understand by works, actions of moral merit, whereas Hindus use the term in their theology only to denote reli*gious rites and ceremonies prescribed by Hindu lawgivers, which are often irreconcilable with the commonly received maxims of moral duty; as, for instance, the crime of suicide prescribed to widows by Angira, and to pilgrims at holy places by the *Narasinha* and *Kurma*

Puranas. I do not, therefore, admit that works, taken in the latter sense (that is, the different religious acts prescribed by the Sastra to the different classes of Hindus respectively) are necessary to attain divine faith, or that they are indispensable accompaniments of holy knowledge; for the Vedanta in chapter 3rd, section 4th, text 37th, positively declares that the true knowledge of God may be acquired without observing the rules and rites prescribed by the Sastra to each class of Hindus; and also, examples are frequently found in the Veda of persons, who, though they neglected the performance of religious rites and ceremonies, attained divine knowledge and absorption by control over their passions and senses, and by contemplation of the Ruler of the universe. Manu, the first and chief of all Hindu lawgivers, confirms the same doctrines in describing the duties of laymen, in the texts 22nd, 23rd and 24th of the 4th chapter of his work; and in the Bhashya, or commentaries on the Isopanishad, and on the other Upanishads of the Vedas, the illustrious Sankaracharya declared the attainment of faith in God, and the adoration of the Supreme Being, to be entirely independent of Brahmanical ceremonies; and the Veda affirms that "many learned true "believers never worshipped fire, nor any celestial god through fire." The learned Brahman, although he has acknowledged himself, in p. 9th, line 6th, of his treatise, that, "in the opinion of Sankara-"charya the attainment of absorption does not depend on works of "merit" (or, properly speaking, on religious rites), yet forgetting the obedience he has expressed to be due to the instruction* of that celebrated commentator, has immediately contradicted his opinion, when he says in p. 9, l. 9: "It has also been ascertained that acts of merit (Brahmanical rites) must be performed previously to the attainment of "divine knowledge;" for, if divine knowledge were to be dependent on the observance of Brahmanical rites, and absorption dependent on divine knowledge, it would follow necessarily that absorption would depend on Brahmanical rites, which is directly contrary to the opinion of the commentator quoted by the learned Brahman himself.

Moreover, the learned Brahman at first states (p. 11, l. 12) that "*in the ancient writers we read that a knowledge of Brahma or "holy knowledge, is independent of acts*" (*religious rites*); but he again contradicts this statement, and endeavours to explain it

* P. 3, l. 14.

away (p. 11, l. 24): "Thus when the Sastras state that absorption "may be attained even though the sacrificial fires be neglected, "the praise of that holy knowledge is intended, but *not* the deprecia- "tion of meritorious acts" (Brahmanical rites). Here he chooses to accuse his scripture, and ancient holy writers, of exaggerated and extravagant praise of holy knowledge, rather than that the least shock should be given by their authority to the structure of paganism and idolatry. From this instance, the public may perceive how zealous the learned Brahman and his brethren are, in respect to the preservation of their fertile estate of idolatry, when they are willing to sacrifice to it even their own scriptural authorities.

Upon a full perusal of the treatise, it appears that the arguments employed by the learned Brahman have no other object than to support the weak system of idol-worship, inasmuch as he repeatedly declares, that the adoration of 330,000,000 dieties, especially the principal ones, such as Siva, Vishnu, Kali, Ganesa, the Sun and others, through their several images, has been enjoined by the Sastras, and sanctioned by custom. I am not a little surprised to observe, that after having perused my Preface to the *Isopanishad* in Bengali (of which during the last twelve months I have distributed nearly five hundred copies amongst all descriptions of Hindoos), the learned Brahman has offered no objection to what I have therein asserted, relative to the reason assigned by the same Sastras, as well for the injunction to worship these figured beings, as for the general prevalence of idol-worship in this country.

In that work, I admitted that the worship of these deities was directed by the Sastra; but, at the same time, I proved by their own authority, that this was merely a concession made to the limited faculties of the vulgar, with the view of remedying, in some degree, the misfortune of their being incapable of comprehending and adopting the spiritual worship of the true God. Thus, in the aforesaid Preface, I remarked: "For they (the "Puranas, Tantras, &c.) repeatedly declare God to be one, and above "the apprehension of the external and internal senses. They indeed "expressly declare the divinity of many gods and the mode of "their worship: but they reconcile those contradicting assertions "by affirming frequently, that the directions to worship any celes- "tial beings are only applicable to those who are incapable of "elevating their minds to the idea of an invisible being." And, with

the view to remove every doubt as to the correctness of my assertion, I at the same time quoted the most unquestionable authorities, a few of which I shall here repeat. "Thus corresponding to the natures of "different powers and qualities, numerous figures have been invented "for the benefit of those who are not possessed of sufficient under-"standing." "The vulgar look for their gods in water; men of more "extended knowledge, in celestial bodies; the ignorant, in wood, "bricks, and stones; but learned men in the Universal Soul.". "It is "impossible for those who consider pilgrimage as devotion, and be-"lieve that the divine nature exists in the image, to look up to, com-"municate with, to petition, and to serve true believers in God,"

Such indeed is the prevalent nature of truth, that when to dispute it is impossible, the learned Brahman has not been always successful in concealing it, even when the admission is most fatal to his own argument. In p. 28, l. 34, he says: "But to those it is enjoined "who, from a *defective understanding*, do not perceive that God "exists in every thing, that they should worship him through the "medium of some created object." In making this acknowledgment, the learned Brahman has confirmed the correctness of all my assertions; though the evident conclusion is, that he and all his followers must either immediately give up all pretensions to understanding, or forsake idolatry.

In my former tract, I not only proved that the adoration of the Supreme Being in spirit was prescribed by the Veda to men of understanding, and the worship of the celestial bodies and their images to the ignorant, but I also asserted that the Veda actually prohibited the worship of any kind of figured beings by men of intellect and education. A few of the passages quoted by me in my former publication, on which this assertion rests, I also beg leave to repeat.

"He who worships any God except the Supreme Being, and thinks "that he himself is distinct and inferior to that God, knows nothing, "and is considered a domestic beast of these gods." "A state even "so high as that of Brahma, does not afford real bliss." "Adore God "alone. None but the Supreme Being is to be worshipped; nothing "excepting him should be adored by a wise man." I repeat also the following text of the Vedanta: "The declaration of the Veda, that "those that worship the celestial gods are the food of such gods, is "an allegorical expression, and only means that they are comforts to "the celestial gods, as food to mankind; for he who has no faith in the

"Supreme Being, is rendered subject to these gods; the Veda affirms "the same." No reply therefore is, I presume, required of me to the arguments adduced by the learned Brahman in his treatise for idol-worship; except that I should offer some additional authorities, confirming exclusively the rational worship of the true God, and prohibiting the worship of the celestial figures and their images. I beg leave accordingly to quote, in the first instance, a few texts of the Veda: "Men may acquire eternal beatitude, by obtaining a knowledge of the Supreme Being alone; *there is no other way* to salvation."* "To those that acquire a knowledge of Him, the Ruler of the intellec-"tual power, who is eternal amidst the perishable universe, and is the "source of sensation among all animate existences, and who alone "assigns to so many objects their respective purposes, everlasting "beatitude is allotted; but not to those who are not possessed of that knowledge."† And in the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th texts of the *Kenopanishad*, the Veda has, five times successively, denied the divinity of any specific being which men in general worship; and has affirmed the divinity of that Being solely, who is beyond description and comprehension, and out of the reach of the power of vision, and of the sense of hearing or of smelling. The most celebrated Sankaracharya, in his commentary upon these texts, states that, lest people should suppose Vishnu, Mahadeva, Pavana, Indra, or any other, to be a supreme spirit, the Veda in this passage disavows positively the divinity of all of them. Again, the Veda says: "Those that neglect the contemplation of the Supreme Spirit, *either* "*by devoting themselves solely to the performance of the ceremonies* "*of religion, or by living destitute of religious ideas*, shall, after death, "assume the state of demons, *such as that of the celestial gods, and of* "*other created beings*, which are surrounded with the darkness of "ignorance."‡ It will not, I hope, be supposed inconsistent with the subject in question to mention in this place in what manner the Vedanta treats of these celestial gods, and how the Veda classes them among the other beings. The Vedanta (ch. 1st, s. 3rd, t. 26th) has the following passage: "Vyasa affirms that it is prescribed also to celestial "gods and heavenly beings to attain a knowledge of the Supreme "Being, because a desire of absorption is *equally* possible for them." And the Veda, in the *Mundaka Upanishad*, thus declares: "From

* Sukta. † Katha. ‡ Isopanishad.

"Him who knows all things generally and particularly, and who only "by his omniscience *created the universe*, Brahma, and whatever "bears appellation, and figure as well as food, all are produced." "From Him (the Supreme Being) celestial gods* of many descriptions, "Siddhas or beings next to celestial gods, mankind, beasts, birds, life, "wheat, and barley, all are produced." In the *Devi Mahatmya*, a work which is as much in circulation among the Hindoos as their daily prayerbook,† (ch. 1st, t. 66th) the creation of Vishnu, Brahma, and Mahadeva, is most distinctly affirmed.

Manu, the best of all the commentators of the Vedas, says (chap. 12th, text 85th): "Of all those duties, answered Bhrigu, the principal "is to acquire *from the Upanishad* a true knowledge of the one Supreme "Spirit, that is, the most exalted of all sciences, because through that "knowledge eternal beatitude is obtained." And the same author, in the conclusion of his work on rites and ceremonies, thus directs (t. 92nd, ch. 12th): "Thus must the chief of the twice-born, though he neglect "the ceremonial rites mentioned in the Sastras, be diligent in attaining "a knowledge of God, in controlling his organs of sense, and in repeat- "ing the Veda" In the *Kularnava*, "absorption is not to be effected "by the studies of the Vedas nor by the reading of other Sastras: "absorption is effected by a true knowledge of the Supreme Being. "O! Parvati, except that knowledge there is no other way to "absorption." "Caste or religious order belonging to each sect, is "not calculated to be the cause of eternal beatitude, nor is the study "of Darsanas or any other Sastras, sufficient to produce absorption: "a knowledge of the Supreme Spirit is alone the cause of eternal "beatitude." Mahanirvana: "He who believes that from the highest "state of Brahma to the lowest state of a straw, all are delusions, and "that the one Supreme Spirit is the only true being, attains beatitude." "Those who believe that the divine nature exists in any image made "of earth, stones, metal, wood, or of other materials, reap only dis- "tress by their austerities; but they cannot, without a knowledge of "the Supreme Spirit, acquire absorption."

* The Veda, having in the first instance personified all the attributes and powers of the Deity, and also the celestial bodies and natural elements, does, in conformity to this idea of personification, treat of them in the subsequent passages as if they were real beings, ascribing to them birth, animation, senses, and accidents, as well as liability to annihilation.

† Puja Patal.

I am really sorry to observe that, notwithstanding these authorities and a thousand others of a similar nature, the learned Brahman appears altogether unimpressed by the luminous manner in which they inculcate the sublime simple spiritual belief in, and worship of, one God, and that, on the contrary, he should manifest so much zeal in leading people into an idolatrous belief in the divinity of created and perishable beings.

Idolatry, as now practised by our countrymen, and which the learned Brahman so zealously supports as conducive to morality, is not only rejected by the Sastras universally, but must also be looked upon with great horror by common sense, as leading directly to immorality and destructive of social comforts. For every Hindoo who devotes himself to this absurd worship, constructs for that purpose a couple of male and female idols, sometimes indecent in form, as representatives of his favourite deities; he is taught and enjoined from his infancy to contemplate and repeat the history of these, as well as of their fellow-deities, though the actions ascribed to them be only a continued series of debauchery, sensuality, falsehood, ingratitude, breach of trust, and treachery to friends.* There can be but one opinion respecting the moral conduct to be expected of a person, who has been brought up with sentiments of reverence to such beings, who refreshes his memory relative to them almost every day, and who has been persuaded to believe, that a repetition of the *holy name* of one of these deities,† or a trifling present to his image or to his devotee, is sufficient, not only to purify and free him from all crimes whatsoever, but to procure to him future beatitude.

As to the custom or practice to which the learned Brahman so often refers in defence of idolatry, I have already, I presume, explained in the Preface of the *Isopanishad*, the accidental circumstances which have caused idol-worship to flourish throughout the greater part of India; but, as the learned Brahman has not condescended to notice any of my remarks on this subject, I beg leave to repeat here a part of them.

" Many learned Brahmans are perfectly aware of the absurdity of " idolatry, and are well informed of the nature of the pure mode of " divine worship; but as in the rites, ceremonies, and festivals of " idolatry they find the source of their comforts and fortune, they

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* *Vide* Note at the end.

† *Vide* note at the end.

"not only never fail to protect idol-worship from all attacks, but "even advance and encourage it to the utmost of their power, by "keeping the knowledge of their scriptures concealed from the rest "of the people." And again: "It is, however, evident to every one "possessed of common sense, that custom or fashion is quite different "from divine faith; the latter proceeding from spiritual authorities "and correct reasoning, and the former being merely the fruit of "vulgar caprice. What can justify a man, who believes in the in-"spiration of his religious books, in neglecting the direct authorities "of the same works, and subjecting himself entirely to custom and "fashion, which are liable to perpetual changes, and depend upon "popular whim? But it cannot be passed unnoticed, that those who "practise idolatry, and defend it under the shield of custom, have "been violating their customs almost every twenty years, for the sake "of a little convenience, or to promote their worldly advantages." Instances of this sort are mentioned in the Preface of the *Isopanishad*, and to those I beg leave to recall the attention of the learned Brahman.

Every reader may observe, that the learned Brahman in his treatise, written (as he says) on the doctrines of the Vedanta, has generally neglected to quote any authority for his assertions; and when he cites the Veda or the Vedanta (which he does sometimes) as his authority, he carefully omits to mention the text or part to which his assertion refers. The validity of theological controversy chiefly depends upon Scriptural authority, but when no authority is offered, the public may judge how far its credibility should extend. I shall, however, make a few remarks on the absurd and contradictory assertions with which the treatise abounds.

The learned Brahman observes:* "But if the divine essence "itself, and not the energy be extolled, it will be adored under the "forms of Brahma, Vishnu, and Indra, and other male deities." And in other places, (p. 30 l. 27): "So by paying adoration to any mate-"rial object, animate or inanimate, the Supreme Being himself is "adored." If the truth of the latter assertion be admitted (namely, that God himself is adored by the adoration of anything whatsoever), no mark of distinction between the adoration of any visible objects and male deities will exist; and the former assertion respecting the adoration of the Supreme Being through the male deities only, will appear an absurd restriction.

* P. 14, l. 14.

The learned Brahman states (p. 19, l. 31), that, "If you believe "on the authority of the Scriptures, that there is a Supreme Being, can "you not believe that he is united to matter ?" A belief in God is by no means connected with a belief of his being united to matter : for those that have faith in the existence of the Almighty, and are endued with common sense, scruple not to confess their ignorance as to his nature or mode of existence, in regard to the point of his relation to matter, or to the properties of matter. How, therefore, can a belief in God's being united to matter, be inferred as a necessary consequence of a belief in his existence? The learned Brahman again contradicts himself on this point, saying (P. 38, l. 19) : "The divine essence being "supernatural and immaterial, a knowledge of it is to be acquired "solely from revelations."

The learned Brahman (in p. 18, l. 4) states that : "A quality cannot "exist independently of its substance but substance may exist "independently of any quality." Every one possessed of sensation is convinced, that a substance is as much dependent on the possession of some quality or qualities for its existence, as a quality on some substance. It is impossible even to imagine a substance divested of qualities. Despoil it as much as you please, that of magnitude must still remain. I therefore trust that the public will not suppose the above-stated doctrines of the learned Brahman to have been derived from those of the Vedanta.

It is again stated (p. 21, l. 4), that "In point of fact if you "admit the existence of matter, as it regards yourself, with its "twenty-four accidents, as confirmed by universal experience, you "can easily conceive that the same properties belong to the Supreme "Being." It is easy enough for the learned Brahman to conceive that the twenty-four properties which are peculiar to animals, and among which all sources of carnal pleasures are included, belong to his supposed deities ; but it is difficult, or rather impossible, for a man untainted with idolatrous principles, to ascribe to God all such properties as he allows to exist in himself.

The learned Brahman has drawn an analogy between the operation of the charms of the Vedas, and that of magic ; whereon he says (p. 18, l. 1) : "Cannot the charms of the Vedas operate as power- "fully as those of magic, in producing effects where the cause is not "present ?" If the foundation of the Vedas is held not to be stronger, as the learned Brahman seems to consider it, than that of magic, I

am afraid it will be found to rest on so slender a footing, that its doctrines will hardly be worth discussion.

In p. 24, l. 10, the learned Brahman states that "The Vedanta "itself, in treating of the several deities, declares them to be possessed "of forms, and their actions and enjoyments are all dependent on "their corporeal nature" But (p. 21, l. 19) he says: "Because the "male and female deities, whose beings I contend for, are nothing "more than accidents existing in the Supreme Being."

He thus at one time considers these deities as possessed of a corporeal nature, and at another declares them to be mere accidents in God, which is quite inconsistent with the attribute of corporeality. I am really at a loss to understand, how the learned Brahman could admit so dark a contradiction into his "*Lunar light of the Vedanta.*"

The learned Brahman (in p. 27, l. 6) thus assimilates the worship of the Supreme Being to that of an earthly king, saying: "Let us "drop the discourse concerning a Supreme and Invisible Being. Take "an earthly king. It is evident that to serve him there must be "the medium of materiality. Can service to him be accomplished "otherwise than by attendance on his person, praising his qualities, "or some similar method?" Those who believe God to be an almighty, omniscient, and independent existence, which, pervading the universe, is deficient in nothing; and also know the feeble and dependent nature of earthly kings, as liable to sudden ruin, as harassed by incessant cares and wants, ought never, I presume, to assimilate the contemplation of the Almighty power with any corporeal service acceptable to an earthly king. But as by means of this analogy, the learned Brahman and his brethren have successfully persuaded their followers to make in imitation of presents and bribes offered to princes, pecuniary vows to these supposed deities, to which it would seem none but the learned Brahman and his brethren have exclusive claim, —and as such analogy has thus become the source of their comforts and livelihood, I shall say no more upon so tender a subject.

He further observes (in p. 22, l. 27): "In reverting to the subject, "you affirm, that you admit the existence of matter in human beings, "because it is evident to your senses; but deny it with respect to "God, because it is not evident to your senses," &c.; and, "if this "be your method of reasoning, it would appear that your faith is

"confined to those objects only which are evident to your senses." As far as my recollection goes with respect to the contents of my publications, both in the native language and in English, I believe I never denied the materiality of God, on the mere ground of its not being evident to our senses. The assertion which I quoted, or made use of in my former treatise, is, that the nature of the God-head is beyond the comprehension of external and internal senses; which, I presume, implies neither the denial of the materiality of God, on the sole ground of his being invisible, nor the limitation of my faith merely to objects evident to the senses. For many things that far surpass the limits of our senses to perceive, or experience to teach, may yet be rendered credible, or even demonstrated by inferences drawn from our experience. Such as the mutual gravitation of the earth and moon towards each other, and of both to the sun; which facts cannot be perceived by any of our senses, but may be clearly demonstrated by reasoning drawn from our experience. Hence it appears, that a thing is justly denied only when found contrary to sense and reason, and not merely because it is not perceptible to the senses.

I have now to notice the friendly advice given me by the learned Brahman (in p. 23, l. 16): "But at all events, divest yourself of the "uneasy sensations you profess to experience at witnessing the "worship paid to idols, prepared at the expense and labour of "another." In thanking him for his trouble in offering me this counsel, I must, however, beg the learned Brahman to excuse me, while I acknowledge myself unable to follow it; and that for several reasons. 1st. A feeling for the misery and distress of his fellow-creatures is, to every one not overpowered by selfish motives, I presume, rather natural than optional. 2ndly. I, as one of their countrymen, and ranked in the most religious sect, of course participate in the disgrace and ridicule to which they have subjected themselves, in defiance of their scriptural authority, by the worship of idols, very often under the most shameful forms, accompanied with the foulest language, and most indecent hymns and gestures. 3rdly. A sense of the duty which one man owes to another, compels me to exert my utmost endeavours to rescue them from imposition and servitude, and promote their comfort and happiness.

He further observes (p. 30, l. 16). "In the like manner, the "King of kings is served equally by those worshippers who are "acquainted with His real essence, and by those who only recognize

"Him under the forms of the deities; but in the future distribution "of rewards a distinction will be made." As the learned Brahman confesses, that the same reward is not promised to the worshippers of figured deities as to the adorers of the Supreme Being, it seems strange that he should persist in alleging that God is truly worshipped in the adoration of figured gods; for if the worship be in both cases the same, the reward bestowed by a just God must be the same to both; but the rewards are not the same to both, and therefore the worship of figured deities cannot be considered equal to the adoration of God.

In the same page (l. 7), he compares God to a mighty emperor saying, "As a mighty emperor travels through his kingdom in the "garb of a peasant, to effect the welfare of his subjects, so the King "of kings pervades the universe, assuming a divine, or even a human "form, for the same benevolent purpose." This comparison seems extremely objectionable, and the inference from it totally inadmissible. For a king being ignorant of things out of the reach of his sight, and liable to be deceived respecting the secrets and private opinions of his subjects, may sometimes be obliged to travel through his kingdom, to acquire a knowledge of their condition, and to promote their welfare personally. But there can be obviously no inducement for an omnipotent being, in whose omniscience also the learned Brahman, I dare say, believes, to assume a form in order either to acquaint himself with the affairs of men, or to accomplish any benevolent design towards his creatures.

He again observes, that these figures and idols are representations of the true God, a sight of which serves, as he alleges, to bring that Being to his recollection (p. 30, l. 5): "They are as pictures, which "recall to the memory a dear and absent friend, or like the worship of the moon, reflected in various waters."

This observation of the learned Brahman induces me to suppose that he must have formed a notion of the Godhead quite strange and contemptible: for it is almost impossible for a man, who has a becoming idea of God's superiority to all creatures, to represent Him, as the Hindoos very often do, in a form so shameful, that a description of it is prohibited by common decency, or in a shape so ridiculous as that piebald kite called Kshemankari, and that of another bird called Nilkanth, or of jackals, &c. And it is equally difficult to believe that a rational being can make use of such objects to bring the All-perfect Almighty Power to his recollection.

He further says (p. 31, l. 32): "If any one assert that the case is "otherwise, that the deities, mankind, the heavens, and other objects "have an existence independent of God, that faith in him is sufficient "without worship, that they (the deities) cannot meet with reverence, "how can that person affect to disbelieve the doctrine of independent "existence, or assert that he is a believer in universality or a follower of the Vedanta?" To acquit myself from such gross but unfounded accusation as that of my believing material existence to be independent of God, I repeat a few passages from the abridgment of the Vedanta. (P. 10, l. 29): "Nothing bears true existence excepting God." Again in l. 31, "The existence of whatever thing that appears "to us, relies on the existence of God." Besides, there is not, I am confident, a single assertion in the whole of my publications, from which the learned Brahman might justly infer that I believed in the independent existence of deities, mankind, the heavens, or other objects. The public, by an examination of these works, will be enabled to judge how far the learned Brahman has ventured to brave public opinion, in the invention of arguments for the defence of idolatry.

He again says (p. 34, l. 28): "If, by the practice of the prescrib-"ed forms in a church, a temple, or a mosque, God be worshipped "how can he be dishonoured by being worshipped under the form of "an image, however manufactured?" Those who contemplate God in a church or a mosque, or elevate their minds to a notion of the Almighty Power in any other appropriated place, for the sake of good example, never pay divine homage to those places; but those that pretend to worship God under the form of an image, consider it to be possessed of divine nature, and at the same time, most inconsistently, as imbued with immoral principles. Moreover, the promoters of the worship of images, by promulgating anecdotes illustrative of the supposed divine power of particular idols, endeavour to excite the reverence of the people, and specially of pilgrims, who, under these superstitious ideas, are persuaded to propitiate them with large sacrifices of money, and sometimes even by that of their own lives. Having so far entered into this subject, the learned Brahman will, I hope, be convinced of the impropriety of the analogy which he has drawn between a worship *within* a certain material object and a worship *of* a material object.

As to his question (p. 34, l. 32), "Is the sight of the image unpleasing?" My answer must be affirmative. It is extremely natural

that, to a mind whose purity is not corrupted by a degrading superstition, the sight of images which are often of the most hedious or indecent description, and which must therefore excite disgust in the mind of the spectator, should be unpleasing. A visit to Kalighat,* or Burahnugur, † which are only four miles distant from Calcutta, will sufficiently convince the reader of the unpleasant nature of their beloved images. He again asks in the same page, (l. 33): "Will a "beloved friend be treated with disrespect by being seated on a chair, "when he arrives in your house, or by being presented with fragrant "flowers and other offerings?" To which I shall say, no; but at the same time I must assert that a friend worthy of reverence would not, we may be sure, be at all pleased at being exhibited semetimes in a form,‡ the bare mention of which would be considered as a gross insult to the decorous feelings of the public; and sometimes in the shape of a monkey,§ fish,|| hog,¶ or elephant,** or at being represented as destitute of every virtue, and altogether abandoned. Nor would he believe his host to be possessed of common sense, who, as a token of regard, would altogether neglect his guest, to go and lay fruits and flowers before his picture.

It is said (p. 39, l. 23): "In the accounts of ancient Greece we "meet with the worship of idols, and the practice of austerities; but "these acts have been contemned by the more enlightened moderns." I am really glad to observe that the learned Brahman, more liberally and plainly than could be expected, confesses that idolatry will be totally contemned as soon as the understanding is improved. I, however, beg leave to remark on this instance, that though the idolatry practised by the Greeks and Romans was certainly just as impure, absurd, and puerile as that of the present Hindoos, yet the former was by no means so destructive of the comforts of life, or injurious to the texture of society, as the latter. The present Hindoo idolatry being made to consist in following certain modes and restraints of diet (which according to the authorities of the Mahabharata and other histories were never observed by their forefathers), has subjected its unfortunate votaries to entire separation from the rest of the world, and also from each other, and to constant inconveniences and distress.

* The temple of Kali.

† Where there are twelve temples dedicated to Siva.

‡ Under which Siva is adored

§ Hanuman.

|| The first incarnation of Vishnu.

¶ The third incarnation of Vishnu.

** Ganesh.

A Hindoo, for instance, who affects particular purity,* cannot even partake of food dressed by his own brother, when invited to his house, and if touched by him while eating, he must throw away the remaining part of his meal. In fact, owing to the observance of such peculiar idolatry, directly contrary to the authorities of their scripture, they hardly deserve the name of social beings.

The learned Brahman further says (p. 23, l 3): "If you affirm "that you are not an infidel, but that your arguments are in conformity "with those of the philosophers who were ignorant of the Vedas," &c. A remark of this kind cannot, I am sure, be considered as at all applicable to a person who has subjected himself to this writer's remarks only by translating and publishing the principal parts of the Veda, and by vindicating the Vedanta theology, and who never advanced on religious controversy any argument which was not founded upon the authorities of the Vedas and their celebrated commentators. It is, however, remarkable that, although the learned Brahman and his brethren frequently quote the name of the Vedas and other Sastras, both in writing and in verbal discussion, they pay little or no attention in practice to their precepts, even in the points of the most important nature, a few of which I beg leave to notice here.

1st. The adoration of the invisible Supreme Being, although exclusively prescribed by the Upanishads, or the principal parts of the Vedas, and also by the Vedanta, has been totally neglected, and even discountenanced, by the learned Brahman and his followers, the idol-worship, which those authorities permit only to the ignorant, having been substituted for that pure worship.

2ndly. Angira and Vishnu, and also the modern Raghunandana, authorize a widow to burn herself voluntarily along with the corpse of her husband; but modern Brahmans, in direct opposition to their authority, allow her relations to bind the mournful and infatuated widow to the funeral pile with ropes and bamboos, as soon as she has expressed a wish to perform the dreadful funeral sacrifice, to which the Brahmans lend a ready assistance.

3rdly. Although an acceptance of money or of a present in the marriage contract of a daughter is most strictly prohibited by the Vedas and by Manu (texts 98 and 100 of chap. 9), yet the sale of

* A person of this description is distinguished by the name of Swayampaka, one who is his own cook.

female children under pretence of marriage is practised by nearly two-thirds of the Brahmans of Bengal and Tirhoot, as well as by their followers generally.

4thly. Yajnavalkya has authorized the second marriage of a man, while his former wife is living; but only under certain circumstances of misconduct or misfortune in the latter, such as the vice of drinking wine, of deception, of extravagance, of using disagreeable language, or shewing manifest dislike towards her husband, long protracted and incurable illness, barrenness, or producing only female offspring. In defiance, however, of this restraint, some of them marry thirty or forty women, either for the sake of money got with them at marriage, or to gratify brutal inclinations. Madhosingh, the late Rajah of Tirhoot, through compassion towards that helpless sex, limited, I am told, within these thirty or forty years, the Brahmans of that district to four wives only. This regulation, although falling short both of the written law and of that of reason, tends to alleviate in some measure the misery to which women were before exposed, as well as to diminish in some degree domestic strife and disturbance.

5thly. According to the authority of Manu (text 155, chap. 2nd), respect and distinction are due to a Brahman, merely in proportion to his knowledge; but on the contrary amongst modern Hindoos, honour is paid exclusively to certain families of Brahmans, such as the Kulins, &c., however void of knowledge and principle they may be. This departure from law and justice was made by the authority of a native prince of Bengal, named Ballalsen, within the last three or four hundred years. And this innovation may perhaps be considered as the chief source of that decay of learning and virtue, which, I am sorry to say, may be at present observed. For wherever respectability is confined to birth only, acquisition of knowledge, and the practice of morality, in that country, must rapidly decline.

The learned Brahman objects to the term *indescribable*, although universally assigned to the Supreme Being by the Veda and by the Vedanta theology, saying (p. 37, l. 20), "It is a wonderful interpreta- "tion of the Vedanta to say that God is indescribable, although ex- "isting, unless indeed he be looked upon as the production of magic; "as existing in one sense, and non-existent in another." And again (l. 14), "He, therefore, who asserts that the Supreme Being is "indescribable and at the same time existing, must conceive that He, "like the world, is mutable," &c.,—in answer to which I beg to refer

the learned Brahman to the 11th text of the third Brahmana of the 4th chapter of the Brihadaranyaka, the principal part of the Yajur Veda, as commented upon by the celebrated Sankaracharya: "The Veda "having so far described God, by various absolute* and relative "epithets,† was convinced of its incapability of giving a real "description of the nature of the Godhead: language can convey a "notion of things only either by the appellations by which they are "already known, or by describing their figure, accidents, genus, and "properties; but God has none of these physical circumstances: the "Veda therefore attempted to explain him in negative terms;" (that is by declaring that whatever thing may be perceived by the mental faculties, or the external senses, is not God.) "The Veda's "ascribing to God attributes of eternity, wisdom, truth, &c., shews "that it can explain him only by ascribing those attributes, and "applying those epithets that are held by men in the highest estima-"tion, without intending to assert the adequacy of such description. "He is the only true existence amidst all dependent existences, and "the true source of our senses." Also in the 3rd text of the Keno-panishad; "Hence no vision can approach him; no language can "describe him; no intellectual power can compass or determine him. "We know nothing of how the Supreme Being should be explained: "He is beyond nature, which is above comprehension: our ancient "*spiritual parents* have thus explained Him to us." It cannot, however, be inferred, from our acknowledged ignorance of the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being, that we are equally ignorant as to His existence. The wonderful structure and growth of even so trifling an object as a leaf of a tree, affords proof of an almighty Superintendent of the universe; and even the physical world affords numerous instances of things whose existence is quite evident to our senses, but of whose nature we can form no conception; such as the causes of the sensations of heat and vision.

The learned Brahman attempts to prove the impossibility of an adoration of the Deity, saying (p. 33, l. 15): "That which cannot be conceived, cannot be worshipped." Should the learned Brahman consider a full conception of the nature, essence, or qualities of the Supreme Being, or a physical picture truly representing the Almighty power, with offerings of flowers, leaves, and viands, as essential to

* As eternal, true and intelligent.

† As creator, preserver, and destroyer.

adoration, I agree with the learned Brahman with respect to the impossibility of the worship of God. But, should adoration imply only the elevation of the mind to the conviction of the existence of the Omnipresent Deity, as testified by His wise and wonderful works, and continual contemplation of His power as so displayed, together with a constant sense of the gratitude which we naturally owe Him, for our existence, sensation, and comfort,—I never will hesitate to assert, that His adoration is not only possible, and practicable, but even incumbent upon every rational creature. For further explanation, I refer the learned Brahman to the text 47, sect. 4, chap. 3, of the Vedanta.

To his question,* "What are you yourselves?" I suppose I may safely reply for myself, that I am a poor dependent creature—subject, in common with others, to momentary changes, and liable to sudden destruction.

At p. 45, l. 30, the learned Brahman, if I rightly understand his object, means to insinuate, that I have adopted the doctrines of those who deny the responsibility of man as a moral agent. I am quite at a loss to conceive from what part of my writings this inference has been drawn, as I have not only never entertained such opinions myself, but have taken pains to explain the passage in the Veda on which this false doctrine is founded. In page 69 of the Preface to the Isopanishad, I have said that, "the Vadanta by declaring that "God is everywhere, and every thing is in God, means that nothing "is absent from God, and that nothing bears real existence except by "the volition of God." And again, in the same page I quoted the example of the most revered teachers of the Vedanta doctrine, who, "although they declared their faith in the Omnipresent God, according to the doctrines of the Vedanta, assigned to every creature the "particular character and respect he was entitled to."

I omitted to notice the strange mode of argument which the learned Brahman (at p. 29) has adopted in defence of idolatry. After acknowledging that the least deficiency in judgment renders man incapable of looking up to an Omnipresent Supreme Being, whereby he mistakes a created object for the great Creator, he insinuates that an erroneous notion in this respect is as likely to lead to eternal happiness, as a knowledge of truth. At l. 5, he says: "And "although a person through deficiency in judgment, should be unable

* P. 47, l. 4

"to discover the real nature of a thing, does it follow, that his error "will prevent the natural effect from appearing? When a man in "a dream sees a tiger, is he not in as much alarm as if he saw it "in reality?"

This mode of claiming for idol-worship a value equal to that of pure religion, which it can never be admitted to possess, may have succeeded in retaining some of his followers in the delusive dream, from which he is so anxious that they should not be awoke. But some of them have, I know, begun to inquire into the truth of those notions in which they have been instructed; and these are not likely to mistake for true, the false analogy that is in the above passage attempted to be drawn, nor will they believe that, however powerful may be the influence of imagination, even under false impressions, future happiness, which depends on God alone, can ever be ranked amongst its effects. Such enquirers will, I hope, at last become sensible that the system of *dreaming* recommended by the learned Brahman, however essential to the interests of himself and of his caste, can bring to them no advantage, either substantial or eternal.

As instances of the erroneous confidence which is placed in the repetition of the name of a god to effect purification from sins, noticed by me in p. 168, I may quote the following passages.

"He who pronounces "Doorga" (the name of the goddess), though he constantly practise adultery, plunder others of their property, or commit the most heinous crimes, is freed from all sins."*

"A person pronouncing loudly, "reverence to Hari," even involuntarily, in the state of falling down, slipping, of labouring under illness, or of sneezing, purifies himself from the foulest crimes.†"

"He who contemplates the Ganges, while walking, sitting, sleeping, thinking of other things, awake, eating, breathing, and conversing, is delivered from sins.‡"

The circumstances alluded to in p 168 of this treatise, relative to the wicked conduct of their supposed deities, are perfectly familiar to every individual Hindoo. But those Europeans who are not acquainted with the particulars related of them, may perhaps feel a wish to be in possession of them. I, therefore, with a view to gratify their curiosity and to vindicate my assertion, beg to be allowed to mention a few instances in point, with the authorities on which they rest. As I have already noticed the debauchery of Krishna, and his gross

*Vide Durga-nama-Mahatmya †Vide Bhagavata ‡Vide Maha-Bharata.

sensuality, and that of his fellow-deities, such as Siva and Brahma, in the 147th, 148th and 150th pages of my reply to the observations of Sankar Sastri, instead of repeating them here, I refer my readers to that reply, also to the tenth division of the Bhagavata, to the Harivansa or last division of the Maha-Bharata, and to the Nigams, as well as to the several Agams, which give a detailed account of their lewdness and debauchery. As to falsehood, their favourite deity Krishna is more conspicuous than the rest. Jara-Sandha, a powerful prince of Behar, having heard of the melancholy murder of his son-in-law perpetrated by Krishna, harrassed, and at last drove him out of the place of his nativity (Mathura) by frequent military expeditions. Krishna, in revenge, resolved to deprive that prince of his life by fraud, and in a most unjustifiable manner. To accomplish his object, he and his two cousins, Bhima and Arjuna, declared themselves to be Brahmans and in that disguise entered his palace; where, finding him weakened by a religious fast, and surrounded only by his family and priests, they challenged him to fight a duel. He accordingly fought Bhima, the strongest of the three, who conquered and put him to death.—*Vide Sabha Parba or second Book of the Maha-Bharata.* Krishna again persuaded Yudhisthira, his cousin, to give false evidence in order to accomplish the murder of Drona, their spiritual father.—*Vide Drona Parba, or seventh Book of the Maha-Bharata.*

Vishnu and others combined in a conspiracy against Bali, a mighty emperor; but finding his power irresistible, that deity was determined to ruin him by stratagem, and for that purpose appeared to him in the shape of a dwarf, begging alms. Notwithstanding Bali was warned of the intention of Vishnu, yet, impressed with a high sense of generosity, he could not refuse a boon to a beggar; that a grateful deity in return not only deprived him of his whole empire, which he put himself in possession of by virtue of the boon of Bali, but also inflicted on him the disgrace of bondage and confinement in Patal.—*Vide latter part of the Hari-vansa or last book of the Maha-Bharata.*

When the battle of Kurukshetra was decided by the fatal destruction of Duryodhana, the remaining part of the army of his rival, Yudhisthira, returned to the camp to rest during the night, under the personal care and protection of Mahadeva. That deity having, however, been cajoled by the flattery offered him by Aswatthama, one of the friends of the unfortunate Duryodhana, not only allowed him

to destroy the whole army that was asleep under the confidence of his protection, but even assisted him with his sword to accomplish his bloody purpose.—*Vide Saushuptika Parba, or eleventh book of the Maha-Bharata.*

When the Asuras, at the churning of the ocean, gave the pitcher of *the water of immortality* in charge to Vishnu, he betrayed his trust by delivering it to their step-brothers and enemies, the celestial gods.—*Vide first book or Adi Parba of the Maha-Bharata.*

Instances like these might be multiplied beyond number: and crimes of a much deeper dye might easily be added to the list, were I not unwilling to stain these pages by making them the vehicle of such stories of immorality and vice. May God speedily purify the minds of my countrymen from the corruptness which such tales are too apt to produce, and lead their hearts to that pure morality which is inseparable from the true worship of Him!

AN APOLOGY

FOR THE

PURSUIT OF FINAL BEATITUDE,

INDEPENDENTLY OF

BRAHMUNICAL OBSERVANCES.

CALCUTTA:

1820.

AN APOLOGY

FOR THE

PURSUIT OF FINAL BEATITUDE.

SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, a diligent observer of Brahmanical tenets, wishing to prove that those Brahmans who do not study the Vedas with their subordinate sciences, are degraded from the rank of Brahmanism, prepared and offered an Essay on that subject to the Brahmans of the province of Bengal, who are generally deficient in those studies. In this, he has advanced three assertions: which, however, have no tendency to establish his position. He alleges 1st, that, "to a person not acquainted with the Vedas, neither temporary "heavenly enjoyments, nor eternal beatitude, can be allotted." 2ndly, that, "he only who has studied the Vedas is authorized to "seek the knowledge of God;" and 3rdly, that "men must perform "without omission all the rites and duties prescribed in the Vedas "and Smritis before acquiring a thorough knowledge of God." On these positions he attempts to establish, that the performance of the duties and rites prescribed by the Sastras for each class according to their religious order, such as the study of the Vedas and the offering of sacrifices, &c., is absolutely necessary towards the acquisition of a knowledge of God. We consequently take upon ourselves to offer in our own defence the following remarks, in answer to those assertions.

We admit that it is proper in men to observe the duties and rites prescribed by the Sastra for each class according to their religious order, in acquiring knowledge respecting God, such observance being conducive to that acquisition, an admission which is not inconsistent with the authorities of the Vedas and other Sastras. But we can by no means admit the necessity of observing those duties and rites as indispensable steps towards attaining divine knowledge, which the learned Sastri pronounces them to be; for the great Vyasa, in his work of the Vedanta Darsana, or the explanation of the spiritual parts of the Vedas, justifies the attainment of the knowledge of God, even by those who never practise the prescribed duties and rites, as appears from the following two passages of Vyasa in the same

Darsana. " Antarachapi tu taddrishteh,"—" Apicha smaryate." The celebrated Sankar-Acharya thus comments upon those two texts: " As to the question, Whether such men as have not the sacred " fire, or are afflicted with poverty, who profess no religious order " whatsoever, and who do not belong to any caste, are authorized to " seek divine knowledge or not? On a superficial view, it appears, " that they are not permitted to make such attainments, as the " duties prescribed for each class are declared to lead to divine " knowledge, and to those duties they are altogether strangers. " Such doubt having arisen, the great Vyasa thus decides: Even " a person who professes no religious order, is permitted to acquire " a knowledge of God, for it is found in the Vedas that Raikya, " Bachaknavi, and others, who, like them, did not belong to any class, " obtained divine knowledge. It is also mentioned in the sacred " tradition, that Samvarta and others, living naked and totally indepen- " dent of the world, who practised no prescribed duties, assumed the " rank of the highest devotees." Besides the texts of the Veda, such as " Tayorha Maitreyi Brahmabadini, " &c., and " Atma va are ", &c., show that Maitreyi and others, who, being women, had not the option of studying the Veda, were, notwithstanding, qualified to acquire divine knowledge ; and in the Smriti as well as in the Commentary of the celebrated Sankar-Acharya Sulabha and other women are styled knowers of the Supreme Being. Also Bidur, Dharmabyadha, and others of the fourth class, attained the knowledge of God without having an opportunity of studying the Vedas. All this we find in the sacred traditions : hence those who have a thorough knowledge of the Vedas and Smritis, can pay no deference to the opinion maintained by the learned Sastri, that those only who have studied the Vedas are qualified to acquire the knowledge of God. Moreover, to remove all doubt as to Sudras and others being capable of attaining Divine knowledge without the assistance of the Vedas, the celebrated Commentator, in illustrating the text " Sravanadhyanaya," &c., asserts, that " the authority of the Smriti, stating that 'to all the four ' classes " preaching should be offered,' &c., shews that to the sacred traditions, " and to the Puranas, and also to the Agams, all the four classes " have equally access," thus establishing that the sacred traditions, Puranas, and Agams without distinction, can impart divine knowledge to mankind at large. From the decided opinion of Vyasa, and from the precedents given by the Vedas and sacred traditions, and also from

the conclusive verdict of the most revered Commentator, those who entertain respect for those authorities, will not admit the study of the Vedas and other duties required of each class to be the only means of acquiring knowledge of God. Hence the sacred tradition, stating that a person, by studying the Gita alone, had acquired final beatitude, stands unshaken; and also the positive declaration of the great Mahadeva with regard to the authentic and well-accepted Agam Sastras, as being the means of imparting divine knowledge to those who study them, will not be treated as inconsequential. If the spiritual part of the Vedas can enable men to acquire salvation by teaching them the true and eternal existence of God, and the false and perishable being of the universe, and inducing them to hear and constantly reflect on those doctrines, it is consistent with reason to admit, that the Smriti, and Agam, and other works, inculcating the same doctrines, afford means of attaining final beatitude. What should we say more?

THE UNIVERSAL RELIGION.



RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTIONS

FOUNDED ON

SACRED AUTHORITIES.

CALCUTTA:

1751 S.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTIONS

FOUNDED ON SACRED AUTHORITIES.

The following Treatise, in the form of questions and answers, contains a brief account of the worship enjoined in the sacred writings, as due to that Being who is pure as well as eternal, and to whose existence Nature gives testimony; that the faithful may easily understand and become successful in the practice of this worship. The proof of each doctrine may be found, according to the figures, in the end of the work.

As this subject is almost always expounded, in the sacred writings, by means of questions and answers, that it may be more easily comprehended, a similar plan is adopted in this place also.

1 *Question.*—What is meant by worship?

Answer.—Worship implies the act of one with a view to please another; but when applied to the Supreme Being, it signifies a contemplation of his attributes.

2 *Q.*—To whom is worship due?

A.—To the AUTHOR and Governor of the universe, which is incomprehensibly formed, and filled with an endless variety of men and things; in which, as shown by the zodiac, in a manner far more wonderful than the machinery of a watch, the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars perform their rapid courses; and which is fraught with animate and inanimate matter of various kinds, locomotive and immoveable, of which there is not one particle but has its functions to perform.

3 *Q.*—What is he?

A.—We have already mentioned that he is to be worshipped, who is the Author and Governor of the universe; yet, neither the sacred writings nor logical argument, can define his nature.

4 *Q.*—Are there no means of defining him?

A.—It is repeatedly declared in the sacred writings, that he cannot be defined either by the intellect or by language. This appears from inference also; for, though the universe is visible, still no one

can ascertain its form or extent. How then can we define the Being whom we designate as its Author and Governor?

5 *Q.*—Is any one, on sufficient grounds, opposed to this worship?

A.—To this worship no one can be opposed on sufficient grounds; for, as we all worship the Supreme Being, adoring him as the Author and Governor of the universe, it is impossible for any one to object to such worship; because each person considers the object whom he worships as the Author and Governor of the universe; therefore, in accordance with his own faith, he must acknowledge that this worship is his own. In the same manner, they, who consider Time or Nature, or any other Object, as the Governor of the universe, even they cannot be opposed to this worship, as bearing in mind the Author and Governor of the universe. And in China, in Tartary, in Europe, and in all other countries, where so many sects exist, all believe the object whom they adore to be the Author and Governor of the universe; consequently, they also must acknowledge, according to their own faith, that this our worship is their own.

6 *Q.*—In some places in the sacred writings it is written that the Supreme Being is imperceptible and unexpressible; and in others, that he is capable of being known. How can this be reconciled?

A.—Where it is written that he is imperceptible and undefinable, it is meant, that his likeness cannot be conceived; and where it is said that he is capable of being known, his mere existence is referred to, that is, that there is a God, as the indescribable creation and government of this universe clearly demonstrate: in the same manner, as by the action of a body, we ascertain the existence of a spirit therein called the sentient soul, but the form or likeness of that spirit which pervades every limb and guides the body, we know not.

7 *Q.*—Are you hostile to any other worship?

A.—Certainly not; for, he who worships, be it whomsoever or whatsoever it may, considers that object as the Supreme Being, or as an object containing him; consequently, what cause have we to be hostile to him?

8 *Q.*—If you worship the Supreme Being, and other persons offer their adoration to the same Divine Being, but in a different form; what then is the difference between them and you?

A.—We differ in two ways; first, they worship under various forms and in particular places, believing the object of their worship to be the Supreme Being; but we declare that he, who is the Author

of the universe, is to be worshipped; besides this, we can determine no particular form or place. Secondly, we see that they who worship under any one particular form, are opposed to those who worship under another; but it is impossible for worshippers of any denomination to be opposed to us; as we have shown in the answer to the 5th question.

9 *Q.*—In what manner is this worship to be performed?

A.—By bearing in mind that the Author and Governor of this visible universe is the Supreme Being, and comparing this idea with the sacred writings and with reason. In this worship it is indispensably necessary to use exertions to subdue the senses, and to read such passages as direct attention to the Supreme Spirit. Exertion to subdue the senses, signifies an endeavour to direct the will and the senses, and the conduct in such a manner as not only to prevent our own or others' ill, but to secure our own and others' good; in fact, what is considered injurious to ourselves, should be avoided towards others. It is obvious that as we are so constituted, that without the help of sound we can conceive no idea; therefore, by means of the texts treating of the Supreme Being, we should contemplate him. The benefits which we continually receive from fire, from air, and from the sun, likewise from the various productions of the earth, such as the different kinds of grain, drugs, fruits and vegetables, all are dependent on him: and by considering and reasoning on the terms expressive of such ideas, the meaning itself is firmly fixed in the mind. It is repeatedly said in the sacred writings, that theological knowledge is dependent upon truth; consequently, the attainment of truth will enable us to worship the Supreme Being, who is Truth itself.

10 *Q.*—According to this worship, what rule must we establish with regard to the regulation of our food, conduct, and other worldly matters?

A.—It is proper to regulate our food and conduct agreeably to the sacred writings; therefore, he who follows no prescribed form among all those that are promulgated, but regulates his food and conduct according to his own will, is called self-willed; and to act according to our own wish, is opposed both by the Scriptures and by reason. In the Scriptures it is frequently forbidden. Let us examine it by reason. Suppose each person should, in non-conformity with prescribed form, regulate his conduct according to his own desires, a

speedy end must ensue to established societies; for to the self-willed, food, whether fit to be eaten or not, conduct proper or improper, desires lawful or unlawful, all are the same; he is guided by no rule: to him an action, performed according to the will, is faultless: but the will of all is not alike; consequently, in the fulfilment of our desires, where numerous opinions are mutually opposed, a quarrel is the most likely consequence; and the probable result of repeated quarrels is the destruction of human beings. In fact, however, it is highly improper to spend our whole time in judging of the propriety and impropriety of certain foods, without reflecting on science or Divine truth; for be food of whatever kind it may, in a very short space of time it undergoes a change into what is considered exceedingly impure, and this impure matter is, in various places, productive of different kinds of grain; therefore, it is cetainly far more preferable to adorn the mind than to think of purifying the belly.

11 *Q.*—In the performance of this worship, is any particular place, quarter, or time, necessary?

A.—A suitable place is certainly preferable, but it is not absolutely necessary; that is to say, in whatever place, towards whatever quarter, or at whatever time the mind is best at rest,—that place, that quarter, and that time is the most proper for the performance of this worship.

12 *Q.*—To whom is this worship fit to be taught?

A.—It may be taught to all, but effect being produced in each person according to his state of mental preparation, it will be proportionably successful.

SACRED AUTHORITIES.

सत् ॥ आदौ सच्छब्दप्रयोगो माङ्गलिकः तथाच भगवद्गीतायाम् । सद्भावे साधुभावे च सदित्येतत् प्रयुज्यते । प्रशस्ते कर्म्मणि तथा सच्छब्दः पार्थ युज्यते ॥*

1st उत्तरप्रमाणम् । आत्मेत्येवोपासीत । (वृहदारण्यकश्रुतिः ।) न स वेदेति विज्ञानं प्रस्तुत्य आत्मेत्येवोपासीतेत्यभिधानात् वेदोपासनशब्दयोरेकार्थताऽवगम्यते (भाष्यम् ।) आत्मानमेव लोकमुपासीत । (वृहदारण्यक श्रुतिः ।)

* The Bengali version of this treatise was named Anushthan and on the top of the first page of the same was printed the word सत्, for which this explanation has been given and the authority cited.—Ed.

2nd उत्तरप्रमाणम्। जन्माद्यस्य यतः। (वेदान्तदर्शनस्य द्वितीयसूत्रम्।) यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते येन जातानि जीवन्ति यत् प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति तद्विजिज्ञासस्व तद्ब्रह्मेति। (तैत्तिरीय श्रुतिः।) यः सर्वज्ञः सर्ववित् यस्य ज्ञानमयं तपः। तस्मादेतद्ब्रह्मनामरूपमन्नञ्च जायते। (मुण्डकश्रुतिः।) यत्तत् कारणमव्यक्तं नित्यं सदसदात्मकम्। तद्विसृष्टः स पुरुषो लोके ब्रह्मेति कीर्त्त्यते॥ (मनुवचनम्।) यतो विश्वं समुद्भूतं येन जातञ्च तिष्ठति। यस्मिन् सर्वाणि लीयन्ते तज्ज्ञेयं ब्रह्मलक्षणम्॥ कालं कलयते काले मृत्योर्मृत्युर्भियो भयम्। वेदान्तवेद्यं चिद्रूपं यत्तच्छब्दोपलक्षितम्॥ (महानिर्वाणतन्त्रवचनम्।) अस्यजगतो नामरूपाभ्यां व्याकृतस्यानेककर्तृभोक्तृसंयुक्तस्य प्रतिनियतदेशकालनिमित्तक्रियाफलाश्रयस्य मनसाप्याचिन्त्यरचनारूपस्य जन्मस्थितिभङ्गं यतः सर्वज्ञात् सर्वशक्तेः कारणाद्भवति तद्ब्रह्मेति वाक्यशेषः। (पूर्वोक्त वेदान्तसूत्रभाष्यम्।)

3rd उत्तरप्रमाणम्। यतो वाचो निवर्त्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह। (तैत्तिरीय श्रुतिः।) यन्मनसा न मनुते येनाहुर्मनो मतम्। तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते॥ (केनश्रुतिः।)

4th उत्तरप्रमाणम्। अथात आदेशो नेति नेति। (वृहदारण्यकश्रुतिः।) न तत्र चक्षुर्गच्छति न वागुगच्छति न मनो न विद्मो न विजानीमो यथैतदनुशिष्यात् अन्यदेव तद्विदितादथो अविदितादधि। (केन श्रुतिः।) इन्द्रियाणि पराण्याहुरिन्द्रियेभ्यः परं मनः। मनसस्तुपराबुद्धिर्बुद्धेर्यः परतस्तु सः (गीतास्मृतिः।)

5th उत्तरप्रमाणम्। आत्मा ह्येषां स भवति। एवं वित् सर्वेषां भूतानामात्मा भवति। (बृहदारण्यकश्रुतिः।) नामरूपादिनिर्देशैर्विभिन्नानामुपासकाः। परस्परं विरुन्धन्ति न तैरेतद्विरुध्यते॥ (गौडपादाचार्यकारिका।) विस्तारितमिदं प्रथमव्याख्याने।

6th उत्तरप्रमाणम्। नैव वाचा न मनसा प्राप्तुं शक्यो न चक्षुषा। अस्तीति ब्रुवतोऽन्यत्र कथं तदुपलभ्यते॥ अस्तीत्येवोपलब्धव्यस्तत्त्वभावेन चोभयोः। अस्तित्वेनोपलब्धस्य तत्त्वभावः प्रसीदति॥ (कठश्रुतिः।) नामरूपादि-निर्देश-विशेषण-विवर्जितः। अपक्षयविनाशाभ्यां परिणामार्त्तिजन्मभिः। वर्जितः शक्यते वक्तुं यः सदास्तीति केवलम्॥ (विष्णुपुराणम्।) द्वादशव्याख्याने विस्तरेणाभिहितम्।

7th उत्तरप्रमाणम् । तपांसि सर्वाणि च यद्वदन्ति । (कठश्रुतिः ।) ब्रह्मदृष्टिरुत्कर्षात् । (वेदान्तसूत्रम् ।) ब्रह्मदृष्टिरादित्यादिषु स्यात् कस्मात् उत्कर्षात् एवमुत्कर्षेणादित्यादयो दृष्टा भवन्ति उतकृष्टदृष्टिस्तेष्वध्यासात् । (तत् सूत्रभाष्यम् ।) येऽप्यन्यदेवता भक्ता यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः । तेऽपि मामेव कौन्तेय यजन्त्यविधिपूर्वकम् ॥ (गीतास्मृतिः ।)

8th उत्तरप्रमाणम् । यत्र नान्यत् पश्यति नान्यच्छृणोति नान्यद्विजानाति स भूमा अथ यत्रान्यत् पश्यति अन्यच्छृणोति अन्यद्विजानाति तदल्पम् । (छान्दोग्योपनिषत् ।) पञ्चमोत्तरोक्तप्रमाणमपि द्रष्टव्यम् ।

9th उत्तरप्रमाणम् । अथ परमेश्वरचिन्तनप्रकारः । ऊर्धमूलोऽवाक्शाख एषोऽश्वत्थः सनातनः । तदेव शुक्रं तद्ब्रह्म तदेवामृतमुच्यते ॥ (कठोपनिषत् ।) तस्मादृचः साम यजूंषि दीक्षा यज्ञाश्च सर्वे क्रतवो दक्षिणाश्च । सम्वत्सरश्च यजमानश्च लोकाः सोमो यत्र पवते यत्र सूर्य्यः । तस्माच्च देवा बहुधा संप्रसूताः साध्या मनुष्याः पशवो वयांसि । प्राणापाणौ व्रीहियवौ तपश्च श्रद्धा सत्यं ब्रह्मचर्य्यं विधिश्च । अतः समुद्रा गिरयश्च सर्वे तस्मात् स्यन्दन्ते सिन्धवः सर्वरूपाः । अतश्च सर्वा ओषधयो रसश्च येनैष भूतैस्तिष्ठते ह्यन्तरात्मा ॥ (इति मुण्डकोपनिषत् ।) ज्ञानेनैवापरे विप्रा यजन्त्येतैर्मखैः सदा । ज्ञानमूलां क्रियामेषां पश्यन्तो ज्ञानचक्षुषा ॥ (चतुर्थाध्याये मनुवचनम् ।) भयादस्याग्निस्तपति भयात्तपति सूर्य्यः । भयादिन्द्रश्च वायुश्च मृत्युर्धावति पञ्चमः ॥ (इति मुण्डकोपनिषत् ।) एतदुपासनाया अन्तरङ्गसाधनप्रकारः । यथोक्तान्यपि कर्म्माणि परिहाय द्विजोत्तमः । आत्मज्ञाने शमे च स्याद्वेदाभ्यासे च यत्नवान् ॥ (द्वादशाध्याये मनुवचनम् ।) यथैवात्मा परस्तद्वद्द्रष्टव्यः शुभमिच्छता । सुखदुःखानि तुल्यानि यथात्मनि तथा परे ॥ इति स्मार्त्तधृत-दक्षवचनं सर्वव्यवहारनिदानम् । सत्यमायतनम् (केनश्रुतिः ।) द्वितीयचतुर्थषष्ठव्याख्यानेषु लिखितान्यपि द्रष्टव्यानि ।

10th उत्तरप्रमाणम् । शास्त्रमेव क्रियानियामकं यथा चातुर्वर्ण्यं त्रयो लोकाश्चत्वार आश्रमाः पृथक् । भूतं भव्यं भविष्यञ्च सर्वं वेदात् प्रसिध्यति ॥ (९७) सेनापत्यञ्च राज्यञ्च दण्डनेतृत्वमेव च । सर्वलोकाधिपत्यञ्च वेदशास्त्रविदर्हति ॥ (१००) (मनुस्मृतौ द्वादशाध्याये) ।

दशमोत्तरोक्त-स्वेच्छाचार-निन्दाश्रवणम् ।

क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य महारोगिण एव च । यथेष्टाचरणस्याहुर्मरणान्तमशौचकम् ॥

उदरपवित्रतापेक्षया मनः शुद्धौ यत्न आवश्यकः। तथाहि तन्त्रे । मले परिणते शस्यं शस्ये परिणते मलम् । द्रव्यशुद्धिः कथं देवि मनःशुद्धिं समाचरेत् ॥

11th उत्तरप्रमाणम् । शुचिदेशादेः प्राशस्त्ये । कुटुम्बे शुचौदेशे स्वाध्याय-मधीयानो धार्म्मिकान् विदधदित्यादि (छान्दोग्यश्रुतिः ।)

शुचिदेशादीनामत्यन्तनियमस्याभावः । यथा ।

यत्रैकाग्रता तत्राविशेषात् (वेदान्तदर्शनसूत्रम्) ४ । १ । ११ । यत्रैवास्य दिने काले वा मनसः सौकर्य्येणैकाग्रता भवति तत्रैवोपासीत प्राची दिक् पूर्वाह्ण प्राचीप्रवणादिवत् विशेषाश्रवणात् (भाष्यम् ।)

12th उत्तरप्रमाणम् । प्रजापतेः सकाशादिन्द्रविरोचनाभ्यां प्राप्तेऽपि तुल्योप-देशे असुरस्वभावाद्विरोचनस्तदुपदेशफलं न लेभे । तथाहि स हि शान्तहृदय एव विरोचनोऽसुरान् जगाम तेभ्योहैतामुपनिषदं प्रोवाच आत्मैवेहमह्य्य आत्मा परिचर्य्य आत्मानमेवेहमहयन् आत्मानं परिचरयन् उभौ लोकाववाप्नोति इमञ्चामुञ्चेति । (छान्दोग्योपनिषत् ।)

इन्द्रस्तु क्रमसाधनेन कृतार्थोऽभवत् यथा ।

अश्व इव रोमाणि विधूय पाप चन्द्र इव राहोर्मुखात् प्रमुच्य धूत्वा शरीरं सकृतं कृतात्मा इत्यादि (छान्दोग्योपनिषत् ।)

अनुष्ठानं सम्पूर्णम् । शकाब्दाः १७५१

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THE BRAHMUNICAL MAGAZINE

OR

THE MISSIONARY AND THE BRAHMUN

BEING

A VINDICATION OF THE HINDOO RELIGION AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES.

CALCUTTA.

1821.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

For a period of upwards of fifty years, this country (Bengal) has been in exclusive possession of the English nation; during the first thirty years of which, from their word and deed, it was universally believed that they would not interfere with the religion of their subjects, and that they truly wished every man to act in such matters according to the dictates of his own conscience. Their possessions in Hindoostan and their political strength have, through the grace of God, gradually increased. But during the last twenty years, a body of English gentlemen, who are called missionaries, have been publicly endeavouring, in several ways to convert Hindoos and Mussulmans of this country into Christianity. The first way is that of publishing and distributing among the natives various books, large and small, reviling both religions, and abusing and ridiculing the gods and saints of the former: the second way is that of standing in front of the doors of the natives or in the public roads to preach the excellency of their own religion and the debasedness of that of others: the third way is that if any natives of low origin become Christians from the desire of gain or from any other motives, these gentlemen employ and maintain them as a necessary encouragement to others to follow their example.

It is true that the apostles of Jesus Christ used to preach the superiority of the Christian religion to the natives of different countries. But we must recollect that they were not of the rulers of those countries where they preached. Were the missionaries likewise to preach the Gospel and distribute books in countries not conquered by the English, such as Turkey, Persia, &c., which are much nearer England, they would be esteemed a body of men truly zealous in propagating religion and in following the example of the founders of Christianity. In Bengal, where the English are the sole rulers, and where the mere name of Englishman is sufficient to frighten people, an encroachment upon the rights of her poor timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion, cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable act. For wise and good men always

feel disinclined to hurt those that are of much less strength than themselves, and if such weak creatures be dependent on them and subject to their authority, they can never attempt, even in thought, to mortify their feelings.

We have been subjected to such insults for about nine centuries, and the cause of such degradation has been our excess in civilization and abstinence from the slaughter even of animals; as well as our division into castes, which has been the source of want of unity among us.

It seems almost natural that when one nation succeeds in conquering another, the former, though their religion may be quite ridiculous, laugh at and despise the religion and manners of those that are fallen into their power. For example, Mussalmans, upon their conquest of India, proved highly inimical to the religious exercises of Hindoos. When the generals of Chungezkhan, who denied God and were like wild beasts in their manners, invaded the western part of Hindoostan, they universally mocked at the profession of God and of futúrity expressed to them by the natives of India. The savages of Arracan, on their invasion of the eastern part of Bengal, always attempted to degrade the religion of Hindoos. In ancient days, the Greeks and the Romans, who were gross idolaters and immoral in their lives, used to laugh at the religion and conduct of their Jewish subjects, a sect who were devoted to the belief of one God. It is therefore not uncommon if the English missionaries, who are of the conquerors of this country, revile and mock at the religion of its natives. But as the English are celebrated for the manifestation of humanity and for administering justice, and as a great many gentlemen among them are noticed to have had an aversion to violate equity, it would tend to destroy their acknowledged character if they follow the example of the former savage conquerors in disturbing the established religion of the country; because to introduce a religion by means of abuse and insult, or by affording the hope of worldly gain, is inconsistent with reason and justice. If by the force of argument they can prove the truth of their own religion and the falsity of that of Hindoos, many would of course embrace their doctrines, and in case they fail to prove this, they should not undergo such useless trouble, nor tease Hindoos any longer by their attempts at conversion. In consideration of the small huts in which Brahmans of learning generally reside, and the simple food, such as vegetables, &c., which they are

accustomed to eat, and the poverty which obliges them to live upon charity, the missionary gentlemen may not, I hope, abstain from controversy from contempt of them, for truth and true religion do not always belong to wealth and power, high names, or lofty palaces.

Now, in the Mission-press of Shreerampore a letter shewing the unreasonableness of all the Hindoo Sastras having appeared, I have inserted in the 1st and 2nd numbers of this magazine all the questions in the above letter as well as their answers, and afterwards the replies that may be made by both parties shall in like manner be published.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In giving the contents of the following pages to the world in a new edition, I think it necessary to prefix a short explanation of the origin of the controversy, and the manner in which it concluded. The BRAHMUNICAL MAGAZINE was commenced for the purpose of answering the objections against the Hindoo Religion contained in a Bengalee Weekly Newspaper, entitled "SAMACHAR DARPAN," conducted by some of the most eminent of the Christian Missionaries, and published at Shreerampore. In that paper of the 14th July, 1821, a letter was inserted containing certain doubts regarding the Sastras, to which the writer invited any one to favour him with an answer, through the same channel. I accordingly sent a reply in the Bengalee language, to which, however, the conductors of the work calling for it, refused insertion; and I therefore formed the resolution of publishing the whole controversy with an English translation in a work of my own "the BRAHMUNICAL MAGAZINE," now re-printed, which contains all that was written on both sides.

In the first number of the MAGAZINE I replied to the arguments they adduced against the Sastras, or immediate explanations of the Vedas, our original Sacred Books; and in the second I answered the objections urged against the Puranas and Tantras, or Historical Illustrations of the Hindoo Mythology, shewing that the doctrines of the former are much more rational than the religion which the Missionaries profess, and that those of the latter, if unreasonable, are not more so than their Christian Faith. To this the Missionaries

made a reply in their work entitled the "FRIEND OF INDIA," No. 38, which was immediately answered by me in the 3rd No. of the MAGAZINE; and from the continuation of a regular controversy of this kind, I expected that in a very short time, the truth or fallacy of one or other of our religious systems would be clearly established; but to my great surprise and disappointment, the Christian Missionaries, after having provoked the discussion, suddenly abandoned it; and the 3rd No. of my MAGAZINE has remained unanswered for nearly two years. During that long period the Hindoo community (to whom the work was particularly addressed and therefore printed both in Bengalee and English) have made up their minds that the arguments of the BRAHMUNICAL MAGAZINE are unanswerable; and I now republish, therefore, only the English translation, that the learned among Christians, in Europe as well as in Asia, may form their opinion on the subject.

It is well-known to the whole world, that no people on earth are more tolerant than the Hindoos, who believe all men to be equally within the reach of Divine beneficence, which embraces the good of every religious sect and denomination: therefore it cannot be imagined that my object in publishing this Magazine was to oppose Christianity; but I was influenced by the conviction that persons who travel to a distant country for the purpose of overturning the opinions of its inhabitants and introducing their own, ought to be prepared to demonstrate that the latter are more reasonable than the former.

In conclusion, I beg to ask every candid and reflecting reader:—Whether a man be placed on an imperial throne, or sit in the dust—whether he be lord of the whole known world, or destitute of even a hut—the commander of millions, or without a single follower—whether he be intimately acquainted with all human learning, or ignorant of letters—whether he be ruddy and handsome, or dark and deformed—yet if while he declares that God is not man, he again professes to believe in a God-Man or Man-God, under whatever sophistry the idea may be sheltered,—can such a person have a just claim to enjoy respect in the intellectual world? And does he not expose himself to censure, should he, at the same time, ascribe unreasonableness to others?

THE LETTER ALLUDED TO

Published in the

Samachar Darpan of the 14th July, 1821.

I beg to inform the learned Public of all countries that at present Calcutta is a seat of learning and of learned men, and perhaps there is no other place where doubts arising from the interpretation of the Sastras can be removed so well as in this metropolis. I therefore state a few questions methodically. It will gratify me, and do essential good to mankind, if any one favor me with replies thereto through the "Samachar Darpan"; for in answering them there will not be much labour and no expense whatever.

In the first place it appears from the perusal of the Vedanta Sastra, that God is one, eternal, unlimited by past, present, or future time, without form, beyond the apprehension of the senses, void of desires, pure intellect, without defect and perfect in every respect; and the soul is not different from him nor is there any other real existence besides him.

The visible world is, as it says, created by Maya alone; and that Maya is opposed to a true knowledge of God [*i.e.*, after the acquisition of a knowledge of God, the effect of Maya, which is the universe, no longer continues to appear a real existence, in the same manner as when a piece of rope is mistaken for a snake, the misconceived existence of the snake is destroyed by a knowledge of the real existence of the rope, or as the palace of Gandharvas (a genus supposed to be inferior only to the celestial gods) seen in a dream ceases to appear immediately after the expiration of the dream]. The world and consciousness are both declared false; they appear as if they had real existence owing to ignorance of the nature of God. An admission of the truth of these doctrines either brings reproach upon God, or establishes the supremacy and eternity in some degree both of God and of Maya.

2ndly. If the soul be the same as God, nothing can justify the belief that the soul is liable to be rewarded and punished according to its good or evil works.

3rdly. From these doctrines the perfection of God and his sufficiency cannot be maintained.

This Sastra teaches also that as bubbles arise from and again are absorbed in water, in like manner through the influence of Maya the world repeatedly proceeds from, depends upon, and is absorbed into God. How can God be blameless if he is represented as a Being influenced by Maya in the creation of the world? The Veda declares, "The birth, continuation, and destruction of the world are effected by the Supreme Being." According to this, how can we admit the enjoyment of heaven and endurance of hell by the soul?

In the second place, the Nyaya Sastra says, that God is one and souls are various; they both are imperishable; and that space, position, and time as well as atoms are eternal; and it admits that the act of creating the world attaches to God in a peculiarly united relation called Samavaya, whereby the Deity is called the Creator of the world; and it says also that according to the good or evil works of the soul he rewards or punishes it, and that his will is immutable. These doctrines in fact deny to God the agency of the world; for according to them he appears, like us, to have created the world with the aid of materials; but in reality he is above the need of assistance. After admitting the immutability of the will of God, how can we be persuaded to believe that he creates, preserves and again destroys all things at different times and bestows on the soul the consequences of its works at successive times? From these doctrines why should we not consider God and the soul as gods, one of great authority and the other of less power, like two men, one possessed of greater energy than the other? These destroy totally the doctrine of the unity of God.

In the third place the Mimansa Sastra says that the wonderful consequences of the various sacrificial rites consisting of incantations composed of the Sanskrit language and of different offerings, are God. In this world among mankind there are various languages and many Sastras; and sacrificial articles and language both are insensible and in the power of men: they are, however, the cause of rites. How can we call God the consequences of the rites which are produced by men? Moreover, God is said by this Sastra to be mere rites, and at the same time one; but we see that rites are various: how can then God be proved one according to these doctrines? In a country where rites are performed through a language different from Sanskrit, why

should not that country be supposed without God? The Patanjala Sastra represents yoga of six kinds in lieu of rites: therefore, it is, according to the above-stated arguments, included in the Mimansa Sastra.

In the fourth instance, the Sankhya Sastra says that nature and the God of nature are operating jointly, like the two halves of a grain of vetch; and on account of the supremacy of the latter he is called the invisible God. How, according to these doctrines, can God be considered one? Why do we not believe the duality of God?

The remaining part of the letter is to be inserted in the 2nd number of this magazine.

Reply to the above letter, to which reply the Editor of the Samachar Darpan denied insertion.

I observed in the 'Samachar Darpan' of the 14th July, 1821, sent me by a respectable native, an attempt of some intelligent though misinformed person to shew the unreasonableness of all the Hindoo Sastras and thereby to disprove their authority. The missionary gentlemen had before been in the habit of making these attempts only in discourses with the natives or through publications written expressly with that view. But now they have begun the same attacks through the medium of a newspaper. I have not, however, felt much inclined to blame this conduct, because the Editor has requested an answer to the writer, to whom I therefore reply as follows.

You, in the first place, attempt to shew the folly of the Vedanta, and for that purpose recount its doctrines, saying "that it teaches God to be one, eternal, unlimited by past, present or future time, without form or desires, beyond the apprehension of the senses, pure intellect, omnipresent, without defect and perfect in every respect; and that there is no other real existence except him, nor is the soul different from him; that this visible world is created by his power, *i.e.*, Maya, and that Maya is opposed to a true knowledge of God, (*i.e.*, after the acquisition of a knowledge of God the effect of Maya, which is the universe, no longer continues to appear as a real existence, in the same manner as when a piece of rope is mistaken for a snake the misconceived existence of the snake is destroyed by a knowledge of the real existence of the rope, or as the palace of Gandharvas seen in a dream ceases to appear immediately after the expiration of the dream.)"

Now, you allege these faults in these doctrines. 1st. An admission of their truth either brings reproach upon God or establishes the supremacy and eternity both of God and of Maya. As you have not stated what reproach attaches to God from the admission of these doctrines, I am unable to answer the first alternative. If you kindly particularize it, I may endeavour to make a reply. As to the latter alternative respecting the supremacy and eternity of Maya, I beg to answer, that the followers of the Vedanta (in common with Christians and Musalmans who believe God to be eternal) profess also the eternity of all his attributes. Maya is the creating power of the eternal God, and consequently it is declared by the Vedanta to be eternal. "Maya "has no separate existence; it is the power of God and is known by "its effects as heat is the power of fire and has no separate existence, "yet is known from its effects" (quoted in the Vedanta.) Should it be improper to declare the attributes of God eternal, then such impropriety applies universally to all religious systems, and the Vedanta cannot be alone accused of this impropriety.

In like manner, in the Vedanta and in other systems, as well as in common experience, the superiority of substance over its qualities is acknowledged. The Vedanta has never stated, in any instance, the supremacy both of God and of Maya, that you should charge the Vedanta with absurdity.

The second fault which you find, is that if the soul be the same as God, nothing can justify the belief that the soul is liable to be rewarded and punished according to its good and evil works; for such a belief would amount to the blasphemy that God also is liable to reward and punishment.

I reply—The world, as the Vedanta says, is the effect of Maya, and is material; but God is mere spirit, whose particular influences being shed upon certain material objects are called souls in the same manner as the reflections of the sun are seen on water placed in various vessels. As these reflections of the sun seem to be moved by the motion of the water of those vessels without effecting any motion in the sun, so souls, being, as it were, the reflections of the Supreme Spirit on matter, seem to be affected by the circumstances that influence matter, without God being affected by such circumstances. As some reflections are bright from the purity of the water on which they are cast, while others seem obscure owing to its foulness, so some souls are more pure from the purity of the matter

with which they are connected, while others are dull owing to the dullness of matter.

As the reflections of the sun, though without light proper to themselves, appear splendid from their connection with the illuminating sun, so the soul, though not true intellect, seems intellectual and acts as if it were real spirit from its actual relation to the Universal Intellect: and as from the particular relations of the sun to the water placed in different pots, various reflections appear resembling the same sun in nature and differing from it in qualities; and again as these cease to appear on the removal of the water, so through the peculiar relation of various material objects to one Supreme Spirit, numerous souls appear and seem as performing good and evil works, and also receiving their consequences ; and as soon as that relation ceases, they, at that very minute cease to appear distinctly from their original. Hence God is one, and the soul, although it is not in fact of a different origin from God, is yet liable to experience the consequences of good and evil works ; but this liability of the soul to reward or punishment cannot render God liable to either.

The third fault alleged by you, is, that from the doctrines alluded to, the perfection of God and his sufficiency cannot be maintained. This is your position, but you have advanced no arguments to prove it. If you afterwards do, I may consider the force of them. If you, however, mean by the position that if souls be considered as parts of God, as declared by the Vedanta, and proceeding from the Supreme Spirit, God must be insufficient and imperfect ; I will in this case refer you to the above answer, that is, although the reflections of the sun owe to him their existence and depend upon and return to the same sun, yet this circumstance does not tend to prove the insufficiency or imperfection of the sun.

Moreover, you say the Vedanta teaches that as bubbles arise from and again are absorbed in water; in like manner through the influence of Maya the world repeatedly proceeds from, depends upon, and is absorbed into God ; and hence you infer that, according to this doctrine, the reproach of God's being under the influence of Maya attaches to the Deity. I reply, that the resemblance of the bubbles with the world is maintained by the Vedanta only in two respects: 1st, as the bubbles receive from water through the influence of the wind, their birth and existence, so the world takes by the

power of God, its original existence from the Supreme Being and depends upon him ; and 2ndly, that there is no reality in the existence either of bubbles or of the world. When we say such a one is like a lion, we mean resemblance only in respect of courage and strength and not in every respect, as in point of shape, size, &c. In like manner the resemblance of the world to bubbles, in this instance, lies in point of dependence and unreality. Were the similarity acknowledged in every respect we must admit God to be an insensitive existence like a portion of water and the world as a bubble to be a small part of God moving sometimes on the surface of the Deity and again uniting with him. Those who look only after faults, may think themselves justified in alleging that in consequence of the comparison of the world to bubbles of water and of Maya to the wind, as found in the Vedanta, God is supposed to be influenced by Maya.

Maya is the power of God through which the world receives its birth, existence and changes; but no men of learning who are not biassed by partiality, would infer from these opinions an idea of the inferiority of God to Maya, his attribute, For as men of every tribe and of every country whatsoever acknowledge God to be the Cause of the world, they necessarily consider him possessed of the power through which he creates the world. But no one is from this concluded to believe that God is subordinate to that power. God pardons the sins of those that sincerely repent, through his attribute of mercy: this cannot be taken as an admission of the Deity's subjection to his own mercy. The followers of the Vedanta say, that Maya is opposed to knowledge, for when a true knowledge of God is obtained, the effect of Maya, which makes the soul appear distinct from God, does immediately cease.

The term Maya implies, primarily, the power of creation, and secondarily, its effect, which is the Universe. The Vedanta, by comparing the world with the misconceived notion of a snake, when a rope really exists, means that the world, like the supposed snake, has no independent existence, that it receives its existence from the Supreme Being. In like manner the Vedanta compares the world with a dream : as all the objects seen in a dream depend upon the motion of the mind, so the existence of the world is dependent upon the being of God, who is the only object of supreme love ; and in declaring that God is all in all and that there is no other substance

except God, the Vedanta means that existence in reality belongs to God alone. He is consequently true and omnipresent; nothing else can bear the name of true existence. We find the phrases, God is all and in all, in the Christian books; and I suppose they do not mean by such words that pots, mats, &c., are gods. I am inclined to believe that by these terms they mean the omnipresence of God. Why do you attempt, by cavils, to find fault with the Vedanta?

All the objects are divided into matter and spirit. The world, as Vedanta says, is but matter, the effect of Maya, and God is spirit. Hence as every material object takes its origin from the universal matter under the superintendence of the Supreme Spirit, and again returns to its origin; so all individual perceiving existences, called souls, like reflections of the sun, appear differently from each other depending upon the universal perception and again returning to it. We see the flame of one candle appearing differently from that of another, but as soon as its connexion with the candle is over, each is absorbed into the universal heat. In like manner, the individual spirits return to the universal Supreme Spirit, as soon as its connexion with matter is destroyed.

Whether is it more reasonable to say that the intellectual soul has its origin from the universal pure Spirit, or that the soul is made of nothing or of insensible matter? If you say God is omnipotent, he can therefore produce the soul from nothing, you would be involved in difficulties; one of which is that as God is not a perceptible object, we can establish his existence only from reason and experience: were we to set aside reason and experience in order to admit that the soul or any other object is made from nothing, there would remain no means to prove the existence of God, much less of his omnipotence. It would strengthen atheistical tenets and destroy all religion, to defy inference from experience.

You find fault with the Nyaya Sastra, that it declares that God is one, and souls are various, but both imperishable; that space, position and time, as well as atoms are eternal; and that the power of creation resides in God in a peculiarly united relation. It says also that God allots to the soul the consequences of its good and evil works; and that he is possessed of immutable will. Hence you maintain that according to these doctrines, God cannot be supposed to be the true cause of the world; because he, like us, creates things with the aid of materials, such as matter, &c. I reply—Every professor of any

theistical system, such as the followers of the Nyaya doctrines, and those of Christianity believe that God is not perishable, and that the soul has no end. The soul, during an endless period, either enjoys the beatitude procured by the acquisition of a knowledge of God, or receives the consequences of works. In like manner, they both believe that it is God that bestows on the soul the consequences of its good and evil actions; and that the will of God is immutable. If any fault be found with these doctrines, then the system of the Nyaya and of Christianity both must be equally subject to it; for both systems maintain these doctrines.

Besides, different objects, as the Nyaya says, are of course produced at different times, a circumstance which cannot disprove the eternity of the will of God, who is beyond the limits of time; but all other objects are effected at certain times as appointed by the eternal will of God.

The relation which subsists between a substance and its quality or action, is called "Samavaya" and by that relation the act of creating the world resides in the Creator, a fact which is acknowledged by almost all theists. No being can be called an agent, unless an action be found in him.

No one can ever conceive any object, whether God or not-God, divested of space and time. If you therefore set aside the idea of space and time, you will not be able to prove anything whatever. Both the followers of the Nyaya and of the Christian religion believe God to be eternal, that is, he exists from eternity to eternity; and the very term eternity, implying duration without beginning or end, makes it coeval with God. But if we mean by the eternal existence of God, that he had no beginning in point of time nor will he have an end—this definition is not only applicable to God and to time, but also points out even that the notion of the eternity of God depends on the notion of time.

It is obvious that the material cause of the world is its most minute particles, whose destruction is evidently impossible: these are called *anus* or atoms. The immaterial God cannot be supposed the material cause of those particles, nor can Nothing be supposed to be the cause of them: therefore these particles must be eternal, and are only brought into different forms, at different times and places, by the will of God. We see all that originate in volition or voluntary causes, producing effects by means of materials; and as God is acknow-

ledged by all parties to be the voluntary cause of the world, he therefore is believed to have created the world by means of matter, space, and time. The objection which you make to this system, is, that according to this doctrine the Creator of the world and the individual soul, which is also a partial creator, should be considered gods; the only difference would be that the former is greater than the latter. I reply—Such objection is not applicable to this system; because God is an independent agent, and the Creater of the whole world; but the soul is an inferior Agent dependent in all its acts on the will of God. No partial resemblance can establish the equality of any being with God; for Christians and Hindoos ascribe to God and to the soul, will and mercy; but neither of them suppose that therefore both are Gods, but that one is superior and the other inferior.

You object to the Mimansa, saying that it declares God to be the wonderful consequences occasioned by the performance of various sacrificial rites consisting of various articles, and of incantations composed of Sanskrit words; but that among mankind there are various languages and sastras, and both language and sacrificial articles are but insensible and under the power of man. How can God be the consequences of rites, the product of language and sacrificial articles, both of which are in the power of human beings? And you again say, that according to the Mimansa doctrines, God is one and that he is mere rites; but rites are various. How can the unity of God, according to these sentiments, be maintained? Especially in those countries where rites are not performed in the Sanskrit language, God cannot exist. I reply, in the first place, the two objections offered by you are inconsistent with each other; for first you say that God is said by the Mimansa to be the consequences of rites, and again you say that he is declared to be rites themselves. However, the followers of the Mimansa are of two classes: one do not carry their view further than the performance of rites, and they are reckoned among atheists; another sect profess the existence of God, but they say that the reward or punishment which we experience is the consequence of our works, to which God is quite neutral; and they maintain that to say that God, by inducing some men to pray to him or to act virtuously, rewards them, and at the same time neglects others and then punishes them for not having made their supplications to him (though both are equally his children), amounts to an imputation against God of unjust partiality. Hence it is evident.

that according to the doctrines of this sect, the unity of God is well maintained.

In attempting to expose the Patanjala Darsana you say that it recommends to man, in lieu of rites, to perform yoga (or the regulating of breath in a particular mode which is calculated to divert the human mind from all worldly objects :) therefore the objections applicable to the Mimansa are applicable to the Patanjala also.

I reply—It is declared in the Patanjala that through means of yoga man may surmount all the distress and grievances of the world whereby he may enjoy beatitude, and that God is pure and beyond the apprehension of the senses and is the Superintendent of the universe. I am therefore at a loss to know upon what ground you have placed the Patanjala on a level with the Mimansa.

You find fault with the doctrines of the Sankhya that it represents the Ruler of nature and nature as the two halves of a grain of vetch, but on account of the supremacy of the former, he is called the invisible God. Hence you infer the duality of the Deity. I reply that the invisible but pervading nature is said by the Sankhya to be, under the influence of the Supreme Spirit, the cause of the existence and continuation of the universe. Nature is therefore declared by the Sankhya to be subordinate to, and dependent on the perceiving Spirit, and consequently the Spirit is the Supreme God.

The commentators, in their interpretation of the Veda, though they differ from each other on subordinate subjects, yet all agree in ascribing to him neither *form* nor *flesh*, neither *birth* nor *death*.

The remaining part of the answer is to be inserted in the 2nd number of the Magazine.

NUMBER SECOND

OF THE

BRAHMUNICAL MAGAZINE.

Translation of an extract from a letter (shewing the unreasonableness of the Hindoo Sastras,) which appeared in the Samachar Darpan, a weekly newspaper printed at the Mission Press, Shreerampore, of date July 14, 1821.

FIFTHLY. In the Puranas and Tantras the worship of God as possessing various names, forms and localities is ordered for the benefit of mankind and the choosing of a spiritual teacher and submitting implicitly to his instructions, are also strictly enjoined; and they also enjoin the belief that such visible gods—although having, like us, women and children, although subject to the senses and discharging all bodily functions—are omnipresent. This is very wonderful. In the first place, from this it follows that there are many gods, and they are subject to the senses. Secondly, the omnipresence of a being possessed of name and form is incredible. If you say his organs are not like ours, we acknowledge it. But if he is not possessed of organs composed of the material elements like us, then we must consider him as possessed of organs composed of immaterial elements; but material existences can never know immaterial objects, why then should I acknowledge him to be possessed of names and forms? Thirdly, that the Sastra says that God is possessed of name and form, but that mankind cannot see him with their natural eyes. On this ground, how can I acknowledge his forms and names? Fourthly, in that Sastra there is an account of the regard due to the words of a spiritual teacher. If any one is unacquainted with a particular subject how can his instructions on that subject be of any advantage? There would be some more reason, if any one desirous of knowing the way of God from another should first ascertain his qualifications and then put confidence in him. Any mode of receiving religious instruction besides this, although it may be agreeable to the popular practice, will be productive of no advantage.

SIXTHLY. According to the doctrine of the Hindoo Sastras, mankind are repeatedly born and repeatedly die, assuming through the influence of their works animate or inanimate bodies. According to one sect there is the eternal enjoyment of heaven or endurance of hell after death, and according to another sect there is no future state; and all the inhabitants of this world, except the inhabitants of Hindoostan, receive no consequence of their works and are not subject to works. Which of these is true? and in what way is it possible that they can all alike be consistent with the sastras?

A learned person has sent from a distant place a letter containing these few questions. His wish is to obtain an answer to each question and it has accordingly been printed: Whoever writes a proper answer may have it printed and everywhere distributed by sending it to the Shreerampore printing office.

REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

Translation of an extract from a reply in defence of the Hindoo Sastras which was sent to the Editor of the Samachar Darpan, but was not inserted in that paper.

FIFTHLY. You find fault with the Puranas and Tantras that they have established the duty of worshipping God, for the benefit of mankind, as possessing various forms, names and localities ; because they order to have a spiritual teacher, and to repose implicit confidence in his words : because they acknowledge the omnipresence of a Being whom yet they allow to be possessed of form, wife, and children, subject to the senses, and discharging all bodily functions ; and because according to this, in the first place, it appears that there are many gods and that they enjoy the things of this world : that secondly, the omnipresence of a being possessed of name and form is incredible : and that thirdly, those Sastras affirm that God is possessed of name and form ; but mortals cannot perceive him by their bodily eyes—how on this ground can we acknowledge his name and form ?

I answer. The Puranas, &c., agreeable to the Vedanta represent God in every way as incomprehensible and without form. There is, moreover, this in the Puranas, that lest persons of feeble intellect unable to comprehend God as not subject to the senses and without form, should either pass their life without any religious duties whatsoever or should engage in evil work—to prevent this they have represented God in the form of a man and other animals and as possessed of all those desires with which we are conversant whereby they may have some regard to the Divine Being. Afterwards by diligent endeavours they become qualified for the true knowledge of God : but over and over again the Puranas have carefully affirmed, that they have given this account of the forms of God with a view to the benefit of persons of weak minds, and that in truth, God is without name, form, organs, and sensual enjoyment. "Weak and ignorant "persons, unable to know the supreme and indivisible God, think "of him as possessed of certain limitations." (Sentence quoted in the commentary upon the Mandukya Upanishad.) "For the assistance of

"the worshippers of the Supreme Being, who is pure intellect, one, "without divisibility or body, a fictitious representation is given of "his form" (a sentence of Jamadagni quoted by the Smartta). "According to the nature of his qualities, his various forms have been "fictitiously given for the benefit of those worshippers who are of "slow understanding." (Mahanirvana Tantra.)

But it is particularly to be noticed, that there is no end of the Tantras. In the same manner the Mahapuranas, Puranas, Upapuranas, Ramayana, &c., are very numerous: on this account an excellent rule from the first has been this, that those Puranas and Tantras which have commentaries, and those parts which have been quoted by the acknowledged expounders, are received for evidence; otherwise a sentence quoted on the mere authority of the Puranas and Tantras is not considered evidence. Those numerous Puranas and Tantras which have no commentary and are not quoted by any established expounder may probably be of recent composition. Some Puranas and Tantras are received in one province, the natives of other provinces consider them spurious; or rather, what some people in a province acknowledge, others considering it to be only recent, do not receive; therefore those Puranas and Tantras only which have been commented upon or quoted by respectable authors are to be regarded. A commonly received rule for ascertaining the authority of any book is this, that whatever book opposes the Veda, is destitute of authority. "All Smritis which are contrary to the Veda, and all atheistical "works, are not conducive to future happiness: they dwell in "darkness." Manu. But the missionary gentlemen seldom translate into English the Upanishads, the ancient Smritis, the Tantras quoted by respectable authors and which have been always regarded. But having translated those works which are opposed to the Vedas, which are not quoted by any respectable author, and which have never been regarded as authority, they always represent the Hindoo Religion as very base.

With a view to prove the errors of the Puranas and Tantras, you say, that the Puranas represent God as possessed of various names and forms, as possessed of a wife and children, and as subject to the senses, and to the discharge of bodily functions; from which it follows that there are many gods, that they are subject to sensual pleasure, and the omnipresence of God cannot be maintained. I therefore humbly ask the missionary gentlemen, whether or not they call Jesus

Christ, who is possessed of the human form and also the Holy Ghost who is possessed of the dove shape, the very God? (1) And whether they do not consider that Jesus Christ, the very God, received impressions by the external organs, eyes, &c. and operated by means of the active organs, hands, &c. And whether or not they consider him as subject to all the human passions? Was he angry or not? (2) Was his mind afflicted or not? (3) Did he experience any suffering or pain? (4) And did he not eat and drink? (5) Did he not live a long time with his own mother, brothers and relations? (6) Was he not born? (7) And did he not die? (8) And did not the Holy Ghost, who is the very God, in the form of a dove remove from one place to another? (9) And did he not beget Jesus Christ by his intercourse with a woman? (10) If they acknowledge all this, then they cannot find fault with the Puranas, alleging that in them the names and the forms of God are established, and that according to them God must be considered as subject to the senses, and as possessing senses and organs, and that God must be considered as having a wife and child, and as not possessed of omnipresence on account of his having a form. Because all these errors, *viz.*, the plurality of gods, their sensual indulgence and their locality are applicable to themselves in a complete degree. To say that everything however contrary to the laws of nature, is possible with God, will equally afford a pretence to missionaries and Hindoos in support of their respective incarnations. The aged Vyasa has spoken truth in the Mahabharata: "O king!

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(1) "And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him;" Luke, Chap. III., v. 22.

(2) "And, when he had looked round about on them *with anger*," Mark, Chap. III., v. 5.

(3) "And being in an *agony*, he prayed more earnestly: and *his sweat* was as it were great *drops of blood* falling down to the ground." Luke, Chap. XXII., v. 44.

(4) "Jesus *cried* with a loud voice, saying, My God, My God, why hast thou *forsaken me*." Matthew, Chap. XXVII., v. 46.

(5) "The Son of man is come *eating and drinking*;" Luke, Chap. VII., v. 34.

(6) "And he went down with them and came to Nazareth, and *was subject unto them*:" Luke, Chap. II., v. 51.

(7) "When Jesus *was born* in Bethlehem, &c." Matthew, Chap. II., v. 1.

(8) "And they shall scourge him and put him *to death*." Luke, Chap. XVIII., v. 33.

(9) Luke, Chap. III., v. 22.

(10) "The Holy-Ghost *shall come* upon thee, &c." Luke, Chap. I., v. 35. "Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she *was found with child of the Holy Ghost*." Matthew, Chap. I., v. 18.

a person sees the faults of another although they are like the grains of mustard seed, but although his own faults are big as the Bel fruit, looking at them he cannot perceive them." Moreover the Puranas say that the names, forms and sensual indulgence of God which we have mentioned, are fictitious; and we have so spoken with a view to engage the minds of persons of weak understanding; but the missionary gentlemen say that the account which is given in the Bible of the names, forms and sensual indulgence of God is real. Therefore the plurality of gods, their locality and subjection to sensual indulgence, are faults to be found in a real sense, only in the system of the missionary gentlemen.

Secondly, the Hindoo Puranas and Tantras, in which the fictitious account is given, are subordinate to the Veda, but are not the very Veda itself: when they disagree with the Veda their authority is not regarded. "When the Veda and the Puranas disagree, the Veda "must be regarded; pious men will always explain the Puranas &c., "in agreement with what the Veda declares." (Quotation by the Smartta). But the missionary gentlemen consider the Bible as their Veda and in explaining it, have, in this manner, dishonoured God in a real sense. A real error, therefore, and an excess of error is discovered in their own system.

You have moreover asked, what advantage can be derived from the instructions of a spiritual teacher, who is himself ignorant of what he professes to teach? What advantage is there in adopting a spiritual teacher according to the popular practice in this country? I reply, this objection is not at all applicable to the Hindoo Sastra, because the Sastra enjoins that such a spiritual teacher must be chosen as is acquainted with what he teaches, but in choosing any other sort of spiritual teacher no spiritual benefit is obtained for the purpose of divine knowledge. "He, taking in his hand the sacrificial wood, must approach to a spiritual teacher who is well read in the Vedas and devoted to the faith of Brahma." (Mundaka Veda). "There are "many spiritual teachers who take the wealth of their disciples; but a "spiritual teacher who removes the errors of his disciples, O! goddess, "is difficult to be obtained" (Tantra). The definition of a spiritual teacher: "He is subdued in the members of his body and affections of "his mind, of honourable birth," &c. (Quotation by Krishnananda).

You say at the end, that according to one Hindoo Sastra, by means of works the body repeatedly becomes animate or inanimate; that,

according to another sect, after leaving the body there is either the eternal enjoyment of heaven or the eternal endurance of hell; and that, according to another sect there is no future state. I answer,—It is not contained in any part of the Hindoo Sastra that there is no future state: this is an atheistical tenet. But it is true that the Sastra says, that even in this world, the consequences both of some good and some evil works are experienced, or God after death inflicts the consequences of the sins and holiness of some in hell and heaven, or the Supreme Ruler bestows the consequences of the sins and holiness of others, by giving them other bodies either animate or inanimate. In this what mutual disagreement appears such as you have attempted to establish? According to the Christian doctrine, likewise, there are various kinds of consequences attached to different actions; God even in this world gives the punishment of sins and rewards for holiness, as in the case of the Jews. It is written in the Bible, that even in this world God punished their sins and rewarded their holiness; moreover Jesus Christ himself has said, that by giving alms openly, fruit will be obtained only in this world;* and it is also written in the Bible that some have enjoyed good and suffered evil after death. By saying so, no inconsistency appears in the Bible; because God is the rewarder, and he gives some the consequences of their deeds in this world, others in the next. Christians all allow, that after the destruction of the body, God, at the time of judgment, gives a body to the spirit, and bestows on this corporeal spirit the consequences of its good and evil works. If they believe that, contrary to the laws of Nature, God can give a body to the spirit and make it receive the consequences of its works, then why should they express surprise, if, in consistency with these laws, God shall, by having given a body, bestow on the spirit in this world the consequences of its works? You have said that all the inhabitants of the world except those of Hindoostan receive no consequences of their works. Such a sentiment is not contained in any part of their Sastra. But you also say that all the other inhabitants of the world have no works; the meaning of which is that they have no rites prescribed by the Veda; which is indeed correct: therefore the Sastra is in every respect perfectly consistent. You will consider the same here of the Darsanas; that is, all the Darsanas call God incomprehensible; and above all, in considering the nature of other objects, those who

*Matthew, Chap. VI., v. 2.

variously understood the meaning of the Veda expressed themselves differently. In the same manner although the commentators on the Bible in some parts disagree, this is no fault of the Bible and no diminution of the reputation of the commentators.

I have now written what I intended, respecting the errors which, as contrary to reason, you have stated to be in the Hindoo Sastra. The reverend missionaries are in Calcutta, Shreerampore and various other places. What is afterwards written, is intended to ascertain how far *their* doctrines are agreeable to reason.

They call Jesus Christ the Son of God and the very God :—How can the son be the very Father ?

They sometimes call Jesus Christ the Son of man, and yet say no man was his Father.

They say that God is one, and yet say that the Father is God, the Son is God and the Holy Ghost is God.

They say that God must be worshipped in spirit and yet they worship Jesus Christ as very God, although he is possessed of a material body.

They say that the Son is of the same essence and existence as the Father, and they also say that the Son is equal to the Father. But how can equality subsist except between objects possessed of different essences and existences ?

I shall be much obliged by answers to these enquiries.

SIVAPRASAD SARMA.

NUMBER THIRD

OF THE

BRAHMUNICAL MAGAZINE.

In the Friend of India No. 38 a reply has been made in English to the 2nd number of the Brahmunical Magazine composed both in English and Bengali and published a few weeks ago. As the controversy in question is intended by both parties chiefly for the benefit of the Hindoo community and secondarily for the use of Europeans, I feel much disappointed in my expectation of being favoured by the editor or his colleagues with a reply in English and Bengali to insert in the next number of my Magazine. I however must receive it as it is, and beg to be allowed to make a few remarks on the reply.

As to my first question proposed in the Magazine in the following words, "They call Jesus Christ the son of God and the very God—"how can the son be the very father ?," the Editor denies the accuracy of the information on which I found this question, and firmly asserts that "the Bible nowhere says that the son is the father." I, therefore, deem it necessary to shew my reason for the above query, leaving it to the public to pronounce on the justifiableness of it, either in their conversation or religious publications. Christian teachers profess that God is one, and that Jesus Christ is the son of God. Hence I naturally concluded that they believe the son to be the father, and consequently questioned the reasonableness of such a doctrine. For when a person affirms that such a one, say James, is one, and that John is his son, and again says that John is actually James, we should naturally conclude that he means that John the son is James the father, and be at liberty to ask how can John the son be James the father? But as the Editor, a leading minister of that religion, declares that "the Bible nowhere says *that the son is the father, but says that the son is equal to the father*, in nature and essence" and "*distinct in person*" &c., and recommends me to reflect on mankind, of whom "every son, who has not the same human nature with his father, must be a monster": it would be too much boldness on my part to give preference to my

apprehension of the meaning of the Bible over that of the Editor. I would therefore have admitted (as suggested by the Editor) that the son of God is God, on the analogy and in the sense that the son of a man is a man, had I not been compelled by his very suggestion to reject entirely his other still more important assertion, that is, the coeval existence of the son with the father. For, the belief of the nature of the son of man being the same as that of the father, though it justifies the idea of the son of God being God, is utterly repugnant to the possibility of the son being coeval with his father. It is evident that if a son of man be supposed coeval with his father, he must be considered something more extraordinary than a monster!

It is believed by all religious sects, that when God reveals his will or law to the human race, he reveals it through their language in its common acceptation. I beg, therefore, of the Editor, to favour me with a direct reply to the following question.—Do the missionary gentlemen take the word "God" as a proper name or as a common one, all nouns being divided into two kinds, common and proper? In the former case, that is, if they consider the term "God" appropriated to one individual existence as every other proper name is, they must relinquish the idea of the son of God being the very God. How can we think the son of John or James to be John or James, or coeval with John or James? And in the latter case, that is, if they receive the term "God" as common name, they may maintain the opinion that the son of God is God in the same way as the son of a man is man, which, as the Editor says, "must necessarily be the case," but they, in this case, cannot be justified in professing a belief in the equal duration of the son with the father; for *every son, whatever may be his nature, must have existence originating subsequently to that of his own father.* The only difference between these two common nouns "God" and "man" would be, that the latter includes a great many individuals under it and the former only three distinct persons, though of superior power and nature. But no smallness of the number or mightiness of power of persons under one common name, can exclude it from being classed as a general noun; for it is well established by the observers of nature that the number of individuals comprised under the term "mankind" is much less, and their nature is far more mighty, than the living embryos in the milt of a single cod-fish—a circumstance which does not make man less a genus than the term fish.

We see individuals under one term of mankind, though they are distinct in person, yet one in nature, as being all men. In like manner three beings under one godhead, according to the Editor, though they are distinct in person are yet, I infer, considered by him one in nature as gods,—god the Father, god the son, and god the Holy Ghost. Is this the unity of God which the Editor professes? Can this doctrine justify him in ridiculing Hindoo polytheism, because many of them say, that under one Godhead there are more than three beings distinct in person but one in nature?

As to my third question "They say God is one, and yet say that "the Father is God, the Son is God and the Holy Ghost is God", the Editor admits the fact, as he says, that "the Bible ascribes the same divine nature and perfections to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and yet declares that though distinct in person they are one in nature and attributes," that "it (the Bible) teaches men to worship each of them as God," and that "the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are "described in Scripture as equally giving grace and peace to men, as "pardoning sin and leading men into the paths of righteousness." But instead of shewing the reasonableness of the idea of three distinct gods being one God, as requested, he confesses the total inconsistency of this doctrine with reason and makes the Bible responsible for it, saying, "But the Bible, while it fully reveals these facts, still forbears "to inform us how the Father, the Son and the Holy spirit exist and "form the triune God"; and adds, "nor had it informed us, are we cer- "tain that we should have comprehended it." The Editor or his colleagues ought to have taken into consideration such unreasonableness attaching to the most important of all their doctrines before they had published in the "Samachar-Darpan" the letter accusing the Vedanta and the rest of the Hindoo Sastras of want of reason—a circumstance which might have saved the Editor the reluctant avowal of the unreasonableness of the foundation of his own system of faith. The Editor, however, attempts to procure belief for this doctrine so palpably contrary to reason and experience, under the plea that "there are many things which pass around and within us, of the "manner of which we can form no just idea, though no one doubts "their truth. We know not how plants and trees draw matter from "the earth and transform it into the leaves, flowers, and fruits, "although no one questions the fact;—nor how mind so acts upon "matter as to enable a man at will to raise his hand to his head, and

"with it to perform the hardest labour. Until we comprehend the "manner in which these operations on matter are effected, which "constantly pass around and within us, we have little reason to com-"plain, because the triune God has not condescended to inform us of "the precise mode in which his infinite and glorious nature exists and "acts." How is it possible for the Editor, or for any one possessed of common sense, not to perceive the gross error of drawing an analogy from things around and within us to the three distinct persons of the Godhead in one existence, which so far from being around or within us, exist only in the imagination of the missionaries?

Here the growth of a tree and its producing leaves and flowers, as well as the operation of mind on matter, being around and within us, are commonly perceptible by all men whether Christians or not Christians, a denial of which is utterly impossible for one who is possessed of the senses. It is very true that the exact manner in which plants grow or the mind operates, and the precise principles of nature which act upon them, are not thoroughly understood. But all that these facts amount to is, that things around or within us, whether visible or demonstrated by visible facts, compel conviction. Do the three distinct persons of Godhead in unity exist like growing trees or bodies joined to mind? Are they phenomena commonly perceptible alike by Christians and non-Christians? Or are they like mountains of ice in northern countries, which, though they are not seen or felt by us, yet are reported to us by eye-witnesses, without any contradiction from others who have also passed the places where they are said to exist, and where they are liable to be seen by any one, that we should be compelled to believe the existence of the triune God like that of growing trees, operating minds, or mountains of ice, though we cannot understand them; or rather though we find them exactly contrary to what we have understood? Christians may perhaps consider the Trinity as perceptible by them through the force of early instructions, in the same manner as the followers of the Tantra doctrines among Hindoos in Bengal consider God as consisting of five distinct persons and yet as one God, and as the generality of modern Hindoos esteem numerous incarnations under one Godhead almost as an experienced fact from their early habits. How can Christians, who in general justly pride themselves on their cultivated understanding, admit such an analogy or justify any one in misleading others with such sophistries? The only excuse which I feel inclined to make for them, and perhaps

a true one, is, that the enlightened amongst them, like several of the Greek and Roman philosophers, yield, through policy, to the vulgar opinions, though fully sensible of the unjustifiableness of them. I am, however, sorry to observe that the minds of a great number of Christians are so biassed in favour of the doctrine of the Trinity from the strong impression made on them by education in their youth, that they can readily defy the suggestions of the senses, reason, and experience in opposition to this doctrine. They accuse Brahmanical priests of having an unjust ascendancy over their pupils, while they forget how greatly Christians are influenced by their ministers so as to overlook the error of such an analogy as the above, and others of a similar nature.

The Editor has first declared that "the Bible forbears to inform "us how the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit exist," &c., "the "triune God has not condescended to inform us of the precise mode in "which his infinite and glorious nature exists and acts";—nevertheless as he particularizes the mode of their existence and actions separately and distinctly from the authority of the Bible, stating that "the Son who has existed with the Father from enternity has "created heaven and earth" that "from his infinite pity to sinful men "he condescended *to lay aside his glory for a season*;" that "taking "on himself *the form of a servant* he might worship and obey the "father as his God"; that "he prayed his father to glorify him only "with his own glory which he had with his father before the founda-"tion of the world and which for a season he had laid aside;" that "he was permitted to ascend up where he was before;" and that lastly "he was seated at the right-hand of the Majesty on high" who "gave him as mediator all power in heaven and earth;" and that "God the Spirit was also pleased to testify to men his approba-"tion of the Son's becoming incarnate, by visibly descending upon "him in the form of a dove." Notwithstanding their different locations, different actions and distinct existences, the Editor represents them as one, and also demands of the rest of the world a belief in their unity. Is it possible even to conceive for a moment the identity between three Beings, one of them in heaven expressing his pleasure at the conduct of the second, who at the same time on the earth was performing religious rites, and the third of them then residing between heaven and earth descending on the second at the will of the first. If the difference of bodies and situations as well as of

actions and employments, be not sufficient to set aside the idea of the identity and real unity of persons, there would be no means of distinguishing one person from another, and no criterion would be left for considering a tree different from a rock or a bird from a man. Is this the doctrine which the Editor ascribes to God? And can any book, which contains an idea that defies the use of the senses, be considered worthy to be ascribed to that Being who has endued the human race with senses and understanding for their use and guidance? As long as men have the use of their senses and faculties, (unless sunk in early prejudices) they never can be expected to be deluded by any circumlocutions founded upon circumstances not only beyond understanding but also contrary to experience and to the evidence of the senses. God the Son is declared by the Editor to have *laid aside his glory* for a season, and to have prayed his father to give him the same glory, and also to have taken the *form of a servant.* Is it consistent with the nature of the *immutable God to lay aside* any part of his condition and *to pray for it* again? Is it conformable to the nature of *the Supreme Ruler* of the universe *to take the form of a servant,* though only for a season? Is this the true idea of God which the Editor maintains? Even idolaters among Hindoos have more plausible excuses for their polytheism. I shall be obliged, if the Editor can shew that the polytheistical doctrines maintained by Hindoos are, in any degree, more unreasonable than his own. If not, he will not, I trust, endeavour in future to introduce among them one set of polytheistical sentiments as a substitute for another set; *both of them* being *equally* and *solely* protected by the *shield of mystery.*

The Editor acknowledges the fact of God's appearing in the shape of a dove to testify the appointment of God the Son, stating, that "when God renders himself visible to man, it must be by "appearing in some form." But I wonder how, after such acknowledgment the Editor can ridicule the idea of God's appearing in the shape of a fish or cow, which is entertained by the Pauranika* Hindoos? Is not a fish as innocent as a dove? Is not a cow more useful than a pigeon?

All that I said of the Holy Ghost, is as follows: "Did not the "Holy Ghost, who is very God, in the form of a dove remove from one "place to another? and did he not beget Jesus Christ by his divine "intercourse with a woman?"—alluding in the former question to his

* Mythologist or mythological.

descent on Jesus Christ, when baptized, in the shape of a dove, and in the latter to his having begot Christ by a woman not married to him, as is evident from their Scriptures: "She was found with "child of the Holy Ghost":* "The Holy Ghost shall come upon "thee."† Both of these circumstances is solemnly acknowledged by the Editor. But whence or how the Editor infers again my misrepresentation of the fact, and my attempt to ridicule the doctrine, I am unable to discover.

As to my fourth question, viz., "They say that God must be "worshipped in spirit and yet they worship Jesus Christ as very God, "although he is possessed of a material body," the Editor has given an evasive answer; for he says, "Christians worship Jesus Christ "and not his body separately from him." I never charged Christians in my question with worshipping the body of Jesus Christ separately from himself, that the Editor could be justified in denying Christians having worshipped him and not his body. The Editor in fact confesses their adoration of Jesus Christ as the very God in the material form: nevertheless he attempts to maintain that they worship God in spirit. If we admit that the worship of spirit possessed of material body is worship in spirit, we must not any longer impute idolatry to any religious sect, for none of them adore mere matter unconnected with spirit. Did the Greeks and Romans worship the bodies of Jupiter and Juno and their other supposed gods separately from their respective spirits? Are not the miraculous works ascribed by them to these gods, proofs of their viewing them as spirits connected with the body? Do the idolaters among Hindoos worship the assumed forms of their incarnations divested of their spirit? Nothing of the kind! Even in worshipping idols Hindoos do not consider them objects of worship until they have performed Pranapratishtha or communication of divine life. According to the definition given by the Editor, none of them can be supposed idolaters, because they never worship the body separately from the spirit! But in fact any worship through either an artificial form or imaginary material representation is nothing but idolatry.

Moreover, the Editor says that "the Father, Son and Holy Ghost "are also described in scripture, as equally giving grace and peace "to man, as pardoning sin and leading men in the paths of righteous-

* Matthew, Chap. I. v. 18. † Luke, Chap. I., v. 35.

"ness, which things omniscience, omnipotence, infinite love and mercy "can alone perform." I do not know any polytheistical system more clear than this description of the Editor as declaring three Beings equally omniscient, omnipotent, and possessed of infinite mercy. I, however, beg to ask, whether the omnipotence, omniscience, and infinite mercy of one person is sufficient or not to arrange the universal system and preserve its harmony? If so, an admission of the omnipotence and omniscience of the second and the third is superfluous and absurd ; but if not sufficient, why should we stop at the number three and not carry on the numeration until the number of omnipotent Beings becomes at least equal to that of the heavenly bodies, ascribing to each the management of every globe. From the skill which Europeans generally display in conducting political affairs and effecting mechanical inventions, foreigners very often conclude that their religious doctrines would be equally reasonable ; but as soon as any one of them is made acquainted with such doctrines as are professed by the Editor and by a great number of his countrymen, he will firmly believe that religious truth has no connection with political success.

My fifth question was, "How can equality subsist except between objects possessed of different essences and existences?" But the Editor repeats only a part of it, *i.e.* how the son can be equal with the father, when he does possess the same nature, and then declares the question unintelligible. I never meant the impossibility of equality between persons or things that possess the same nature, as we find often equality in some property subsisting between man and man though possessing the same nature ; but as no equality can subsist except between things of different *existences*, and the professed belief of the missionary gentleman was that the Son is the same in existence as well as in nature with the father, I took the liberty to ask how the son can be equal with the father, when he is supposed to be possessed of the same *nature* and *existence*? Unless they deny to the Son the same existence with the Father, they cannot, I think, maintain his equality with the Father. I, therefore, presume, my question is perfectly intelligible.

As to my second remark, viz., "They sometimes call Jesus Christ the son of man, and yet say no man was his Father," the Editor makes the following reply,—"While, thus incarnate, he in many ways unavoidably displayed his divine nature ; but being born of a woman and in all things like unto us as to his human nature, yet

without sin, he condescended to call himself the Son of man, although no man was his Father." I wonder that the Editor, who on the one hand attempts so warmly to prove the deity and inspiration of Jesus Christ, on the other hand accuses the same being of having declared, what was totally contrary to the fact, saying, that he condescended *to call himself the Son of man, although no man was his father.* I also feel surprized at the inconsistency of the Editor, who, while justifying the above statement respecting his Lord, charges the Hindoo Pauranikas with falsity, because the Puranas, in instructing men of weak understanding, have made allegorical representations of God, though they repeatedly confess the allegorical nature of their instructions and explain their motives for introducing them. Besides, he imputes false representation to one of the commentators of the Veda, and that only in his instructing the ignorant in a parabolical manner, and from this single circumstance he condemns "the whole of the Hindoo System."

In the very reply of the Editor, I find the phrase "at the right "hand of God" quoted by the Editor as a scriptural expression. I therefore beg to know whether the phrase "the right hand of God" implies a true representation of God, or not? I find the following expressions even within the three first chapters of the Bible: "he "(God) rested on the seventh day from all his work;" "The Lord God "walking in the garden in the cool of the day;" "And (God) said "unto him (Adam) where art thou?" Did Moses mean by the term "rested" that God ceased to act from fatigue, and attempt to prove the mutableness of God? Did he mean by the phrase "God "walked in the cool of the day" that he moved by means of legs, like men in general, in the cool of the day to avoid the heat of the weather? Or did he mean by the question "Where art thou?" to imply the previous ignorance of the omniscient God? If so, Moses had strange ideas of Jehovah, and but little better than those maintained by his contemporary heathens. I am, however, inclined to think that Moses made use of these expressions conformable to the understanding of the ignorant Jews of his days without subjecting himself to the charge of falsehood; and this, I am informed by Christians, was the opinion of ancient teachers called Fathers of the Church, as well as of many modern learned Christians.

The Editor expresses his joy at "perceiving that the natives have "begun to arouse themselves from that state of morbid apathy and

"insensibility which is a certain symptom of moral death and of "universal corruption of manners," &c. I cannot help feeling compassion for his total want of knowledge of the literary employment and domestic conduct of the native community at large, notwithstanding his long residence in India. During only a few years past, hundreds of works on different subjects, such as Theology, Law, Logic, Grammar, and Astronomy, have been written by the natives of Bengal alone. I do not wonder that they have not reached the knowledge of the Editor, who, in common with all his colleagues, has shut his eyes against anything that might do the smallest credit to the natives. As to the "moral death" ascribed to them by the Editor, I might easily draw a comparison between the domestic conduct of the natives and that of the inhabitants of Europe, to shew where the grossest deficiency lies; but as such a dispute is entirely foreign to the present controversy, I restrain myself from so disagreeable a subject, under the apprehension that it might excite general displeasure.

As to the abusive terms made use of by the Editor, such as "Father "of lies alone to whom it (Hindooism) evidently owes its origin," "Impure fables of his false gods," "Pretended gods of Hindoos;" &c., common decency prevents me from making use of similar terms in return. We must recollect that we have engaged in solemn religious controversy and not in retorting abuse against each other.

I conclude this reply with expressing my hope that the Editor, on noticing it, will arrange his observations methodically, giving an answer to each of my five questions in succession, that the public may judge with facility of the arguments employed on both sides.

THE

BRAHMUNICAL MAGAZINE

OR

THE MISSIONARY AND THE BRAHMUN.

TO BE CONTINUED OCCASIONALLY.

No. IV.

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PREFACE.

Notwithstanding my humble suggestions in the third number of this Magazine, against the use of offensive expressions in religious controversy, I find, to my great surprize and concern, in a small tract lately issued from one of the missionary presses and distributed by missionary gentlemen, direct charges of *atheism* made against the doctrines of the Vedas, and undeserved reflections on us as their followers. This has induced me to publish, after an interval of two years, a fourth number of the Brahmunical Magazine.

In accordance with the mild and liberal spirit of universal toleration, which is well-known to be a fundamental principle of Hindooism, I am far from wishing to oppose any system of religion, much less Christianity; and my regard for the feelings of its professors would restrain me from thus exposing its errors, were they not forced upon my notice by the indiscreet assaults still made by Christian writers on the Hindoo religion. But when they scruple not to wound the feelings of a Hindoo, by attacking the most ancient and sacred oracles of his faith, the inspired Vedas, which have been revered from generation to generation, for time immemorial, should he submit to such wanton aggression without endeavouring to convince these gentlemen, that, in the language of their own Scripture, they "strain at a gnat and swallow a camel" (Matt. XXIII., 24)? Hence they may at least learn *from experience* a lesson of *Charity*, which they are ready enough to inculcate upon others, overlooking, at the same time, the precept given by their God: "Do unto others as you would wish to be done by," implying, that if you wish others to treat your religion respectfully, you should not throw offensive reflections upon the religion of others.

I shall still be extremely glad to enter upon a minute investigation of the comparative merits of our respective religions, more especially if the Christian writers carry on the controversy in moderate and decorous language, worthy of literary characters and sincere inquirers after truth.

CHAPTER I.

A reply to certain queries directed against the Vedanta.

A few queries written in the Bengali language, having again issued from the Mission Press, Sreerampore, directed against the Vedanta system of religion, and a missionary gentleman having brought these queries to the notice of our friend, Rammohun Roy, I naturally expected that the latter would publish a reply.

Disappointed in my expectation, and much hurt at the stigma thrown upon the religion which I profess, following the divine guidance of the Vedas and the dictates of pure reason, I deem it incumbent upon me to defend what I believe to be true, against so unprovoked an aggression.

In his prefatory lines, the author says, that from reading the translation of the Vedanta by Rammohun Roy, he understands that the Vedas declare a knowledge of God to be unattainable by man, and therefore he begs that Rammohun Roy will cease to impart their doctrines until he shall acquire a knowledge of the Deity from some other religious source.

This author, in common with a great number of his fellow-believers, not resting contented with the perversion and misrepresentation of the purport of his own Bible, has been zealously endeavouring to misquote the writings, revered by others as sacred authority, for the purpose of exposing them to ridicule. To prove this assertion I quote here the very first passage of the translation of the abridgement of the Vedanta by Rammohun Roy, to which the querist refers in his prefatory lines.—viz.

"The illustrious Vyasa, in his celebrated work, the Vedanta, "insinuates in the first text, that it is absolutely necessary for man-"kind to acquire knowledge respecting the Supreme Being; but he "found from the following passages of the Vedas that this inquiry is "*limited to very narrow bounds.*—Vyasa also, from the result of "various arguments coinciding with the Veda, found that an *accurate* "and *positive* knowledge of the Supreme Being, is not within the "boundary of comprehension, *i.e.*, *what* and *how* the Supreme Being "is, cannot be *definitely* ascertained. He has, therefore, in the second

" text, *explained* the Supreme Being by his *effects* and *works*, without " attempting to *define* his *essence*."

Now my readers will plainly perceive in the above quotation, that a perfect knowledge respecting the nature and essence of the Deity is, declared in the Vedanta " to be unattainable :" while a knowledge of his existence through " his effects and works " is duly revealed by the Veda and consequently is zealously studied and imparted by us. We find in the Christian Scriptures declarations to the same purport. Psalm CXLV. " Great is the Lord and greatly to be praised ; and his greatness is *unsearchable*." Job XXXVI. 26. God is great and we *know him not : neither* can the number of his years *be searched out*." Will the author of these queries justify any one in following his example,by suggesting to the missionary gentlemen not to inculcate Christian doctrines; on the ground that the Scriptures declare a knowledge of God and the number of the years of his existence *unsearchable* ? I think he will not listen to such a suggestion, and will perhaps say in defence of the missionaries, that since the real nature of God is said in Scripture to be unsearchable, they have never attempted to preach the divine nature and essence. If such be their defence, how could prejudice completely shut the eyes of this interrogator against the plain declaration found in the translation of the Vedanta both in Bengalee and English, which he says he has read : *viz.*, " He (Vyasa) has, therefore, in the second text, explained the " Supreme Being by his *effects* and *works* without attempting to define " his essence."

In answer to his first query, *i.e.*, " Did one God create the world " or not ?" I refer him to the next passage and to a subsequent passage of the same translation of the Vedanta, *viz.*, " *He*, by whom the birth, " existence, and annihilation of the world is regulated, is the Supreme " Being." " All the Vedas prove nothing but the *unity* of the Supreme Being." " God is indeed one and has *no second*." These passages will, I hope, be sufficient to convince the querist, that the doctrine of the *unity* of God is an essential principle of the Vedanta system, however unwelcome it may be to him, as opposing his favorite notion of three Gods, or three Persons equally powerful under an *abstract idea of Godhead*.

In reply to his second query (*i.e.*, " Does God preserve this world or not ? and is his word our rule or not ?") consisting of two questions, I have merely to quote the following passages of the same translation

of the Vedanta, which as they apply to each severally, I place under two separate heads. 1st. "He from whom the universal world "proceeds, who is the *support of the world*, and he, whose work is the "universe, is the Supreme Being." "Who is the *almighty* and the "*sole regulator* of the universe." 2nd. "God is declared to be the "cause of all the Vedas." "Rules and rites (are) prescribed by the "Veda." The former quotations prove that God is the sole support of the world; and the latter declare that the Veda is the law of God, revealed and introduced for our rule and guidance.

As queries 3rd, 4th, and 5th, are in fact one query, I repeat them as they stand and make one reply: "Is God with or without attributes? If God is destitute of all attributes, then how can a rule of right and wrong be recognized? If you say that God is destitute of all attributes, then what is the difference between your principles and those of an atheist?" I reply: The Vedanta, does not ascribe to God any power or attribute *according to the human notion* of properties or modes being attached or subordinate to their substance, such as the faculty of vision, or of wisdom, compassion, anger, &c., in rational animals. Because these properties are sometimes found among the human race in full operation, and again ceasing to operate, as if they were quite extinct; because the power of one of these attributes is often impeded by the operation of another; and because the object in which they exist, depends upon special members of the body, such as the eyes, brain, heart, &c., for the exercise of vision, wisdom, compassion, &c.

In consideration of the incompatibility of such defects with the perfection of the divine nature, the Vedanta declares the very identity of God to be the substitute of the perfection of all the attributes necessary for the creation and support of the universe, and for introducing revelation among men, without representing these attributes as separate properties, depended upon by the Deity, in creating and ruling the world. Hence the Vedanta confesses the impossibility of any perfect knowledge of the Divine nature, although to adapt itself to the understanding of beginners in the study of theology, it often ascribes to God such attributes as are held excellent among the human species; as truth, mercy, justice, &c. See again the same translation. "The Veda having at first explained the Supreme Being by different epithets, begins with the word *Atha* or *now*, and declares, that all descriptions which have been used to describe the Supreme

Being are imperfect (ideal), because he (the Divine Being) by no means can be described."

Now, unbiassed readers will judge, which of these two opinions is the more consistent with reason and divine revelation, to wit, the denying of properties to God according to the human notion of qualities in objects, as done by the Vedanta; or the equalising of the number of Gods, or persons under a Godhead, with the number of the supposed principal qualities belonging to the Deity (namely Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification) as practised by the querist and his fellow-believers, who have provided themselves with a God the Father, for the work of creation, a God the Son, for redemption and a God the Holy Ghost, for sanctification.

I do not wonder, that our religious principles are compared with those of atheists, by one, whose ideas of the divine nature are so gross, that he can consider God, as having been born * and circumcised †, as having grown ‡ and been subject to parental authority,§ as eating and drinking,|| and even as dying ¶ and as having been totally annihilated (though for three days only, the period intervening from the crucifixion of Christ to his resurrection); nor can it give me any concern, if a person, labouring under such extravagant fancies, should, at the same time, insinuate atheism against us, since he must thereby only expose himself to the derision of the discerning public.

As to his sixth and seventh queries, viz. "Do not wicked "actions proceed in this world from the depravity of mankind?" 7th. "By what penance can that guilt be expiated, which men contract by the practice of wickedness?" I beg to observe, that a desire of indulging the appetites and of gratifying the passions is, by nature, common to man with the other animals. But the Vedas, coinciding with the natural desire of social intercourse implanted in the human constitution, as the original cause of sympathy** with others, require of men to moderate those appetites and regulate those passions, in a manner calculated to preserve the peace and comfort of society, and secure their future happiness; so that mankind may maintain their superiority over the rest of the animal creation, and benefit by one another. For each person to indulge without restraint all the appetites and passions, would be destructive of the harmony of society, which

* Luke II. 7. † Luke II. 21. ‡ Luke II. 40.
§ Luke II. 51. || Matth. XI. 19. ¶ Mark XIV. 34.

** Even birds and beasts sympathise with their associates of the opposite sex and with their young, in proportion to the extent of their desire for social enjoyment.

mankind is naturally desirous to preserve. These sentiments are contained in the following passages of the same translation of the Vedanta, viz., "A command over our passions and over the external senses "of the body, and good acts, are declared by the Veda to be indis- "pensable in the mind's approximation to God. They should, there- "fore, be strictly taken care of, and attended to both previously and "subsequently to such approximation to the Supreme Being."

In the constant internal struggles between this desire of indulgence, always working powerfully upon the mind, and the social inclination, displayed in various modes, according to the difference of circumstances, of habits, and of education, some yield often to the passions. In that case the only means of attaining an ultimate victory over them is sincere repentance and solemn meditation, which occasion mental disquiet and anxiety forming the punishment of sin; and which are calculated to prevent future surrenders to the passions on similar occasions. The sin which mankind contracts against God, by the practice of wickedness, is believed by us to be expiated by these penances, and not, as supposed by the querist, by the blood of a son of man or son of God, who never participated in our transgressions.

His last query is, "Will mankind at last be certainly raised and judged? and will they suffer or enjoy according to their works or not? In reply to which I beg to observe, that the Vedanta does not confine the reward or punishment of good or evil works to the state after death, much less to a particular day of judgment; but it reveals positively, that a man suffers or enjoys, according to his evil or good deeds, frequently even in this world,—a doctrine which is not, I think, at variance with the first part of the Christian Bible. See the above translation. "From devotion to God *all* the desired consequences proceed" (meaning of course in this world also). "He, who has no faith in the Supreme Being, is rendered subject to these gods" (properly speaking *grand objects*).

In conclusion, he makes some other insinuations against the Vedanta; one of which is, that it declares the mind to be God; and consequently that those who adhere to this religion, must follow their natural propensities, and the suggestions of their own minds merely, not the revealed authority of God. I therefore quote these lines found in that very translation, from which the querist draws this conclusion, and leave the public to judge, whether he is not entirely

deprived, even of common sense, by rooted religious prejudice, in examining the writings of others, that are not persuaded to think exactly like him and his fellow-believers, viz., "The Vedas not only "call the celestial representations deities; but also, in many ins-"tances, give this divine epithet tc the mind, diet, void space, quad-"rupeds, animals and slaves:—But *neither* any of the celestial gods "*nor any* existing creature can *be considered the Lord of the universe*, "because the third Chapter of the Vedanta explains, that by these "appellations of the Veda, which denote the diffusive spirit of the "Supreme Being equally over all creatures, by means of extension, "his omnipresence is established." "Because the Veda declares the "performance of these rules to be the cause of the *mind's purification* "and *its faith* in God,"

If notwithstanding these explanations offered by the Vedanta, the querist persists in his attempt to stigmatise the Veda, and thus argue, that any being declared by the Veda to be God, though figuratively, should be considered as God in reality, by the followers of that system, I would refer him to his own Bible, which in the same figurative sense applies the term "God" to the prophets and the chiefs of Israel, and identifies God with abstract properties, such as love, &c.; and I then ask the querist, whether he admits them to be real Gods and offers his worship to them? and whether he be a follower of the dictates of the powerful passion of love in its most unlimited sense?

His second insinuation is this, that the Vedanta does not forbid the worship of gods and goddesses; and how then can the unity of God be inferred from that work? I reply: The Supreme Being is represented throughout the whole Vedanta System *as the only object of true adoration*, of which the querist will be convinced, if he refers to the following passages of the same translation, viz., "The worship "authorised by all the Vedas is of *one nature*: as the direction for "the worship of the *only* Supreme Being is *invariably* found in every "part of the Veda. The following passages of the Veda affirm that "God *is* the *sole* object of worship, viz., 'Adore God *alone*' 'Know "God alone.'" With regard to the suggestions about the worship of other objects besides the Deity, the following explanation is given in the Vedanta. "These, as well as several other texts of the same "nature, are not real commands, but only direct those, (for instance "idiots) who are *unfortunately* incapable of adoring the invisible

"Supreme Being, to apply their minds to any visible thing, rather "than allow them to remain idle."

In replying, as above, to all the "Christian's" queries and insinuations, I have *confined* my quotations to the translations of the abridgment of the Vedanta—an essay of 21 pages—to which the querist referred in his prefatory lines; so that my readers may perceive that had the querist read only that small work, divesting himself of religious prejudice, he would not have needed to put those questions.

CHAPTER II.

Reasons of a Hindoo for rejecting the doctrines of Christianity.

The querist then proceeds to direct personality, maintaining that, in common with Rammohun Roy, there are individuals in England, who regard the mind as God, and surrender themselves entirely to its suggestions; since they receive, he alleges, only such portions of the Bible as suit their convenience and reject the rest; and he confidently pronounces the doctrines which Rammohun Roy inculcates to be *all atheistical.* As these individuals must be better qualified than I can be to vindicate themselves from the charge of perverting the Scriptures, I need say nothing on this subject. I cannot, however, totally pass over the charge of atheism against the doctrines which I, in common with my friend, inculcate; and therefore beg to be allowed to make in this instance a few observations which may lead my readers to enter upon an impartial investigation and to compare the religious opinions which the followers of the Vedant maintain with those that the querist and his fellow Christians profess.

The querist probably means, that these individuals reject or misinterpret that portion of the Bible which relates to the Trinity and the atonement of Christ, both considered by the querist and his fellow-believers as the essential principles of Christianity. I have consequently attentively read the Bible of Christians; but to my great astonishment, I have been unable to find any explanation of the Trinity in that book. I have therefore directed my attention to their creed and some of the works of celebrated Christian writers, in the former of which I find the Triune God thus explained:

"The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Ghost is God; and "yet there are not three Gods but one God." I shall therefore submit

to the querist and his fellow-believers cases exactly parallel to this doctrine, as differently viewed by learned Christians, and ask him whether he can ever persuade himself to admit their possibility?—1st. John is *homo* or a man, James is *homo* or a man, and Jacob is *homo* or a man, and yet there are not three *homines* or men but one man. 2nd. At the time when the whole human race, as stated in the Christian Scriptures, consisted of only three persons, it might have been, in like manner, asserted, that, " Adam is *homo* (or a person), Eve is *homo* " (or a person) and Cain is *homo* (or a person); but there are not three "*homines* (or persons) but one person," the three being included under the abstract notion of *mankind*. 3rd. The father is *sacerdos* (or a priest), the son is *sacerdos* (or a priest) and the grandson is *sacerdos* (or a priest), and yet there are not three *sacerdotes* (or priests) but one priest under an abstract notion of the "priesthood." 4th. Wisdom is *qualitas* (or a quality), power is *qualitas* (or a quality) and love is *qualitas* (or a quality) and yet there are not three *qualitates* (or qualities) but one quality. 5th. Creation is *opus* (or a work), Redemption is *opus* (or a work), Sanctification is *opus* (or a work), and yet there are not three *opera* or works, but one work.

I regret that notwithstanding very great mental exertions, I am unable to attain a comprehension of this Creed.

These missionary gentlemen have come out to this country in the expectation, that grown men should first give up the use of their external senses, and should profess seriously, that although the Father is ONE God and the Son is ONE God and the Holy Ghost is ONE God, yet that the number of Gods does not exceed ONE—a doctrine which although unintelligible to others, having been imbibed by these pious men with their mothers' milk, is of course as familiar to them as the idea of the animation of the stony goddess " Kali " is to an idolatrous Hindoo, by whom it has, in like manner, been acquired in his infancy.

A man does not, under various circumstances, always refuse to believe things that are beyond his comprehension; but he will find it very hard, if not utterly impossible, to believe what is diametrically opposite to his senses, to his experience, to the uniform course of nature, and to the first axioms of reason: to wit, that there is *first* the Father-Deity, who is distinctly and by himself God, omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent, that there is *secondly* the Son-Deity, who is distinctly and by himself God omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, and that there is *thirdly* the Holy Ghost Deity, (in the neuter gender),

which is distinctly and by *itself* God, omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent, yet in defiance of the immutable principles of mathematical science, that these Deities amount to *no more* than *one*.

Exclusive of the writings of the ancient and modern Popish Theologists and those of Dissenters from the Episcopal creed, I find, to my still greater surprise, in the works of some celebrated Christian writers, who are held as the most distinguished members of the Church of England, the most palpably contradictory explanation given of this Trinity, some of which I here notice.

First. Dr. Waterland, Dr. Taylor, and Archbishop Secker maintain that the Trinity consists of three distinct, independent, and equal persons constituting one and the same God; thus representing the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost as three distinct substances under one Godhead.

2ndly. Dr. Wallis was an advocate for the Sabellian hypothesis, and probably Archbishop Tillotson, holding that three persons in the Trinity are only three modes or relations, which the Deity bears to his creatures,—thus declaring the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to be three qualities, existing of course in the abstract notion of the God-head, which exists only in our imagination.

3rdly. Bishop Pearson, as well as Bishop Bull, and Dr. Owen suppose the Father to be an underived and essential essence and the Son to have received every thing by communication from God the Father. "There can be but one person," (says Bishop Pearson), "originally of himself, subsisting in that infinite Being, because a "plurality of more persons so subsisting would necessarily infer a "multiplicity of Gods." "The Son possessed" (says he,) "the whole "nature by *communication* not by *participation* and *in such way* that "he was as really God as the father." *i.e.*, this third explanation contradicts the first with regard to the original deity of the second and third persons, and is entirely opposed to the second explanation.

4thly. Bishop Burgess supposes the three persons of the Deity to make one God, but does not allow that these persons are three beings, urging that "the Scriptures declare that there is but only one "God.—The same Scriptures declare that there are three omnipresent "persons; but there cannot be two omnipresent beings; therefore "the three omnipresent persons can be only one God." According to this hypothesis, the Trinity is made up of three persons, each of which is not a being, *i.e.*, of three nonentities.

5thly. In the system of Dr. Thomas Burnet, the Father is held to be a self-existent Being, the Son, and the Holy Ghost dependent; and he thinks that divine perfections and worship may be ascribed to each; which somewhat resembles the Arian Creed.

6th. Mr. Baxter defines the three divine Persons to be Wisdom, Power, and Love and illustrates his meaning by the vital power, intellect and will in the soul of man, *i.e.*, he compares the three persons with qualities—an opinion which resembles what was maintained by Sabellius and his followers.

7thly. Bishop Gastrell says "The three names of God the Father, "Son, and Holy Ghost must denote a three-fold difference or distinc- "tion belonging to God, but such as is consistent with the unity "and simplicity of the divine nature, for each of these includes the "*whole* idea of God and *something more.* So far as they express the "nature of God, they all adequately and exactly signify the same. "It is the additional signification, which makes all the distinction "between them," *i. e.*, according to Bishop Gastrell, "the Father "includes the *whole* idea of God and *something more*; the son includes "the *whole* idea of God and *something more*; the Holy Ghost includes "the *whole* idea of God and *something more*: while altogether, the "Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost make one entire God, and no "more." Here this learned prelate introduces a new axiom, *viz.*, that a part is greater than, or at least, equal to the whole.

8thly. According to Mr. Howe's theory, there are three distinct, intelligent hypostases, each having a distinct, intelligent nature, united in some inexplicable manner so as to make one God in somewhat the same way as the corporeal, sensitive, and intellectual faculties are united to form one man, *i. e.*, he gives us to understand that the Godhead is something more than the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost in the same manner as a complete man is something more than the corporeal, sensitive and intellectual faculties.

9thly. Dr. Sherlock says, "The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, "are *as really distinct* Persons as Peter, James, and John, each of "which is God. We must allow each Person to be a God. These "three infinite minds are distinguished, just as three created minds "are, by self-consciousness. And by mutual consciousness, each person "of these has the *whole* wisdom, power and goodness of the other two." *i.e.*, this divine sets forth a system of perfect polytheism; but does not, like the others, offer any apology for it.

10thly. Dr. Heber, the present Bishop of Calcutta, maintains that the second and third persons in the Trinity are no other than the angels *Michael* and *Gabriel*. It was the Second Person, who conversed with Moses from Mount Sinai, and the third person, who constituted the Jewish Shekinah.

The theory of the Godhead proposed by this pious and learned prelate, although it is at variance with the opinions of several other divines, must yet be gratifying to Hindoo Theologians, who have long cherished the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or the transmigration of spirits from one body to another. Since, the belief in the Second Person of the Godhead, originally a mere spirit, taking at one time, according to this theory, the form of an *Angel* (Michael) and afterwards assuming the body of *Man* (Jesus Christ) by means of natural birth, which was effected, as is said, by the Virgin Mary and the angel Gabriel—countenances the doctrine of the migration of spirits from the bodies of superior to those of inferior creatures.

Are not these explanations of the Trinity, given by the persons most versed in the Scriptures, sufficient to puzzle any man, if not drive him to atheism? Supposing a Hindu or a Mussalman were ready and willing to embrace the Christian faith, would he not sincerely repent of his rashness, as soon as he discovered that the accounts of the essence of the Christian religion, given by the principal persons of the Church, are as opposite to each other as the west is to the east? Would he not be utterly astonished at the idea, that a nation who are so celebrated for their progress in the arts and sciences, for the enjoyment of political and civil liberty, and for their freedom of inquiry and discussion, should neglect their religious faith so much as to allow it still to stand upon the monstrously absurd basis of popery ?*

I myself, however, am not surprised at the many contradictory accounts they have given of the Trinity ; because when the building is the mere creature of *fancy*, it is not to be expected that its architects should well agree in their description of its form and proportions. Nor do I wonder at this faith being forsaken by a great number of intelligent European gentlemen, whom the orthodox are fond of stigmatizing as *Infidels*, since it appears to me, that any

* By a reference to the Histories of the ancient Greeks and Romans and to those of Chungiz Khan and others, the readers may be convinced that truth and true religion do not always accompany wealth, power and conquest, high names or lofty palaces.

person endowed with a moderate share of common sense, not entirely perverted by early prejudices thrust upon him in the helpless infancy of his mind, must be able to tear off the parti-coloured veil of sophistry from the face of this Creed and discover its real monstrosity.

Instead of stigmatizing those Gentlemen, the Missionaries ought, I think, to have thanked them gratefully, for the safe standing of the frail edifice of their extraordinary creed, since it is the indifference of a great number of learned Europeans about the religion which they from policy profess, accompanied with the bigoted adherence to Christianity imposed upon a considerable portion of men of the middling class, which, and which alone, has been hitherto the cause of the security of a faith contradictory to common sense and opposed to the evidence of the senses, in a nation so highly exalted by its literature.

Some well-meaning Christians plausibly argue, that, whether the doctrine of the Trinity be reasonable or not,—what does it signify, this being a mere matter of speculation,—if the practical parts of Christianity and its religous observances are salutary?

In the first place I wish to know, whether the Missionaries preach the practical parts of Christianity separately from the doctrine of the Trinity and that of the atonement, or whether, on the contrary, they do not consider these doctrines to be the fundamental principles of the Christian Faith, so that, no man can possibly benefit by the practical parts of Christianity, unless he is enabled to pervert his senses, so far as to believe in the truth of these doctrines? If the latter be the case, these well-meaning persons, will, I trust excuse the rejection of Christianity by the grown up natives of India, in consideration of the great difficulty or rather impossibility every one must encounter who attempts to enforce belief upon himself or upon others.

In the second place I take the liberty of asking these well-meaning Gentlemen, whether it is a matter of speculation to believe *one* to be *three* and *three* to be *one*? Whether it is a matter of opinion to bring ourselves to believe that a *perfect man* is *perfect God*, or in other words, that a complete man is not a man? Whether it is a matter of speculation to be convinced that an object confined to a small portion of the Earth comprehends literally *all* the *fulness* of the Deity bodily, and spreads over the whole universe? Is it also

a matter of speculation that God whom Christians and their Scripture represent as mere spirit and as the author of the universe, was of the very seed of the Jewish Patriarch Abraham. and of the Jewish King David? If these be matters of opinion, what then are matters grossly repugnant to reason and contrary to fact? The almighty and eternal Being (according to these Christian theologians) was *born*, *grew* to manhood, suffered and died a shameful death. Does this signify nothing? Does it signify nothing to degrade our faculties and give up the use of our senses, while we are viewing the visible object of nature? If we do so in one thing, why not do it in another? If we set out on this irrational career, where are we to stop? May we not from the example set in Theology, lay aside the use of reason in other sciences also, and thereby impede the progress of knowledge and introduce incalculable evils into the world? I therefore hope that these Gentlemen will, after more mature consideration, discover the doctrine of the Trinity and the idea of a *Mangod* or *Godman* to be unnatural and pregnant with absurdity, and not a mere innocent speculation.

If British Missionaries are under an obligation to preach Christianity to the natives of India, they ought for the glory of their nation, holding so conspicuous a place among the people of the East, and also for the sake of their own characters as a Literary Body, to confine their instructions to the practical parts of Christianity, keeping entirely out of view the doctrine of the Trinity and the idea of a two or three fold nature of God and Man, or God, Man and Angel, which are, to say the least, very much calculated to lower the reputation of Britons both as a learned and as a religious people.

It is characteristic of protestant writers to expose to ridicule any other system of religion which they disapprove. For instance, some of their eminent writers have proceeded so far in attacking the doctrine of Transubstantiation maintained by the Catholics, as to apply to the bread which the Catholics consider as the real flesh of Christ, the epithet *Panarius Deus* or " Breaden God," &c.

Now I only beg to be allowed on this occasion to ask Protestant Gentlemen, who think themselves justified in believing that a human body was, by supernatural power, in a literal sense filled with all the fulness of the Godhead, how they can object so violently to the opinion entertained by the Catholics that a piece of bread by the same supernatural power is filled with divine spirit? And if they can apply to Catholics the term " Worshippers of a Breaden God,"

how can the professors of the Trinity disapprove of the terms "Worshippers of a Fleshly God, or Jew God" being applied to themselves.

Whoever, in fact is unable to perceive the wide distinction between *supreme* and *eternal* Being and a *helpless mortal man*, must surely confess, if endowed with the faculty of reason, that he had grossly abused it in contemplating the nature of the deity. The immense distance between the human and divine nature cannot be diminished by the efforts of any mortal; and therefore whoever accepts man, dead or alive, for his god, voluntarily sinks himself to the same unfathomable distance below the level of one of the human species. Should he then presume to claim the rank of man, he would thereby equalize his nature with that of his God and be justly chargeable with gross inconsistency. Indeed I do not see what can prevent his fellow-believers, or man-worshippers, from accusing him of blasphemy--in making himself equal with God; or how rational men can avoid viewing him as the victim of early prejudices—however many sciences he may have studied, however many books he may have written, whatever titles of learning may have been bestowed upon him and with whatever contempt he may affect to regard the genuine Brahmanical religion. I say, the genuine Brahmanical religion, taught by the Vedas, as interpreted by the inspired Manu, not the popular system of worship adopted by the multitude. If a Christian were to insist on considering the latter with all its corruptions as the standard of Hindooism, then a Hindoo would also be justified in taking as the standard of Christianity, the system of religion which almost universally prevailed in Europe previous to the fifteenth century of the Christian Era, and which is still followed by the majority of Christians (namely, Catholics, Greeks, Armenians) with all its idols, crucifixes, Saints, miracles, pecuniary absolutions from sins, trinity, transubstantiation, relics, holy water, and other idolatrous machinery.

With regard to the doctrine of the atonement, we are given to understand by Christians, that God the Father having been offended by the transgressions of the human race, resolved (though against the suggestion of his mercy) that he would not forgive them unless some adequate sacrifice were offered to him, so that his justice should not be disregarded through the influence of his mercy. Upon this resolution on the part of God the Father, God the Son having

great compassion towards men guilty of sins unto death, took upon himself the human nature and offered to God the Father his own life as an adequate atonement, and thereby reconciled to the Father Deity as many men as would believe in the offer of his blood for the remission of sin

The Missionary Gentlemen hereby maintain, that although God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost were equally merciful and just and equally averse to sin; yet the Father having a strict regard to the preservation of the balance of power between Mercy and Justice, did not suffer his Mercy to violate Justice, and insisted, that the sins of men should not be forgiven unless a human sacrifice were made to him. But the Son being more under the influence of mercy and totally regardless of justice, condescended to assume the human nature and to bear the punishment of their sin. Thus by offering himself as a sacrifice, he washed away their transgressions with his blood, without expecting any sacrifice to be made to him, for the satisfaction of his Justice; while God the Holy Ghost, again, took no part whatever in the performance of the sacrifice, either as the Satisfier or the Satisfied, and remained quite neutral. Hence, is it not evident, that God the Father is more strict about the observance of Justice than God the Son? and that God the Father was less liable to the influence of Mercy than God the Son? and that God the Holy Ghost manifested neither Mercy nor Justice in the sacrificial atonement? Do not these circumstances completely overthrow the doctrine which these Gentlemen preach, viz., that God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are equally just and merciful?

Secondly. They ascribe to God the attribute of justice according to the human notion of that attribute, *i. e.*, as a just judge can never be so influenced by his mercy as to forgive a man guilty of capital crimes, without inflicting upon him the punishment of death; so God never can violate justice through the influence of his mercy in forgiving sins unto death, without inflicting extreme punishment. Supposing, then, for the sake of argument, that divine justice can be viewed according to the standard of the human notion of justice, I ask whether it is consistent with the human notion of justice to release millions of men each guilty of sins unto death, after inflicting death upon another person, (whether God or man) who never participated in their sins, even though that person had voluntarily proposed to embrace death? or whether it is not a great violation

of justice, according to the human notion of it, to put an innocent person to a painful death for the transgressions of others, notwithstanding he, in his human capacity, manifested very great reluctance to that death, as is admitted in the account of the life of Jesus Christ in Matthew, Ch. XXVI, 37—39.

Thirdly. Sins are of two kinds, that is, sins against God merely, and sins against God and man, such as theft, robbery, deception, &c. I therefore wish to know whether it is not an entire disregard of justice, according to the human notion, that the sins committed against one person should be forgiven by another, without his consent to such pardon? Whether it is not an infringement of justice on the part of God the Son, according to the human notion of justice, to wash away with his blood the sins of theft, robbery, or murder committed by one man against others, and to disregard their individual sufferings? But if Christians really imagine that true believers in the vicarious sacrifice of Christ have their past sins as well against God as against man, washed away by his blood, are they not extremely presumptuous and culpable in inflicting punishment upon their fellow Christians for any crime they may have committed, knowing that atonement has already been made for it by the blood of their God, which was shed on the cross? Yet we every day see Christians inflict on one another severe punishment, for the sins committed by them, notwithstanding the remission of their sins through their faith in the vicarious sacrifice of Christ.

Fourthly. These Gentlemen believe, that the Son washes away the sins of those who place their faith in his vicarious sacrifice, and not of men in general. This shews that the act of pardoning the sins of men by God the Son, proceed from a reciprocal consideration, and not from his infinite mercy towards mankind. As according to this doctrine, millions of inhabitants of remote countries, islands and mountains, who never heard even the name of Christianity, have died in sin, ever since the time of the vicarious sacrifice offered by Christ, without having it in their power to enter into the necessary bargain for the forgiveness of their sins by offering, in return, their faith in the atonement made by Christ. But those who have been born in countries where they could readily acquire this faith, while they rely upon the possession of this as the means of purchasing their own salvation, inconsistently condemn such of their fellow-Christians as hope to be saved through a virtuous life and sincere repentance,

accusing them of presumption and self-sufficiency in pretending to be saved by such merits. Yet it is evident that the former who boast of their faith, are the persons really guilty of pride and self-sufficiency, since for this single merit of theirs, they think themselves fully entitled to salvation; and at the same time they contemn and deprecate the merits of others, who nevertheless consider that both faith and good works proceed from the grace of God.

These Gentlemen are apt to find fault with and ascribe unreasonableness to every other system of religion, shutting entirely their eyes upon the total want of reason and rationality in the faith which they themselves profess and preach. For, is there any notion more unreasonable and conducive to immoral practices than the idea, that God *has blood*, and that that blood is offered *by God* to reconcile *to God* such men as, at any time during their lives, place faith in that *blood of God, however guilty* these men may be of offending God and injuring their fellow-creatures.

As to their attempts at the converting of Hindoos to the Christian Faith, these Teachers of strange doctrines may now have been convinced by experience, after the exertions of a quarter of a century, that no grown up native of India possessed of common sense and common honesty, will ever be persuaded to believe in their self-contradictory Creed, and that their religious efforts will be unavailing, unless they adopt, or be enabled to adopt, some unfair means for the promotion of Christianity. Since the Hindoo population in Bengal, from the circumstances of their early marriages, and their continual residence either at home or at an inconsiderable distance from their birth-place, and from the enjoyment of local comfort under the peaceful sway of the British nation, has been increasing with uncommon rapidity, and as they are, at the same time, prohibited from foreign trade by their religious prejudices, prevented from entering into the military service, owing to their habitual aversion to war, and do not now, as in former times, receive gifts of lands free from assessments which tended much to encourage an idle life, many families have already become very indigent and a greater number must, sooner or later, be reduced to poverty. It is therefore more than probable, that the most weak and needy among them may be induced, by the hope of wordly advantages, to sell their conscience and their religion, in the same manner as a great many Israelites have been persuaded to profess Christianity, by the severe policy, adopted

towards Jews on the one hand, and the encouragement to apostatize, held out on the other, by Societies established in Europe for their conversion.

I shall now, in a few words, for the information of the Missionary Gentlemen, lay down our religious creed. In conformity with the Precepts of our ancient religion, contained in the Holy Vedanta, though disregarded by the generality of moderns, we look up to ONE BEING as the animating and regulating principle of the whole collective body of the universe, and as the origin of all individual souls which in a manner somewhat similar, vivify and govern their particular bodies ; and we reject Idolatry in every form and under whatsoever veil of sophistry it may be practised, either in adoration of an artificial, a natural, or an imaginary object. The divine homage which we offer, consists solely in the practice of *Daya* or benevolence towards each other, and not in a fanciful faith or in certain motions of the feet, legs, arms, head, tongue or other bodily organs, in pulpit or before a temple. Among other objects, in our solemn devotion, we frequently offer up our humble thanks to God, for the blessings of British Rule in India and sincerely pray, that it may continue in its beneficent operation for centuries to come.

SHIVUPRUSAD SURMA.*

CALCUTTA, *November 15, 1823.*

* The Raja's Pandit, under whose name he brought out this Magazine Rammohun Roy was fond of using pseudonyms.—ED.

ANSWER OF A HINDOO

TO THE QUESTION,

"WHY DO YOU FREQUENT A UNITARIAN PLACE OF WORSHIP INSTEAD OF THE NUMEROUSLY ATTENDED ESTABLISHED CHURCHES?"

ANSWER OF A HINDOO

To the question, "Why do you frequent a Unitarian place of worship, instead of the numerously attended established Churches?"

I. Because the prayers read, worship offered, and sermons preached in the Unitarian place of worship remind me of the infinitely wise Ruler of this infinite universe, without ascribing to him as Churchmen do, fellow-creators or co-operators equal in power and other attributes. My plain understanding, though it can comprehend the idea of fellow-creatures, is incapable of forming a notion of one or more fellow-creators each equally possessed of omnipotence and omnipresence.

II. Because Unitarian prayer, worship, and preaching constantly put me in mind of the beneficial design kept in view by the wise and benevolent Author of all, in organizing the members of the animal body, such as bones, veins, vessels, limbs, &c., and in preparing the manifold necessaries of life for our maintenance, as proofs of his gratuitous blessing and free grace; while in those Churches he is declared to have refused mercy and salvation to mankind until innocent blood was offered him to appease his wrath.

III. Because the Unitarian mode of worship exhibits how that infinite and Supreme author has designedly stationed the heavenly bodies, in systematic order, capable of producing and nourishing all the animal and vegetable objects under his divine control; while in those Churches that infinite being is represented as occupying a small space in this limited world, lying in a still smaller space in the womb of a virgin, subject to the control of his parents, though for a season, and daily performing the various animal functions.

IV. Because I feel already weary of the doctrine of "Man-God" or "God-Man"* frequently inculcated by the Brahmans, in pursuance of their corrupt traditions: the same doctrine of Man-God, though preached by another body of priests better dressed, better provided for and eminently elevated by virtue of conquest cannot effectually tend to excite my anxiety or curiosity to listen to it.

* Manu, Dattatraya, Rama, &c., &c., &c.

V. Because I have expressed my disgust, when I heard from the Brahmans the incredible story that God appeared in the form of a party-coloured kite, to accomplish certain purposes. While I maintain the same reverence for the Divine Being, I must be excused believing a similar doctrine held forth in those Churches, as to the appearance of God, on another occasion, in the bodily shape of a dove. I wonder to observe, that from a denial of the existence of God some are stigmatized with the term atheist; while others are highly respected, though they do not scruple, under the shield of religion, to bring the Deity into ridicule, by representing him in the form even of a common bird.

VI. Because having been taught in the schools, where the doctrine of the Incarnations of a two-fold or even of a three-fold * nature has been solemnly preached, I perceive no novelty in the idea of a two-fold nature, divine and human, as entertained and expressed in those Churches.

VII. Because in those Churches, the Holy Ghost is represented as the very God and not as the miraculous power of the Deity, at the same time that the language applied there to this person of the God-head; such as "she was found with child of the Holy Ghost," "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee"† fully corresponds to the words and ideas used for the deity in the western and eastern heathen mythologies, and consequently must be offensive to the feelings of those who ascribe to God purity and perfection.

VIII. Because the doctrine of the trinity inculcated in those Churches, consisting of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, is defensible on the plea of mystery; while the Trinity preached to us by the Brahmans is a representation of the three principle attributes of the deity in an allegorical sense, and does therefore deserve some momentary attention. The mind which rejects the latter as a production of the fancy, cannot be reasonably expected to adopt the former.

IX. Because Unitarians reject polytheism and idolatry under every sophistical modification, and thereby discountenance all the evil consequences resulting from them.

X. Becasue Unitarians believe, profess, and inculcate the doctrine of the divine unity—a doctrine which I find firmly maintained

* नृसिंहावतारः mixed nature of man, lion, and God.

† *The Virgin Mary.*

both by the Christian Scriptures and by our most ancient writings commonly called the Vedas.

Such are my reasons for attending the Unitarian place of worship instead of the established Churches.

CHUNDRU-SHEKHUR DEV.*

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* This tract "bears the signature of Chandra Shekhur Dev, a disciple of Rammohun; but, as Mr. Adam informed Dr. Tuckerman in a letter, dated January 18, 1828, it was entirely Rammohun's own composition." *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, by Miss Collet, p. 85.

TRANSLATION

OF A

SUNSKRIT TRACT

ON

DIFFERENT MODES OF WORSHIP.

BY A FRIEND OF THE AUTHOR.

CALCUTTA:

1825.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A small tract in Sanskrit with a translation into Bengalee has of late been published by a Hindoo Theologian, Sivaprasad Sarma, on the subject of modes of worship with or without images. Having found it to exhibit views of the Hindoo religion somewhat different from those which are commonly entertained by Europeans, I have prepared a translation of it into English with some explanatory notes, which I beg to submit to the English reader.

Calcutta, 18th January, 1825.

TRANSLATION OF A SANSKRIT TRACT

ON

DIFFERENT MODES OF WORSHIP.*

QUERY.

In some Sastras many authorities are found enjoining worship by means of idols; in others are passages dissuading from such worship. Doubts having hence arisen, may the learned be pleased to remove them?

(Signed) Ramdhan Sarma.

REPLY.

In answer to the subject of this query the decision which is given, in the essence of all the Sastras (*the Bhagavata*), by that great and worshipful Saint (Vyasa) who had a thorough knowledge of all the Vedas, seems sufficient to remove these doubts entirely. It is as follows (according to the gloss of Sridhara): "Man shall worship me the Lord *of the Universe* by means of an image or any other form, during the intervals of leisure from the performance of the ritual observances prescribed for the class to which he belongs, until he becomes conscious that I dwell in all beings." The worshipful and revered Sridhara commenting upon this text, adds here:— "This verse "shews that worship by means of an idol or any other form is not "absolutely useless, and that as long as a man is subjected to worship "by means of idols, he is also subjected to perform the ritual "observances prescribed to his own class." This passage limits the period of idol worship and explains what practices are its necessary accompaniments.

Vyasa, then proceeds:—"Further, man, by charity to the needy, "by honour *to others*, by friendship, and by an equal regard to all,

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* "It (the tract) was written in Sanskrit by Rammohun Roy under the name of Shivuprusad Shurma, and it was translated into English, with English annotations, by Rammohun Roy under the name of 'A Friend of the author.'" *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, by Miss Collet, p. 74.

"shall direct his worship to me who, by residing in the heart, dwell in "all living creatures."*

Vyasa continues in six and a half verses beginning with the following verse, "Animate objects are preferable to inanimate," &c.; and ending with the following sentence, "He to whom these *four* "duties are prescribed in the above text shall, mentally, do reverence "and profess much respect to all creatures, according to the different "degrees of their visible excellences." He (Vyasa) then concludes:— Man shall respect them "by observing that the all-powerful Lord is in "the heart watching over the soul."† Hence the author himself explains that the observance of "an equal regard to all" *creatures* directed in the above verse is in reference to their being equally related to the divine Spirit and not in reference to their qualities or identities.

It follows therefore that passages enjoining worship by means of forms, and passages dissuading from such worship, should be separately applied to those who entertain those different sentiments ‡

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* Spiritual Devotion is of two kinds. The first consists in meditation on the soul being of divine origin. A continuance of such meditation is believed to have a tendency to rescue the soul from all human feelings and passions, and thereby the soul is ultimately brought to its original divine perfection far surpassing both human search and description. This is the state which is commonly called absorption. The devotees who adhere to this mode of devotion being supposed naturally incapable of committing any moral or social crime, are not subjected to the precepts or prohibitions found in the Sastras.

The second kind of devotion consists in believing that the Deity is possessed of all the attributes of perfection such as omnipresence, omnipotence, &c., and that the individual sentient soul is, in its present state of material connection, separate from, and dependent on, the Deity. Besides, the practice of charity, &c., as mentioned in this text are enjoined on the performers of this mode of devotion as their religious duties. This class of devotees enjoy, after death, eternal beatitude in the highest heaven, as existences separate from the deity and from each other, while worshippers by means of forms, as the Vedanta affirms, enjoy only temporary bliss.

From what I have noticed as to the two kinds of notions entertained respecting spiritual devotion, the reader will preceive the reason why a teacher of spiritual knowledge sometimes is justified in speaking of the Deity in the first person, in reference to the assumed divine nature of his soul, although in the same discourse, he again treats of God in the third person, in reference to the present separated and subordinate state of the soul.

† "Two birds, co-habitant and co-essential, reside unitedly in one tree *which is the body*. One of them *(the soul)* consumes the variously tasted fruits of its actions: but the other (God) without partaking of them, witnesses *all events*." *Mundakopanishad, ch. the 3rd.*

"God as being resplendent and most proximate to all creatures is styled the operator in the heart." *Mundaka the second, Section the 2nd.*

‡ Under the Christian dispensation, worship through matter seems unauthorised; John ch: IV. v. 21: "The hour cometh when ye shall, neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father, &c." 23: "But the hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in truth," &c.; although in the Judaical religion such worship was sanctioned, as appears from the Books of Leviticus and others, and even from the above quoted verses of the Gospel of John.

HUMBLE SUGGESTIONS

TO

HIS COUNTRYMEN

WHO BELIEVE

IN THE

ONE TRUE GOD:

BY

PRUSUNNU KOOMAR THAKOOR.

CALCUTTA:

1823.

ADVERTISEMENT.

My object in publishing this tract is to recommend those to whom it is addressed, to avoid using harsh or abusive language in their religious intercourse with European Missionaries, either respecting them or the objects of their worship, however much this may be countenanced by the example of some of these Gentlemen.

P. K. T.

HUMBLE SUGGESTIONS.*

Those who firmly believe on the authority of the Vedas, that "God is ONE *only* without an equal," and that "He cannot be known either "through the medium of language, thought, or vision: how can he be "known except as existing, *the origin and support of the universe?*"— and who endeavour to regulate their conduct by the following precept, "He who is desirous of eternal happiness should regard another as he "regards himself, and the happiness and misery of another as his own," ought to manifest the warmest affection towards such of their own countrymen as maintain the same faith and practice, even although they have not all studied the Vedas for themselves, but have professed a belief in God only through an acquaintance with their general design. Many among the ten classes of Sannyasis, and all the followers of Guru Nanak, of Dadu, and of Kabir, as well as of Santa, &c., profess the religious sentiments abovementioned. It is our unquestionable duty invariably to treat them as brethren. No doubt should be entertained of their future salvation, merely because they receive instructions, and practise their sacred music, in the vernacular dialect. For Yajnavalkya, with a reference to those who cannot sing the Hymns of the Vedas, has said, "The divine hymns *Rik, Gatha, Panika,* and *Dakshabihita,* should be sung; because by their constant use man attains supreme beatitude." "He who is skilled in playing on the lute (vina), who is intimately acquainted with the various tones and harmonies, and who is able to beat time in music, will enter without difficulty upon the road of salvation." Again the Siva Dharma as quoted by Raghunandana, says, "He is reputed a Guru who according to the capacity of his disciple instructs him in Sanskrit whether pure or corrupt, in the current language of the country, or by any other means."

Amongst foreigners, those Europeans who believe God to be in every sense ONE, and worship HIM ALONE in spirit, and who extend their benevolence to man as the highest service to God, should be regarded by us with affection, on the ground of the object of their

*Of this tract, as of some other pseudonymous ones, Raja Rammohun Roy was the real author.—ED.

worship being the same as ours. We should feel no reluctance to co-operate with them in religious matters, merely because they consider Jesus Christ as the Messenger of God and their Spiritual Teacher; for oneness in the object of worship and sameness of religious practice should produce attachment between the worshippers.

Amongst Europeans, those who believe Jesus Christ to be God himself, and conceive him to be possessed of a particular form, and maintain Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be one God, should not be treated in an unfriendly manner. On the contrary, we should act towards them in the same manner as we act towards those of our countrymen who, without forming any external image, meditate upon Rama and other supposed incarnations, and believe in their unity.

Again, those amongst Europeans who believing Jesus Christ to be the Supreme Being moreover construct various images of him, should not be hated. On the contrary, it becomes us to act towards those Europeans in the same manner as we act towards such as believe Rama, &c., to be incarnations of God, and form external images of them. For the religious principle of the two last-mentioned sects of foreigners are one and the same with those of the two similar sects among Hindoos, although they are clothed in a different garb.

When any belonging to the second and third classes of Europeans endeavour to make converts of us, the believers in the only living and true God, even then we should feel no resentment towards them, but rather compassion, on account of their blindness to the errors into which they themselves have fallen: since it is almost impossible, as every day's experience teaches us, for men, when possessed of wealth and power, to perceive their own defects.

THE TRUST DEED OF THE BRAHMO SOMAJ.*

THIS INDENTURE made the eighth day of January in the Year of Christ one thousand eight hundred and thirty **between** DWARKANAUTH TAGORE of Jorasankoe in the town of Calcutta Zumeendor, KALEENAUTH ROY of Burranugur in the Zillah of Havelly in the Suburbs of Calcutta aforesaid Zumeendar, PRUSSUNNOCOOMAR TAGORE of Pattoriaghatta in Calcutta aforesaid Zumeendar, RAMCHUNDER BIDYABAGISH of Simlah in Calcutta aforesaid Pundit and RAMMOHUN ROY of Manicktullah in Calcutta aforesaid Zumeendar of the one part and BOYKONTONAUTH ROY of Burranugur in the Zillah of Havelly in the Suburbs of the Town of Calcutta aforesaid Zumeendar, RADAPERSAUD ROY of Manicktullah in Calcutta aforesaid Zumeendar and RAMANAUTH TAGORE of Jorasankoe in Calcutta aforesaid Banian (Trustees named and appointed for the purposes hereinafter mentioned) of the other part **witnesseth** that for and in consideration of the sum of Sicca Rupees Ten of Lawful money of Bengal by the said Bykontonauth Roy Radapersaud Roy and Ramanauth Tagore to the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kaleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ram Chunder Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery of these Presents (the receipt whereof they the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kaleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchunder Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy do and each and every of them doth hereby acknowledge) and for settling and assuring the messuage land tenements hereditaments and premises hereinafter mentioned to be hereby granted and released to for and upon such uses trusts intents and purposes as are hereafter expressed and declared of and concerning the same and for divers other good Causes and Considerations them hereunto especially moving they the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kaleenauth Roy Prussunocoomar Tagore Ramchunder Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy Have and each and every of them **Hath** granted bargained sold aliened released and confirmed and by these

* This is a faithful reprint of the original. It was also published in the Tattwabodhini Patrika, No. 90, for Magh, 1772 Sak. Though not composed by Raja Rammohun Roy, it was "inspired" by him.—ED.

presents Do and each and every of them Doth grant bargain sell alien release and confirm unto the said Boykontonauth Roy Radapersaud Roy and Ramanauth Tagore their heirs and assigns **all** that brick built messuage (hereafter to be used as a place for religious worship as is hereinafter more fully expressed and declared) Building or Tenement with the piece or parcel of Land or Ground thereunto belonging and on part whereof the same is erected and built containing by estimation four Cottahs and two Chittacks be the same a little more or less situate lying and being in the Chitpore Road in Sootanooty in the Town of Calcutta aforesaid and butted and bounded as follows (that is to say) on the north by the House and Ground now or formerly belonging to one Fooloorey Rutton on the south by the House and Ground formerly belonging to one Ramkristno Kur since deceased on the east by the House and Ground now or formerly belonging to one Fooloorey Rutton on the south by the House and Ground formerly belonging to one Ramkristno Kur since deceased on the east by the House and Ground now or formerly belonging to one Radamoney Bhamonney and on the west by the said public Road or Street commonly called Chitpore Road or howsoever otherwise the said messuage building land tenements and hereditament or any of them now are or is or heretofore were or was situated tenanted called known described or distinguished and all other the messuages lands tenements and hereditaments (if any) which are or are expressed or intended to be described or comprised in a certain Indenture of bargain and sale hereinafter referred **together** with all and singular the out houses offices edifices buildings erections Compounds Yards walls ditches hedges fences enclosures ways paths passages woods under-woods shrubs timber and other trees entrances easements lights privileges profits benefits emoluments advantages rights titles members appendages and appurtenances whatsoever to the said messuage building land tenements hereditaments and premises or any part or parcel thereof belonging or in any wise appertaining or with the same or any part or parcel thereof now or at any time or times heretofore held used occupied possessed or enjoyed or accepted reputed deemed taken or known as part parcel or member thereof or any part thereof (all which said messuage buildings land tenements hereditaments and premises are now in the actual possession of or legally vested in the said Boykontonauth Roy Radapersaud Roy and Ramanauth Tagore by virtue of a bargain and sale to them thereof made by the said

Dwarkanauth Tagore Kaleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchunder Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy for Sicca Rupees Five Consideration by an Indenture bearing date the day next before the day of the date and executed previous to the sealing and delivery of these Presents for the Term of one whole Year Commencing from the day next preceding the day of the date of the same Indenture and by force of the statute made for transferring uses into possession and the remainder and remainders reversion and reversions Yearly and other rents issues and profits thereof **and all** the Estate Right Title interest trust use possession inheritance property profit benefit claim and demand whatsoever both at Law and in Equity of them the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchunder Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy respectively of into upon or out of the same or any part thereof Together with all deeds Pottahs evidences muniments and writings whatsoever which relate to the said premises or any part thereof and which now are or hereafter shall or may be in the hands possession or custody of the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchunder Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy their heirs executors administrators or representatives or of any person or persons from whom he or they can or may procure the same without action or suit at Law or in Equity. **To have and to hold** the said Messuage Building land tenements hereditaments and all and singular other the premises hereinbefore and in the said Indenture of bargain or sale described and mentioned and hereby granted and released or intended so to be and every part and parcel thereof with their and every of their rights members and appurtenances unto the said Boykontonauth Roy Rada Persaud Roy and Ramanauth Tagore their heirs and assigns but to the uses nevertheless upon the trusts and for the ends intents and purposes hereinafter declared and expressed of and concerning the same and to and for no other ends intents and purposes whatsoever (that is to say) **To the use** of the said Boykontonauth Roy Radapersaud Roy Ramanauth Tagore or the survivors or survivor of them or the heirs of such survivor or their or his assigns **upon Trust** and in confidence that they the said Boykontonauth Roy Radapersaud Roy and Ramanauth Tagore or the survivors or survivor of them or the heirs of such survivors or their or his assigns shall and do from time to time **and at** all times for ever hereafter permit and suffer the said messuage or building land tenements hereditaments and premises with their

appurtenances to be used occupied enjoyed applied and appropriated as and for a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly sober religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe but not under or by any other name designation or title peculiarly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever and that no graven image statue or sculpture carving painting picture portrait or the likeness of anything shall be admitted within the said messuages building land tenements hereditaments and premises and that no sacrifice offering or oblation of any kind or thing shall ever be permitted therein and that no animal or living creature shall within or on the said messuage building land tenements hereditaments and premises be deprived of life either for religious purposes or for food and that no eating or drinking (except such as shall be necessary by any accident for the preservation of life) feasting or rioting be permitted therein or thereon and that in conducting the said worship and adoration no object animate or inanimate that has been or is or shall hereafter become or be recognized as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or slightingly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to either in preaching praying or in the hymns or other mode of worship that may be delivered or used in the said Messuage or Building and that no sermon preaching discourse prayer or hymn be delivered made or used in such worship but such as have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe to the promotion of charity morality piety benevolence virtue and the strengthening the bonds of union Between men of all religious persuasions and creeds and also that a person of Good repute and well-known for his knowledge piety and morality be employed by the said trustees or the survivors or survivor of them or the heirs of such survivor or their or his assigns as a resident Superintendent and for the purpose of superintending the worship so to be performed as is hereinbefore stated and expressed and that such worship be performed daily or at least as often as once in seven days **Provided always** and it is hereby declared and agreed by and between the parties to these presents that in case the several Trustees in and by these presents named and appointed or any of them or any other succeeding Trustees or Trustee of the said

trust estate and premises for the time being to be nominated or appointed as hereinafter is mentioned shall depart this life or be desirous to be discharged of or from the aforesaid Trusts or shall refuse or neglect or become incapable by or in any manner to act in the said trusts then and in such case and from time to time as often and as soon as any such event shall happen it shall be lawful for the said Dwarkananth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchunder Bidyabagish and Rammohnn Roy during their joint lives or the survivors or survivor of them after the death of any or either of them jointly and in concurrence with the Trustees or Trustee for the time being and in case of and after the death of the survivor of them the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchunder Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy then for the said Trustees or Trustee by any deed or writing under their or his hands and seals or hand and seal to be attested by two or more credible Witnesses to nominate substitute and appoint some other fit person or persons to supply the place of the Trustees or Trustee respectively so dying desiring to be discharged or refusing or neglecting or becoming incapable by or in any manner to act as aforesaid and that immediately after any such appointment shall be made all and every the messuage or building land tenements and hereditaments premises which under and by virtue of these presents shall be then vested in the Trustees or Trustee so dying desiring to be discharged or refusing or neglecting or becoming incapable by or in any manner to act as aforesaid shall be conveyed transferred assigned and assured so and in such manner that the same shall and may be legally fully and absolutely vested in the Trustees or Trustee so to be appointed in their or his room or stead either solely and alone or jointly with the surviving continuing or acting Trustees or Trustee as the case may require and in his or their heirs or assigns to the uses upon the Trusts and to and for the several ends intents and purposes hereinbefore declared or expressed concerning the same and that every such new Trustees or Trustee shall and may act and assist in the management carrying on and execution of the Trusts to which they or he shall be so appointed (although they or he shall not have been invested with the seisin of the Trustees or Trustee to whose places or place they or he shall have succeeded) either jointly with the surviving continuing or other acting Trustees or Trustee or solely as the case may require in such and the like manner and in all respects as if such new Trustees or

Trustee had been originally appointed by these presents **Provided lastly** and it is hereby further declared and agreed by and between the said Parties to these presents that no one or more of the said Trustees shall be answerable or accountable for the other and others of them nor for the acts defaults or omissions of the other or others of them any consent permission or privity by any or either of them to any act deed or thing to or by the other or others of them done with an intent and for the purpose only of facilitating the Execution of the trusts of these presents notwithstanding nor shall any new appointed Trustees or Trustee or their or his heirs or assigns be answerable or accountable for the acts deeds neglects defaults or omissions of any Trustees or Trustee in or to whose place or places they or he shall or may succeed but such of them the said Trustees shall be answerable accountable and responsible for his own respective acts deeds neglects defaults or omissions only **and** the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussuuno-coomar Tagore Ramchunder Bidyabagish and Rammohun **Roy** do hereby for themselves severally and respectively and for their several and respective heirs executors administrators and representatives covenant grant declare and agree with and to the said Boykontonauth Roy Radapersaud Roy and Ramanauth Tagore their heirs and assigns in manner Following (that is to say) that for and notwithstanding any act deed matter or thing whatsoever heretofore by the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchundar Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy or any or either of them had made done committed willingly or willingly omitted or suffered to the contrary they the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchundar Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy at the time of the sealing and delivery of these presents are or one of them is lawfully rightfully and absolutely seized in their or his demesne as of Fee in their or his own right and to their or his own use of the said messuage building land tenements hereditaments and premises mentioned and intended to be hereby granted and released with the appurtenances both at Law and in Equity as of in and for a good sure perfect and indefeasible estate of inheritance in fee simple in possession and in severalty without any Condition Contingent Trust Proviso power of limitation or revocation of any use or uses or any other restraint matter or thing whatsoever which can or may Alter Change Charge determine lessen incumber defeat prejudi-cially affect or make void the same or defeat determine abridge or

vary the uses or trusts hereby declared and expressed and also that they the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchundar Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy (for and notwithstanding any such act deed matter or thing as aforesaid) or some of them now have in themselves one of them hath in himself full power and Lawful and Absolute Authority by these presents to grant bargain sell release and assure the said messuage land tenements hereditament and premises mentioned and intended to be hereby granted and released with the appurtenances and the possession reversion and inheritance thereof unto and to the use of the said Boykontonauth Roy Radapersaud Roy and Ramanauth Tagore and their heirs to the uses upon the Trusts and to and for the ends intents and purposes hereinbefore expressed or declared of and concerning the same according to the True intent and meaning these presents **and further** that said messuage or building land tenements hereditaments and premises with their rights members and appurtenances shall from time to time and at all times hereafter remain continue and be to the use upon the Trusts and for the ends intents and purposes hereinbefore declared or expressed concerning the same and shall and lawfully may be peaceably and quietly holden and enjoyed and applied and appropriated accordingly without the let suit hindrance claim demand interruption or denial of the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchundar Bidyabagsih and Rammohun Roy or any or either of them or any or either of their heirs representatives or of any other person or persons now or hereafter claiming or to claim or possessing any estate right title trust or interest of in to or out of the same or any part or parcel thereof by from under or in trust for them or any or either of them and that free and clear and clearly and absolutely acquitted exonerated and discharged or otherwise by the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchundar Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy or any or either of them their or any or either of their Heirs executors administrators and representatives well and sufficiently saved harmless and kept indemnified of from and against all and all manner of former and other gifts grants bargains Sales Leases Mortgages uses wills devises rents arrears of rents estates titles charges and other incumbraces whatsoever had made done committed created suffered or executed by the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussunocoomar Tagore Ramchundar Bidyabagish and Rammohoun

Roy or any or either of them or any or either of their heirs or representatives or any person or persons now or hereafter rightfully claiming or possessing any estate right title or interest at Law or in Equity from through under or in trust for them or any or either of them or with their or any or either of their consent privity or procurement or acts means or defaults **and moreover** that the said Dwarkanauth Tagore Kalleenauth Roy Prussunnocoomar Tagore Ramchundar Bidyabagish and Rammohun Roy or their heirs and representatives and all and every other person or persons whomsover now or hereafter lawfully equitably and rightfully claiming or possessing any estate right title use trust or interest either at Law or in Equity of into upon or out of the said messuage land tenements hereditaments and premises mentioned or intended to be hereby granted and released with the appurtenances or any part thereof by from under or in trust for them or any or either of them shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter at the reasonable request of the said Boykontonauth Roy Radapersaud Roy aud Ramanauth Tagore or the survivors or survivor of them or the heirs of the survivor of their or his assigns make do acknowledge suffer execute and perfect all and every such further and other lawful and reasonable acts things deeds conveyances and assurances in the Law whatsoever for the further better more perfectly absolutely and satisfactorily granting conveying releasing confirming and assuring the said messuage or building land tenements hereditaments and premises mentioned to be hereby granted and released and every part and parcel thereof and the possession reversion and inheritance of the same with their and every of their appurtenances unto the said Boykontonauth Roy Radapersaud Roy and Ramanauth Tagore or other the Trustees or Trustee for the time being and their heirs for the uses upon the Trusts and to and for the ends intents and purposes hereinbefore declared and expressed as by the said Trustees and Trustee or his or their council learned in the Law shall be reasonably devised or advised and required so as such further assurance or assurances contain or imply in them no further or other Warranty or Covenants on the part of the person or persons who shall be required to make or execute the same then for or against the acts deeds omissions or defaults of him her or them or his her or their heirs executors administrators and so that he she or they be not compelled or compellable to go or travel from the usual place of his her or their

respective abode for making or executing the same **In witness** whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto subscribed and set their hands and seals the day and Year first within written.

Dwarkanauth Roy Tagore.
Callynauth Roy.
Prossonnocoomar Tagore.
Sri Ramchandra Vidyavagish
(Signed in Bengali).
Rammohun Roy.
Boycontonauth Roy.
Radapersaud Roy.
Ramanauth Tagore.

Sealed and Delivered at Calcutta
aforesaid in the presence of
J. Fountain
Atty. at Law.
Ramgopaul Day.



CAL ART STUDIO

Rammohun Roy

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

In conformity with the wish, you have frequently expressed, that I should give you an outline of my life, I have now the pleasure to give you the following very brief sketch :—

My ancestors, were Brahmins of a high order, and, from time immemorial, were devoted to the religious duties of their race, down to my fifth progenitor, who about one hundred and forty years ago gave up spiritual exercises for worldly pursuits and aggrandisement. His descendants ever since have followed his example, and, according to the usual fate of courtiers, with various success, sometimes rising to honour and sometimes falling; sometimes rich and sometimes poor; sometimes excelling in success, sometimes miserable through disappointment. But my maternal ancestors, being of the sacerdotal order by profession as well as by birth, and of a family than which none holds a higher rank in that profession, have up to the present day uniformly adhered to a life of religious observances and devotion, preferring peace and tranquility of mind to the excitements of ambition, and all the allurements of worldly grandeur.

In comformity with the usage of my paternal race, and the wish of my father, I studied the Persian and Arabic languages, these being indispensable to those who attached themselves to the courts of the Mahommedan princes; and agreeably to the usage of my maternal relations, I devoted myself to the study of the Sanskrit and the theological works written in it, which contain the body of Hindoo literature, law and religion.

* Miss Carpenter thus introduced this Autobiographical Sketch into her book, 'The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy' :—

"The following letter from Rammohun Roy himself first appeared in the 'Athenæum,' and in the 'Literary Gazette;' from one or other of which it was copied into various newspapers. It was written just before he went to France. It was probably designed for some distinguished person who had desired him to give an outline of his history; and he adopted this form for the purpose. The letter may be considered as addressed to his friend, Mr. Gordon, of Calcutta."

Miss Collet calls it "the spurious 'autobiographical letter' published by Sandford Arnot in the *Athenæum* of October 5, 1833."—ED.

When about the age of sixteen, I composed a manuscript calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindoos. This, together with my known sentiments on that subject, having produced a coolness between me and my immediate kindred, I proceeded on my travels, and passed through different countries, chiefly within, but some beyond, the bounds of Hindoostan, with a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British power in India. When I had reached the age of twenty, my father recalled me, and restored me to his favour; after which I first saw and began to associate with Europeans, and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of government. Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them, and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants; and I enjoyed the confidence of several of them even in their public capacity. My continued controversies with the Brahmins on the subject of their idolatry and superstition, and my interference with their custom of burning widows, and other pernicious practices, revived and increased their animosity against me; and through their influence with my family, my father was again obliged to withdraw his countenance openly, though his limited pecuniary support was still continued to me.

After my father's death I opposed the advocates of idolatry with still greater boldness. Availing myself of the art of printing, now established in India, I published various works and pamphlets against their errors, in the native and foreign languages. This raised such a feeling against me, that I was at last deserted by every person except two or three Scotch friends, to whom, and the nation to which they belong, I always feel grateful.

The ground which I took in all my controversies was, not that of opposition to *Brahminism*, but to a *perversion* of it; and I endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Brahmins was contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and the principles of the ancient books and authorities which they profess to revere and obey. Notwithstanding the violence of the opposition and resistance to my opinions, several highly respectable persons, both among my own relations and others, began to adopt the same sentiments.

I now felt a strong wish to visit Europe, and obtain by personal observation, a more thorough insight into its manners, customs,

religion, and political institutions. I refrained, however, from carrying this intention into effect until the friends who coincided in my sentiments should be increased in number and strength. My expectations having been at length realised, in November, 1830, I embarked for England, as the discussion of the East India Company's charter was expected to come on, by which the treatment of the natives of India, and its future government, would be determined for many years to come, and an appeal to the King in Council, against the abolition of the practice of burning widows, was to be heard before the Privy Council; and his Majesty the Emperor of Delhi had likewise commissioned me to bring before the authorities in England certain encroachments on his rights by the East India Company. I accordingly arrived in England in April, 1831.

I hope you will excuse the brevity of this sketch, as I have no leisure at present to enter into particulars, and

I remain, &c.,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

INTRODUCTION.*

SEVERAL of my friends having expressed a wish to be possessed of copies of my Translation of the Vedas, and Controversies with those Brahmans who are advocates for idolatry, I have collected for republication such of those tracts as I could find, either among my own papers or those of my friends who happened to have brought them from India, and now offer them to the public in their original form.

I feel induced to set forth here, briefly, the substance of these writings, to facilitate the comprehension, of their purport, as being foreign to the generality of European readers. The Vedas (or properly speaking, the spiritual parts of them) uniformly declare, that man is prone by nature, or by habit, to reduce the object or objects of his veneration and worship (though admitted to be unknown) to tangible forms, ascribing to such objects attributes, supposed excellent according to his own notions: whence idolatry, gross or refined, takes its origin, and perverts the true course of the intellect to vain fancies. These authorities, therefore, hold out precautions against framing a deity after human imagination, and recommend mankind to direct all researches towards the surrounding objects, viewed either collectively or individually, bearing in mind their regular, wise and wonderful combinations and arrangements, since such researches cannot fail, they affirm, to lead an unbiassed mind to a notion of a Supreme Existence, who so sublimely designs and disposes of them, as is everywhere traced through the universe. The same Vedas represent rites and external worship addressed to the planets and elementary objects, or personified abstract notions, as well as to defied heroes, as intended for persons of mean capacity; but enjoin spiritual devotion, as already described, benevolence, and self-control, as the only means of securing bliss.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

London, July 23, 1832.

P. S.—In all the following Translations, except the Cena Upanishad, the mode of spelling Sanskrit words in English, adopted by Dr. J. B Gilchrist, has been observed

*This Introduction appears in the 'Translation of several principal Books, Passages, and Texts of the Veds, and of some controversial works on Brahmunical Theology' which Rammohun Roy published in London in 1832.—ED.

EXPOSITION

OF THE

PRACTICAL OPERATION

OF THE

JUDICIAL AND REVENUE SYSTEMS OF INDIA

AND OF THE

General Character and Condition of its Native Inhabitants

AS SUBMITTED IN EVIDENCE TO THE AUTHORITIES IN ENGLAND

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ALSO

A BRIEF PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN BOUNDARIES, AND OF THE HISTORY OF THAT COUNTRY.

Elucidated by a Map.

BY

RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY

LONDON:

SMITH ELDER & Co., CORNHILL,

1832.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons which was appointed in February, 1831, and re-appointed in June to consider the renewal of the Company's Charter, invited Raja Rammohun Roy to appear before it. He declined this request, but tendered his evidence in the form of successive "Communications to the Board of Control," which besides duly appearing in the Blue Books were published by him in a separate volume, entitled *Exposition of the practical operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India, etc.* We have omitted the map which the author annexed to this volume.—Ed.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

INDIA, anciently called the "Bharata Varsha"* after the name of a monarch called "Bharata"† is bounded on its south by the sea; on the east partly by this sea, and partly by ranges of mountains separating it from the ancient China, or rather the countries now called Assam, Cassay and Arracan; on the north by a lofty and extensive chain of mountains which divides it from Tibet; and on the west partly by ranges of mountains, separating India from the ancient Persia, and extending towards the Western Sea, above the mouth of the Indus, and partly by this sea itself. It lies between the 8th and 35th degrees of north latitude, and the 67th and 93rd degrees of east longitude.‡

Wide tracts of this empire were formerly ruled by different individual princes, who, though politically independent of, and hostile to each other, adhered to the same religious principles, and commonly observed the leading rites and ceremonies taught in the Sanskrit language, whether more or less refined. These tracts of land

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* "Varsha" implies a large tract of continent, cut off from other countries by natural boundaries, such as oceans, mountains, or extensive deserts.

† "Bharata" a humane and powerful prince, supposed to have sprung from the "*Indu-Vansa*" or the lunar race.

‡ The boundary mountains are interrupted on the east between 90° and 91° E. and lat. 26° and 27° N. Hence the countries to the east of the Brahmaputra, as Assam, Ava, Siam, &c., as far as 102° E. long are by some authors considerd as part of India, though beyond its natural limits, and by European writers usually called "India beyond the Ganges." There, relics of Sanskrit literature, and remains of Hindu temples are still found. Other ancient writers, however, considered these countries as attached to China, the inhabitants having greater resemblance to the Chinese in features.

The western boundary mountains are in like manner broken at long. 70° East, and at lat. 34° North. Consequently the countries beyond that natural limit, such as Cabul and Candahar, are supposed by some to be included in India, and by others in Persia. But many Hindu antiquities still exist there to corroborate the former notion.—Not only the northern boundary mountains of India, but also those mountains which form the eastern and western limits of it, are by the ancient writers on India, termed Himalaya, and considered branches of that great chain. "In the north direction is situated the prince of mountains, the 'immortal Himalaya' which immersing both in the eastern and western seas, stands on earth as a standard of measure (or line of demarcation)". —Kalidasa.

are separated from each other by rivers, or hills, or sometimes by imaginary lines of demarcation.

The part styled "the civilized," in the sacred writings of the Brahmans, consists of two large divisions.*

The first is called "the civilized and sacred land;"† which, extending from the banks of the Indus at 34° north and 72°25 east, in a south-easterly direction, along the foot of the Himalaya mountains as far as 26°30 north and 87°30 east, lies between this line and the northern limits of the Vindhya range, which runs from 22° north and 73° east, to 25° north and 87° 30 east, through Rajmahal, Behar, Benares, the Provinces of Allahabad, and of Malwa, along the north side of the Nerbudda, almost to the west coast of India. The second division is named merely "the civilized land," and is situated between the eastern and western coasts, terminating towards the east at the mouth of the Ganges, about 22° north, and 87°30 east, and on the west towards the mouth of the Indus, at nearly 22° north, and 72° 30. east, comprehending the large province of Gujrat.

The countries situated beyond the limits of the civilized lands, as above described, whether mountains, valleys, or low lands, though included within the Bharata Varsha, are declared to have been chiefly inhabited by *Mlechchhas*, or barbarians, and were therefore called barbarous countries. ‡

In consequence of the multiplied divisions and sub-divisions of the land into separate and independent kingdoms, under the authority

* Manu, the most ancient authority, thus defines their limits "The lands lying as far as the eastern and as far as the western oceans, *and* between the mountains just mentioned (Himalaya and Vindhya) are known to the wise by the name of "Aryavarta" or the land inhabited by respectable people." Ch. II., v. 22

In his translation of this passage, *Sir William Jones*, by omitting to refer to the commentary, which substitutes the copulative Sanskrit particle "*Cha*" for "*Eba*," has thus translated this passage: "As far as the eastern and as far as the western oceans, between the two mountains just mentioned, lies the tract which the wise have named Aryavarta." This rendered the description obscure, if not wholly unintelligible; since the countries lying between these two ranges of mountains, are scarcely situated between the eastern and western seas.

† Because this division includes within it the tract which is called the Sacred Land, situated to the north of Delhi, thus described by Manu: "Between the two divine rivers Saraswati and Drishadwati, lies the tract of land which the sages have named Brahmavarta, because it was frequented by gods."

‡ A country, where the distinction of the four classes (Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Sudra) is not observed, is known as '*Mlechchha Desa*' or "barbarous country," as uqoted by Raghunandana.

of numerous princes hostile towards each other,* and owing to the successive introduction of a vast number of castes and sects, destroying every texture of social and political unity, the country, (or, properly speaking, such parts of it as were contiguous to foreign lands), was at different periods invaded, and brought under temporary subjection to foreign princes, celebrated for power and ambition.

About 900 years ago, the Mahommedan princes, advancing by the north-west, began to ravage and overrun the country; and after continued efforts, during several centuries, they succeeded in conquering the best parts of India. Their rule was transferred in succession from one dynasty of conquerors to another (Ghazni, Ghor, and Afghan), till 1525 of the Christian era, when prince Babar, a descendant of Timur (or Tamerlane), in the fifth generation, established his throne in the centre of Hindustan. His offspring (the Moghul dynasty) exercised the uncontrolled sovereignty of this empire † for nearly two centuries (with the exception of about sixteen years), under a variety of changes, according to the rise or decrease of their power.

In the year 1712, the star of the Moghul ascendancy inclined towards descent, and has since gradually sunk below the horizon. The princes oftener consulted their own personal comfort than the welfare of the state, and relied for success on the fame of their dynasty, rather than on sound policy and military valor. Not only their crowns, but their lives also, depended on the good will of the nobles, who virtually assumed independence of the sovereign power, and each sought his own individual aggrandisement.

At present, all the southern and eastern, as well as several of the western provinces of the empire, have gradually fallen into the possession of the English. The army they employed chiefly consisted of the natives of India, a country into which the notion of patriotism has never made its way. Those territories were in fact transferred to British possession from the rule of a number of the rebellious nobility. While the greatest part of the northern provinces beyond

* Compare the feeble state of Persia when ruled by several independent princes, with the formidable power she enjoyed when consolidated under the empire of the Sufis.

Direct your attention to a still nearer country, I mean England: and compare the consequences formerly arising from her divided resources, with her present state of elevation under the subsisting union.

† It may be considered as consisting of the following twenty provinces: Delhi, Lahore, Cashmere, Cabul, Candahar, Ajmere, Multan, Gujrat, Agra, Oudh, Allahabad, Behar, Bengal, Orissa, Malwah, Khandesh, Berar, Aurungabad, Golconda, Bejapoor.

the river Sutlej has fallen into the hands of Runjeet Singh, the chief of a tribe commonly called *Sikhs*.

Akbar the Second, present heir and representative of the imperial house of Timur, enjoys only the empty title of "King of Delhi," without either royal prerogative or power.

Runjeet Singh, sovereign of north-western India (consisting of Lahoré, Multan, Cashmere, and Eastern Cabul), is considered highly gifted with prudence and moderation, and apparently inclined towards liberal principles; judicious in the discharge of public duties, and affable in private intercourse. The idea of constitutional government being entirely foreign to his mind, he has necessarily followed the same system of arbitrary rule which has been for ages prevailing in the country. The government he has established, although it be purely military, is nevertheless mild and conciliatory.

With regard to the circumstances under which a body of respectable English merchants (commonly known by the name of the Honourable East India Company) first obtained their Charter of Privileges in 1600, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to carry on trade with the East Indies; and with respect to the particulars of their success in procuring from the Emperor of Hindustan (Jahangir), and from several of his successors permission to establish commercial factories, as well as the enjoyment of protection, and various privileges in that country; with relation further to their conquests, which commencing about the middle of the 18th century have extended over the greater part of India,—conquests principally owing to the dissensions and pusillanimous conduct of the native princes and chiefs, as well as to the ignorance existing in the East, of the modern improvements in the art of war, combined with the powerful assistance afforded to the Company by the naval and military forces of the crown of England,—I refer the reader to the modern histories of India,* such particulars and details being quite foreign to the object which I have for the present in view.

The government of England, in the meantime, received frequent intimations of the questionable character of the means by which their acquisitions had been obtained and conquests achieved, and of the

* Bruce's Annals; Anderson's History of Commerce in McPherson's Annals; Sir Thomas Roe's Journal and Letters; Raynal's East and West Indies; Orme's Historical fragments, and on the Government and people of Hindostan; Dow's History; Malcolm's Sketch of the political History of India; Ditto, Central India; and Mill's History of British India

abuse of power committed by the Company's servants,* who were sent out to India from time to time to rule the territory thus acquired; and the impression in consequence was that the immense, or rather incalculable, distance, between India and England, impeding intercourse between the natives of the two countries, and the absence of efficient local check on the exercise of power by the Company's executive officers, as well as the hope of support from their influential employers in England, might lead many of them to neglect or violate their duties and bring reproach on the national character. Under these apprehensions the British Parliament in 1773, by 13th Geo. 111, commonly called the Regulating Act, declared that all territorial acquisitions by conquest or treaty belong to the state, directed that all correspondence connected with their civil or military government should be submitted to the consideration of the Ministers; and subsequently in 1784, (by act 24th Geo. III. cap. 25) a Board of Commissioners was established by the crown as a control over the East India Company and the executive officers in India. The Board consists of a president, who usually has a seat in the British cabinet, and of several members, honorary and otherwise, with a secretary and other requisite subordinate officers. This institution has answered the purpose as far regards subjects of a general nature.

The system of rule introduced and acted on in India by the executive officers of the Company, previous to 1793, was of a mixed nature—European and Asiatic. The established usages of the country were for the most part adopted as the model of their conduct, in the discharge of political, revenue, and judicial functions, with modification at the discretion of the local authority. In addition to the exercise of the sovereign power, power declared through policy to have been vested in them by the throne of Delhi, they continued to act in their commercial capacity with greater success than previous to their sovereignty.† In consideration of the extensive territories acquired by the Company in different parts of India, they deemed it advisable to establish three governments at the three presidencies of

* They were generally relations and friends of the leading members of the company, twenty-four in number, called the "Directors," first elected in 1709, and invested by the general body of the company with the power of managing their territorial possessions in India, as well as their commerce in the East and West

† The monopoly of salt has proved an immense source of revenue to them Besides the factories of opium, silk, cloth, &c, have been established in many places favourably situated for commerce.

Bengal, Madras and Bombay; the two latter being, since, 1773, subordinate to the first in matters of a political nature.

The Marquis of Cornwallis, a straight-forward honest statesman, assumed the reins of government in Bengal in 1786.* He succeeded not only in consolidating the British power in its political relations in those remote regions, but also in introducing, in 1793, material changes in every department, particularly in the revenue and judicial systems. These changes approximating to the institutions existing in England, are calculated to operate beneficially, if regularly reduced to practice.

As my evidence respecting the government of India which will form the main body of this treatise gives a particular account of the practical operation of these systems, I refrain from a repetition of it in this place.

From occasionally directing my studies to the subjects and events peculiarly connected with Europe, and from an attentive though partial, practical observation in regard to some of them, I felt impressed with the idea, that in Europe literature was zealously encouraged and knowledge widely diffused; that mechanics were almost in a state of perfection, and politics in daily progress; that moral duties were, on the whole, observed with exemplary propriety notwithstanding the temptations incident to a state of high and luxurious refinement; and that religion was spreading, even amid scepticism and false philosophy.

I was in consequence continually making efforts for a series of years, to visit the Western World, with a view to satisfy myself on those subjects by personal experience. I ultimately succeeded in surmounting the obstacles to my purpose, principally of a domestic nature; and having sailed from Calcutta on the 19th of November, 1830, I arrived in England on the 8th of April following. The particulars of my voyage and travels will be found in a Journal which I intend to publish; together with whatever has appeared to me most worthy of remark and record in regard to the intelligence, riches and power, manners, customs, and especially the female virtue and excellence existing in this country.

* Since the formation of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, the Crown has exercised the right of selection in regard to the Governor-General to be nominated by the Company.

The question of the renewal of the Honorable East India Company's Charter* being then under the consideration of the Government, and various individuals connected with India having been examined as witnesses on the subject, the authorities wished me also, as a native of that country, to deliver my evidence ; which was, in consequence, given as in the following pages.

Although it has been printed among the other minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, I deem it proper to publish it in a separate form, for the purpose of prefixing these preliminary explanations, and of accompanying it with notes and replies to remarks made thereon, by persons whose opinions are deserving of notice.

*The Company's Charter was last renewed by the Crown in 1813, with certain modifications, for a period of twenty years, and consequently expires in 1833, unless previously renewed.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ON THE

JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF INDIA.

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1. Question. *Have you observed the operation of the Judicial System in India?*

Answer. I have long turned my attention towards the subject, and possess a general acquaintance with the operation of that system, more particularly from personal experience in the Bengal presidency, where I resided.

2. Q. *Do you think that the system hitherto acted upon is calculated to secure justice?*

A. The judicial system established in 1793, by Lord Cornwallis, was certainly well adapted to the situation of the country, and to the character of the people as well as of the Government, had there been a sufficient number of qualified Judges to discharge the judicial office, under a proper code of laws.

3. Q. *Explain particularly in what points you consider the practical operation of the system defective.*

A. In the want of a sufficient number of judges and magistrates, in the want of adequate qualification in many of them to discharge the duty in foreign languages, and in the want of a proper code of laws, by which they might be easily guided.

4. Q. *Can you explain what evils result from the want of a greater number of judges?*

A. 1st: The courts being necessarily few in number in comparison to the vast territories under the British rule, many of the inhabitants are situated at so great a distance from them, that the poorer classes are in general unable to go and seek redress for any injury, particularly those who may be oppressed by their wealthier neighbours, possessing great local influence. 2ndly: The business of the courts is so heavy that causes often accumulate to such an extent, that many are necessarily pending some years before they can be decided; an evil which is aggravated by subsequent appeals from one court to

another, attended with further delay and increased expense. By this state of things wrong-doers are encouraged, and the innocent and oppressed in the same proportion discouraged, and often reduced to despair. 3rdly: Such a mass of business transacted in foreign languages being too much for any one individual, even the ablest and best-intentioned judge, may be disheartened at seeing before him a file of causes which he can hardly hope to overtake; and he may therefore be thus induced to transfer a great part of the business to his native officers, who are not responsible, and who are so meanly paid for their services, that they may be expected to consult their own interests.

5. Q. *Will you inform us what evils arise from the want of due qualification in the judges?*

A. It is but justice to state that many of the judicial officers of the company are men of the highest talents, as well as of strict integrity, and earnestly intent on doing justice. However, not being familiar with the laws of the people over whom they are called to administer justice by these laws, and the written proceedings of the court, answers, replies, rejoinders, evidence taken, and documents produced, being all conducted in a language which is foreign to them, they must either rely greatly on the interpretation of their native officers, or be guided by their own surmises or conjectures. In the one case, the cause will be decided by those who in point of rank and pay are so meanly situated, and who are not responsible to the government or public for the accuracy of the decision; in the other case, a decision founded on conjecture must be very liable to error. Still, I am happy to observe that there are some judicial officers, though very few in number, whose judgment and knowledge of the native languages are such, that in cases which do not involve much intricacy and legal subtlety, they are able to form a correct decision independent of the natives around them.

6. Q. *Can you point out what obstructions to the administration of justice are produced by the want of a better code of laws?*

A. The regulations published from year to year by the local government since 1793, which serve as instructions to the courts, are so voluminous, complicated, and in many instances, either too concise or too exuberant, that they are generally considered not a clear and easy guide; and the Hindu and Mahommedan laws administered in conjunction with the above regulations, being spread over a great

number of different books of various and sometimes doubtful authority, the judges, as to law points, depend entirely on the interpretations of their native lawyers, whose conflicting legal opinions have introduced great perplexity into the administration of justice.

7. Q. *Is there any other impediment to the fair administration of justice besides these you have stated?*

A. The first obstacle to the administration of justice is, that its administrators and the persons among whom it is administered have no common language. 2ndly, That owing partly to this cause and also in a great measure to the difference of manners, &c., the communication between these two parties is very limited; in consequence of which the judges can with the utmost difficulty acquire an adequate knowledge of the real nature of the grievances of the persons seeking redress, or of the real character and validity of the evidence by which their claims are supported or opposed. 3rdly, That there is not the same relation between the native pleaders and the judge as between the British bar and the bench. 4thly, The want of publicity owing to the absence of reports and of a public press, to take notice of the proceedings of the courts in the interior: consequently there is no superintendence of public opinion to watch whether the judges attend their courts once a day or once a week, or whether they attend to business six hours or one hour a day, or their mode of treating the parties, the witnesses, the native pleaders or law officers, and others attending the courts—as well as the principles on which they conduct their proceedings and regulate their decisions; or whether in fact they investigate and decide the causes themselves, or leave the judicial business to their native officers and dependants. (In pointing out the importance of the fullest publicity being afforded to judicial proceedings by means of the press, I have no reference to the question of a free press, for the discussion of local politics, a point on which I do not mean to touch.) 5thly, The great prevalence of perjury, arising partly from the frequency with which oaths are administered in the courts, having taken from them the awe with which they were formerly regarded, partly from the judges being often unable to detect impositions in a foreign language, and to discriminite nicely the value of evidence amongst a people with whom they have in general so little communication; and partly from the evidence being frequently taken, not by the judge himself but by his native officers (Amlahs), whose good will is often secured beforehand by both

parties, so that they may not endeavour to detect their false evidence by a strict examination. Under these circumstances the practice of perjury has grown so prevalent that the facts sworn to by the different parties in a suit are generally directly opposed to each other, so that it has become almost impossible to ascertain the truth from their contradictory evidence. 6thly, That the prevalence of perjury has again introduced the practice of forgery to such an extent as to render the administration of justice still more intricate and perplexing. 7thly, The want of due publicity being given to the regulations which stand at present in place of a code of laws. From their being very voluminous and expensive, the community generally have not the means of purchasing them; nor have they a sufficient opportunity of consulting or copying them in the judicial and revenue offices where they are kept. As these are usually at a distance from the populous parts of the town, only professional persons or parties engaged in suits or official business are in the habit of attending these offices. 8thly, and lastly, Holding the proceedings in a language foreign to the judges, as well as to the parties and to the witnesses.

8. Q. *In what language are the proceedings of the courts conducted?*

A. They are generally conducted in Persian, in imitation of the former Muhammadan rulers, of whom this was the court language.

9. Q. *Are the judges, the parties, and the witnesses sufficiently well acquainted with that language to understand the proceedings readily?*

A. I have already observed that it is foreign to all these parties. Some of the judges, and a very few among the parties, however, are conversant with that language.

10. Q. *Would it be advantageous to substitute the English language in the courts, instead of the Persian?*

A. The English language would have the advantage of being the vernacular language of the judges. With regard to the native inhabitants, it would no doubt, in the meantime, have the same disadvantage as the Persian; but its gradual introduction in the courts would still, notwithstanding, prove ultimately beneficial to them by promoting the study of English.

11. Q. *Does the native bar assist the judge, and form a check on the accuracy of the decisions?*

A. It is no doubt intended to answer this most useful purpose, and does so to some extent; but, from the cause alluded to above

(Ans. 7, No. 3), not to the extent that is necessary to secure the principles of justice.

12. Q. *Do the judges treat the native pleaders with the consideration and respect due to their office?*

A. They are not always treated in the inferior courts with the consideration due to their office.

13. Q. *To what do you attribute it that the bar is not treated with respect?*

A. The native pleaders are so unfortunately situated from there being such a great distance between them and the judges who belong to the rulers of the country, and from not being of the same profession, or of the same class as the judges, and having no prospect of promotion as English barristers have, that they are treated as an inferior *caste* of persons.

14. Q. *Do not the native judicial officers employed under the judge assist him in his proceedings?*

A. Of course they assist him, and that very materially.

15. Q. *What kind of assistance do they render to the judge?*

A. They read the proceedings, viz. bill (darkh'ast, or arzi), answers, replies, rejoinders, and other papers produced in the court; they write the proceedings and depositions of the witnesses; and very often, on account of the weight of business, the judge employs them to take the depositions of the witnesses; sometimes they make abstracts of the depositions and other long papers, and lay them before the judge for his decision.

16. Q. *Are they made responsible with the judge for the proceedings held?*

A. They are responsible to the judge, but not to the government or the public.

17. Q. *Are not the judges assisted also by Hindu and Muhammedan lawyers, appointed to act as interpreters of the law?*

A. They are: learned natives of this description being attached to the courts to give their opinion on the Hindu and Muhammedan law points which may arise in any case.

18. Q. *Are natives of the country empowered to decide causes of any description?*

A. Yes: there are native Munsifs, or commissioners, for the decision of small debts; and Sudder Ameens who are authorised to

try causes under five hundred rupees, whether connected with landed or moveable property.

19. Q. *Are they qualified to discharge the duties entrusted to them?*

A. Many of them are fully qualified; and if proper care can be taken in the selection, all the situations might be filled with well-qualified persons.

20. Q. *What is your opinion of the general character and conduct of the judges in their official capacity as such?*

A. I am happy to state that in my humble opinion the judicial branch of the service is at present almost pure; and there are among the judicial servants of the Company gentlemen of such distinguished talents, that from their natural abilities, even without the regular study of the law, they commit very few, if any, errors in the administration of justice. Others are not so well gifted, and must therefore rely more on the representations of their native officers, and being free from any local check on their public conduct, their regularity, attention to business, and other judicial habits, are not equal to the wishes of their employers, nor calculated to give general satisfaction.

21. Q. *Do they borrow money to any extent from the natives?*

A. Formerly they borrowed to a great amount; at present this practice is discouraged.

22. Q. *Why are the natives prevailed upon to lend to the judges, and other civilians, money to such an extent?*

A. Natives not having any hope of attaining direct consideration from the Government by their merits or exertions, are sometimes induced to accommodate the civil servants with money, by the hope of securing their patronage for their friends and relatives, the judges and others having many situations directly or indirectly in their gift; sometimes by the hope of benefiting by their friendly disposition when the natives have estates under their jurisdiction; and semetimes to avoid incurring the hostility of the judge, who, by Regulation IX of 1807, is empowered not only to imprison, but inflict corporal punishment, by his own authority under certain legal pretences on any native, whatever his respectability may be.

23. Q. *What is your opinion of the judicial character and conduct of the Hindu and Muhammedan lawyers attached to the courts?*

A. Among the Muhammadan lawyers I have met with some honest men. The Hindu lawyers are in general not well spoken of, and they do not enjoy much of the confidence of the public.

24. Q. *What is your opinion of the official character and conduct of the subordinate native judicial officers?*

A. Considering the trifling salaries which they enjoy, from 10, 20, 30, or 40 rupees to 100 rupees a month (the last being the allowance of the head native officer only), and the expenses they must incur, in supporting some respectability of appearance, besides maintaining their families; (the keeping of a palankeen alone must cost the headman a sum of between 20 and 30 rupees per month), and considering also the extent of the power which they must possess, from their situations and duties as above explained (Q. 15.), and the immense sums involved in the issue of causes pending in the courts, it is not to be expected that the native officers, having such trifling salaries, at least many of them, should not avail themselves sometimes of their official influence, to promote their own interests.

25. Q. *What is your opinion of the professional character and conduct of the pleaders?*

A. Many pleaders of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut are men of the highest respectability and legal knowledge, as the judges are very select in their appointment, and treat them in a way which makes them feel that they have a character to support. Those of the provincial courts of appeal are also generally respectable, and competent to the discharge of their duties. In the Zillah courts some respectable pleaders may also be met with, but proper persons for that office are not always very carefully selected; and in general, I may observe, that the pleaders are held in a state of too much dependence by the judges, particularly in the inferior courts, which must incapacitate them from standing up firmly in support of the rules of the court.

26. Q. *Is bribery and corruption ever practised in the judicial department, and to what extent?*

A. I have already intimated my opinion in the answer to Questions 20 and 24.

27 and 28. Q. *Have the respectable and intelligent native inhabitants generally confidence in the purity of the Company's courts and the accuracy of their decisions: and have the native community confidence in the integrity of the subordinate judicial officers?*

A. Whilst such evils exist as I have above noticed, in my reply to Queries 5, 6, and 7, as well as to Queries 20 and 24, the respectable and intelligent native inhabitants cannot be expected to have confidence in the general operation of the judicial system.

29. Q. *Are the judges influenced in their decision by their native officers?*

A. Those who are not well versed in the native languages, and in the Regulations of government, must necessarily be very much dependent on their native officers, as well as those who dislike to undergo the fatigue and restraint of business, which to Europeans is still more irksome in the sultry climate of India.

30. Q. *Can you suggest any mode of removing the several defects you have pointed out in the judicial system?*

A. As European judges in India are not generally expected to discharge judicial duties satisfactorily, independent of native assistance, from not possessing a thorough knowledge of the languages, manners, customs, habits, and practices of the people, and as the natives who possess this knowledge have been long accustomed to subordination and indifferent treatment, and consequently have not the power of commanding respect from others, unless joined by Europeans, the only remedy which exists, is to combine the knowledge and experience of the native with the dignity and firmness of the European. This principle has been virtually acted upon and reduced to practice since 1793, though in an imperfect manner, in the constitution of the courts of circuit, in which the Mufti (native assessor) has a voice with the judge in the decision of every cause, having a seat with him on the bench. This arrangement has tolerably well answered the purpose of government, which has not been able to devise a better system in a matter of such importance as the decision of questions of life and death, during the space of forty years though it has been continually altering the systems in other branches. It is my humble opinion, therefore, that the appointment of such native assessors should be reduced to a regular system in the civil courts. They should be appointed by government for life, at the recommendation of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, which should select them carefully, with a view to their character and qualifications, and allow them to hold their situations during life and good behaviour, on a salary of from 300 to 400 rupees per mensem. They should be responsible to the government as well as to the public for their decisions, in the same manner as the European

judges, and correspond directly with the judicial secretary. A casting voice should be allowed to the European judge, in appointing the native officers, in case of difference of opinion ; the native assessor, however, having a right to record his dissent. These assessors should be selected out of those natives who have been already employed for a period of not less than five years as assessors (Mufti), lawyers (Zillah Court Maulavis), or as the head native officers in the judicial department.*

Par. 2. This measure would remove the evils pointed out in the answers to Q. 5 and to Q. 7, Nos, 1, 2 and 3, and also afford a partial remedy to the evils noticed in Nos. 5, 6 and 8 of Answer 7, as well as provide against the evils referred to in answer to Query 24.

Par. 3. In order, however, to render the administration of justice efficient and as perfect as human efforts can make it, and to remove the possibility of any undue influence which a native assessor might attempt to exercise on the bench under a European judge of insufficient capacity, as well as to do away the vexatious delays and grievous suffering attending appeals, it is necessary to have recourse to trial by jury, as being the only effectual check against corruption, which, from the force of inveterate habit, and the contagion of example, has become so notoriously prevalent in India. This measure would be an additional remedy to the evils mentioned in the reply to Query 5 and 7, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5, 6, 8, and also in the replies to Query 4, Nos. 2 and 3, as well as in Query 24.

Par. 4. With a view to remove the evils arising from want of publicity of the Regulations, as noticed in No. 7 of Answer to the Query 7, two or three copies in each of the principal native languages used in that part of the country should be kept in a building in the populous quarter of the town, under the charge of a keeper on a small salary, and all persons should be freely admitted to read and copy them at leisure from sunrise to sunset. The expense of this would not amount to two pounds a month for each station, and the benefits of it would be incalculable.

Par. 5. In order to remedy the evils arising from the distance of the courts as noticed at Question 4th, Answer No. 1, I beg to suggest as follows: The Sudder Ameens, or superior commissioners for the decision of causes under 500 rupees, affecting moveable or immoveable property, are at present stationed at the same place where

* The native judicial officers are generally versed in Persian, and therefore the proceedings hitherto generally held in that language would be familiar to them.

the zillah judge holds his court, and plaints are at first laid before the judge, who turns them over to one of these commissioners at his own discretion; consequently they afford no remedy for the great distance of the courts from many under their jurisdiction, as this often embraces a circle of 60 or 80 miles. I therefore propose that these Sudder Ameens should be stationed at proportionate distances in different parts of the district, so that suitors may not have to travel far from their homes to file their bills and afterwards to seek and obtain justice; and that one of the assistants of the judge should be stationed in a central position which might enable him (without any additional charge to government as I shall hereafter show) to visit and personally superintend these Ameens, when the judge's station is on or near the border of his district. If it is otherwise situated, one of the assistants of the judge may remain at the head station with the judge, and superintend the commissioners nearest to him, while another assistant being stationed at an appropriate distance, may superintend those who are more remotely situated from the first assistant. There will thus be as complete a check over them as under the present system, and justice will be brought home to the doors of a great majority of the inhabitants of each district, since causes under 500 rupees are exceedingly numerous in every Zillah or City Court.

Par. 6. These assistants may, at the same time, be very usefully employed in checking the dreadfully increasing crime of forgery, by which the course of justice is now so very much impeded in the judicial courts. Written documents of a diametrically opposite nature are, as is well known, constantly laid before these courts, and serve to confound justice and perplex a conscientious bench. Therefore under the proposed system of assistant judges' courts in two different quarters of a district, I would recommend, as highly necessary and expedient to check materially the practice of forgery, that parties to any deed should be required, in order to render the same valid, to produce it in open court before the nearest assistant judge, within a certain number of days from the time of its execution. This rule should apply* to all sorts of deeds, contracts and agreements regarding property above 100 rupees in value, such as wills and bills of sale, &c., and money bonds for debts payable at a certain period beyond six months, and upon receiving a fee of from one to two rupees,

* By Regulation XXXVI of 1793, the registering of deeds is authorised, but left in the option of the parties.

according to its importance, the assistant judge, after ascertaining the identity of the parties in open court, should immediately affix his signature as witness to the deed and retain a copy of the same in a book of record kept on purpose, duly authenticated and marked to prevent the possibility of interpolation, or any other species of fraud. The sum above allowed as a fee on registering, with a small fixed charge per page for retaining a copy, would be more than sufficient to remunerate any extra trouble attending the duty and the labour of transcribing. To induce the proprietors of land and other respectable persons to appear without reluctance in open court on such occasions, they should be invariably treated with the respect due to their rank. Further to encourage the public to have papers registered, and to satisfy the government that no improper delay takes place in registering them, as well as to prevent the copyists from extorting perquisites, a book should be kept in which the party presenting a paper should in open court enter a memorandum of the day and hour on which he presented it for registration, and of the day and hour when it was produced and returned to him. This system would materially remedy the evil referred to in answer to Q. 7, No. 6.

Par. 7. The assistant judges should also receive appeals from the Sudder Ameens, and try them in conjunction with a native assessor appointed by the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, on a salary smaller than that of the judges' assessor, that is, perhaps not exceeding 200 rupees a month. In the event of difference of opinion between the assessor and the assistant judge on any case, it should be appealable to the Zillah judge, whose decision should be final; and as the Sudder Ameens are now paid from the duties on the stamps used and the fees received on the papers filed, so the assistant judges' assessor may be paid in the same manner from the fees and stamps imposed on the appeal causes.

Par. 8. The assistant judge, though not empowered to interfere with the police officers of the interior in the discharge of their duties, should notwithstanding be authorised to receive written complaints of any abuse of their power from persons who feel themselves oppressed by the police, and to forward the same to the head magistrate of the district for his investigation; as very often the poor villagers or peasants are oppressed by the local police officers, but despair of any relief, from being unable to leave their homes and travel to a distance to the station to seek redress.

31. Q. *Is trial by jury (or any thing resembling it) resorted to at present in any case?*

A. The principle of juries under certain modifications has from the most remote periods been well understood in this country under the name of Punchayet.

32. Q. *What is the difference between the Jury system and the Punchayet?*

A. The Punchayet exists on a very defective plan at present, because the jurors (members of the Punchayet) are not regular in their meetings, have no power to compel the attendance of witnesses, unless by appealing to the court; they have no judge to preside at their meetings and direct their proceedings, and are not guarded in any manner from partiality or private influence. They are in fact at present only arbitrators appointed by the court with consent of the parties in a cause, each party nominating one arbitrator and the judge a third; and sometimes both parties agree to refer the decision of the case to one arbitrator.

33. Q. *Why and when was the Punchayet system discouraged?*

A. It has not been totally discouraged, but rather placed on a different footing. In former days it was much more important in its functions. It was resorted to by parties at their own option, or by the heads of tribes, who assumed the right of investigation and decision of differences; or by the government, which handed over causes to a Punchayet.

34. Q. *Do you really think the introduction of any system of Jury trial or Punchayet would be beneficial?*

A. Undoubtedly, as shewn by the 3rd Par. of my answer to Question 30. Since a Punchayet composed of the intelligent and respectable inhabitants, under the direction of a European judge to preserve order, and a native judge to guard against any private influence, is the only tribunal which can estimate properly the whole bearings of a case, with the validity of the documentary evidence, and the character of the witnesses, who could have little chance of imposing false testimony upon such a tribunal.

35. Q. *Do you think it would be acceptable to the inhabitants?*

A. As the Punchayet even in its present very imperfect form is still practised by the inhabitants, it would without doubt be much more so, were it reduced to a regular system, guarded by proper

checks, and dignified by judicial forms, which would inspire the whole community with higher respect and confidence for this ancient institution. But whatever length its popularity may go, it is the only system by which the present abuses consisting of perjury, forgery, and corruption can be removed.

36. Q. *Will you explain, in detail, the modification of the Punchayet-jury system which you think best suited to the circumstances of the country?*

A. I am of opinion that the Punchayet system should be adopted in conjunction with the plan above stated. (Q. 30.) It would be easy to adapt it to the object in view, without imposing any heavy duty on the respectable portion of the native community. Three jurymen, or at most five, would, I conceive, answer the purpose as well as a greater number, and any zillah (district) could easily supply a list from which these might be taken without inconvenience. Three times the number required for sitting on a trial should be summoned, and the persons actually to serve should be taken by lot, so that neither the judges nor the parties may be able to know beforehand what persons will sit on the trial of a cause. The general list of jurymen should be as numerous as the circumstances of the city or zillah (district) will admit. It should be prepared by the European judge at the station, and altered and amended by him from time to time as may seem proper and requisite. He may easily select well qualified juries from respectable and intelligent natives known to be versed in judicial subjects, who reside in considerable numbers at every station. A necessary concomitant to the introduction of jurymen will be the sole use of the vernacular dialect of the place to the exclusion of the Persian language in proceedings. Publicity should be as much fostered as possible, and the jury should be kept apart and required to decide without separating, as in the English courts of law. In a trial thus conducted the resort to appeal will cease to be useful, and for the purposes of justice, need only be allowed where there is a difference of opinion betwixt the bench and the jury. For, where judge and jury are unanimous, an appeal would be more likely to produce injustice by vexatious expense and delay, than to rectify error on the part of the inferior court, and ought therefore to be prohibited.

37. Q. *Do you think the natives of the country qualified to discharge judicial functions of this nature, and from what class would you select the jurors?*

A. They are assuredly qualified, as I observed before, in answer to Query 19, and the jurors at present may be judiciously selected from retired pleaders (wakils) and retired juicial officers, from agents employed by private individuals to attend the court (mukhtars) who are generally well qualified, and from the other intelligent and respectable inhabitants as above observed (Answer to Q. 30 and 36.) ·To avoid any undue bias or partiality, both parties in a suit should have a right of objecting to any juryman, who can be shewn to have an interest in the cause, or particular connection with either party.

38. Q. *Do you think the natives competent and eligible to all judicial situations, or only subordinate ones?*

A. As many of them, even under the present manifold disadvantages, already discharge all the judicial functions, even the most arduous (see Q. 15.), it will not be very difficult, I think, with proper management, to find qualified persons amongst the natives for any duty that may be assigned to them. Many, however, as in other countries, are only fit for subordinate situations.

39. Q. *What advantage do you conceive this Puuchayet-jury system would possess over the judicial system now established?*

A. First, from the thorough knowlege of the native character possessed by such a tribunal, and of the language of the parties and witnesses, it would not be so liable to error in its decision. Secondly, the jury would be guarded from undue influence by the judge and his assessors. Thirdly, it would guard the assessor from the use of undue influence. Fourthly, it would secure the dispatch of business, and the prevention of delay, and of the need of appeals. The checking of perjury and forgery may also reasonably be hoped from it, besides many other advantages already pointed out.

40. Q. *Are the provincial courts of appeal conducted on the same principles as the district courts to which you have referred?*

A. As they are presided over by gentlemen of more experience and longer residence in the country, these courts are generally conducted with greater regularity.

41. Q. *What is the nature of the difference existiny between them?*

A. Under the Bengal Presidency, in causes above 10,000 rupees, the action must be laid in the provincial court of appeal, and may be decided by one judge. This court takes cognizance also of any case of inferior amount below 10,000 rupees, which may be carried to it

by appeal from the decision of or proceedings held by, the judge of the city or district court, and from these provincial appeal courts, appeals can only be made to the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, the highest civil tribunal.

42. Q. *Can you point out any defects in the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, and their remedies?*

A. Government has always been very careful in its selection of judges for the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, both as regards their ability and integrity; and they are fully competent to remove any defects which may exist in the court over which they preside. It is, however, highly desirable that judges of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut should have the power of issuing the writ of habeas corpus, on seeing sufficient grounds for the exercise of this peculiar power, according to the practice of the English courts. But when the person imprisoned is situated at a greater distance from the Sudder courts than fifty miles, the judges of this court, to save useless expense, might direct one of the circuit judges, on whom they could best rely, to investigate the case, and report to them.

43. Q. *What other duties are assigned to the judges of the provincial courts?*

A. They are a medium of communication between the Sudder Dewany Adawlut and the inferior courts, and are also judges of circuit.

44. Q. *How many provincial courts are there?*

A. There are six provincial courts in the provinces attached to the Bengal Presidency, viz., that of Calcutta, Dhacca, Moorshedabad, Patna, Benares, and Bareilly.

45. Q. *Are not the judges of the provincial courts still judges of circuit?*

A. No: they were so formerly; but about two years ago the local government transferred the duties of judges of circuit from them to the revenue commissioners.

46. Q. *Does any inconvenience arise from making the revenue commissioners also judges of circuit?*

A. Such an union of offices is quite incompatible and injurious. The judge of circuit discharges duties of the highest importance, being invested with the power of life and death, and imprisonment during life in chains, the infliction of corporal punishment, and the confiscation of property. He is, besides, charged with the preserva-

tion of peace and good order in several extensive districts; and it is morally impossible, therefore, that he can fulfil the expectation of Government and the public, if his attention be at the same time engrossed and distracted by political, commercial, or revenue transactions. In criminal suits, moreover, he labours under a peculiar disadvantage, not being assisted by a bar composed of persons of liberal education, or by a body of honest, intelligent and independent jurors. The former often proves of essential service to the bench in the king's court, by able expositions of the law as applicable to every case, by great acuteness in cross-examining witnessess, and in the detection of false evidence; while the importance of the jury is universally acknowledged.

Par. 2. Formerly, when the judges of the provincial courts of appeal did the duties of the circuit, one or two of them used to remain at the station, to attend to the necessary current business, while the others, (one, or sometimes two) were on circuit. But on the present system, the commissioner of revenue being also judge of circuit, when he goes on circuit, all references to him, by the collectors under his jurisdiction, often remain unanswered, and the most important matters in the revenue business are entirely suspended for months together. Although the former Mohammedan governments were subject to the charge of indifference about the administration of justice, they yet perceived the evils liable to arise from an union of revenue and judicial duties. No judge or judicial officer empowered to try capital crimes (as Cazees or Muftis), was ever suffered to become a collector of revenue.

Par. 3. The separation of these two offices has also been established by long practice under the British government, being one of the leading principles of the system introduced by Lord Cornwallis. Accordingly those young civilians who attached themselves to the revenue line of the service, have advanced by successive steps in that line; while those again who preferred the judicial, have been in like manner continued and promoted through the different grades in that department of public duty. Therefore, by overturning this system, a gentleman may now be appointed to discharge the highest judicial duties, who never before tried the most trivial cause; and another to superintend the collectors of revenue, to whose duties he has been all his life a stranger. Mr. E. R. Barwell, Revenue Commissioner and Judge of Circuit of the 24-Purgunnahs, Baraset, Jessore and Burrisal,

is an example of the former case; and Mr. H. Braddon, Revenue Commissioner and Judge of Circuit of Burdwan, Jungul Muhal, and Hooghly, is an instance of the latter.*

Par. 4. The remedy I beg to propose, without further expense attending the establishment, is to separate the duties between two distinct sets of officers, and double the jurisdiction of each. By this arrangement each gentleman discharging one class of duties would find them more easy and simple, though the field embraced was more extensive, and the expense would be the same as under the present system.

Par. 5. The duties of judges and magistrates are not so incompatible as those of the judges of circuit and the commissioners of revenue; but still separation of these duties is advisable on account of the great weight of the business in the Zillah and city courts. Therefore these two offices (the office of judge and that of magistrate) should be exercised by different individuals. However, the magistrates should assist the judges in the execution of their decrees or orders as they have hitherto done in those districts where the offices of judge and magistrate are separate.

47. Q. *What delay generally takes place in the decision of causes?*

A. In the Zillah courts a cause may be pending on an average about two or three years; in the courts of appeal four or five years; and in the Sudder Dewany Adawlut the same period. But if the property in dispute amount to the value of about 50,000 rupees, so as to admit of an appeal to the king in council, the probable period of delay in the decision of such an appeal is better known to the authorities here than to myself.

48. Q. *What is the cause of such delay?*

A. It must be acknowledged that irregularity in attending the discharge of the judicial duties, and the want of proper discipline or control over the judicial officers are the main causes of obstruction in the dispatch of the judicial business; and these daily growing evils in every branch of the judicial establishment have, in a great measure, defeated the object which the government had in view in establishing it. For example, a bill of complaint written on stamp, the first paper in a suit, cannot easily be got on the file unless it be accompanied with some perquisite to the native recorder, whose duty

* *Vide* the Directories containing the list of civil servants in Bengal.

it is to ascertain, first, whether the sum in dispute correspond with the value of the stamp, an act which may be accomplished in a minute or a week, just as it suits the inclination of the examiner. The case is the same with respect to the issuing of the summonses prepared by another native officer, to command the attendance of the person sued, either in person or by a pleader to put in his answer. Summonses, subpœnas, and the processes of the provincial courts are issued against individuals through the judge of the district in which they reside, and a certain period is always allowed for serving these processes; but neither are the Zillah judges, whose time is otherwise fully occupied, punctual in observing those subordinate duties, nor does the higher court, which is occupied by other important business, take any early notice of the expiration of the time allowed for making the return. The parties are therefore obliged to cultivate a friendly understanding not only with the officers of the provincial court, but also with those of the Zillah or city court. Whether the defendant attends immediately or long after the time allowed him, or whether he files his answer within the regular prescribed period, or a year afterwards, is treated as if practically immaterial. But delay unintentionally allowed to the parties in filling the requisite papers and in producing their documents and witnesses, is the too frequent source of great abuses; as the opportunity thus afforded by delay is embraced to invent stories and forge documents in support of them, to procure false witnesses and to instruct them in the manner that appears best calculated to serve the purposes in view.

Par. 2. Moreover, some of the judges are very irregular in calling on causes, choosing any day and any time that suits their convenience to occupy the bench singly. The pleaders, being natives of the country, have little or no influence over the conduct of the judges to prevent such irregularities, and dare not hint dissatisfaction.

Par. 3. I would suggest, with a view to remove irregularities originating in a want of official control, without disregard to economy, that the head writer in each court be required to discharge this duty with some extra remuneration for the same, and be made strictly responsible under an adequate penalty, with proper sureties for his conduct, liable, jointly with him, for any fine he may incur, by want of punctuality proved against him by either party, on complaint to the judge of the court, or of a superior court, or to the judicial secretary.

Par. 4. This superintendent or clerk of the papers should be required to place on the file in open court bills of complaint as well as answers and replies, &c., within the period prescribed in Regulation IV of 1793. These should not be admitted to the records after the time allowed, unless the judge, on motion publicly made, find sufficient reason for prolonging the period, say a week or two in particular cases.

Par. 5. The clerk of the papers should vigilantly watch that no delay takes place in issuing summonses, subpœnas, and other process of the court; and that the day on which these are ordered to be issued, and the day on which their return is expected should be correctly registered in a separate book kept on purpose.

Par. 6. In case of neglect or wilful disobedience, the superintendent of the papers should immediately submit the circumstance to the notice of the judge. Should the neglect be on the part of the prosecutor, the judge ought immediately to pronounce nonsuit, and if on the part of the defendant, proceed *ex parte* without allowing the neglect to be remedied. Or if the judge do not attend to these rules, the clerk of the papers should be bound to report the circumstance to the superior court, or the judicial secretary on pain of forfeiting his situation. A separate register of the returns should also be kept, as well as a register shewing the time when the defendant's answer must be filed—say one month from the day when the summonses are served, as is the case with equity suits in Calcutta; also shewing the hours during which the judge may attend on public duty, and likewise his occasional absence from court with the alleged cause thereof. The superintendent should transmit monthly a copy of each register, with his own remarks, to government through the secretary in the judicial department, for its particular attention to every breach of regularity therein mentioned.

Par. 7. With a view to the same end, every person who chooses should have a right to be present during the trial of causes in any court: the courts, as is generally the case at present, should be so constructed as to afford facilities for a considerable number of persons hearing and witnessing the whole proceedings: any one who chose should be entitled to make notes of the same and publish them, or cause them to be published, in any manner he may think proper for general information, subject to prosecution for intentional error or misrepresentation that might be judicially proved against him before

a competent tribunal, and to incur such penalty as it might award. This measure would tend to remove the evil pointed out in answer to Query 7, No. 4.

49. Q. *What number of causes may be pending at one time, and undisposed of in the district courts and courts of appeal?*

A. This depends partly on the comparative degree of industry and attention to business bestowed by the judicial officers, partly on the extent of the district, and amount of business within the jurisdiction of the respective courts. However the average number of causes pending may be ascertained by a reference to the registers kept, which are not at present accessible to me. My impression is that in some districts they are very numerous. But to shew how much the vigilance and activity of a public officer may accomplish, even in so extensive a district as Hooghly, I may mention that there, under Mr. D. C. Smith, every case is decided in the course of four, five or six months. In the courts of appeal the causes pending are very numerous. Conscientious and active as Mr. Smith is, he is often obliged, from the pressure of business, judicial and magisterial, to authorise his native judicial officers to take the depositions of witnesses in the civil suits.

50. Q. *Could the number of appeal cases be reduced without any disadvantage?*

A. Yes, certainly not only without disadvantage but with great positive advantage. 1st, By introducing a more regular system of filing papers and bringing on causes, as above suggested, in answer to Q. 48. 2nd, By the aid of a jury and joint native judge, as proposed in reply to Q. 30. 3rd, By allowing of no appeal unless when there is a difference of opinion in the zillah or city court in giving sentence, as noticed in reply to the Query 36. By these means the business would be at once conducted with more accuracy; so many litigious suits would not occur; and there would be very little need of appeals to revise the decisions.

51. Q. *Has the right of appeal to the King in Council proved beneficial or otherwise?*

A. Owing to the vast distance, the heavy expense, and the very great delay which an appeal to England necessarily involves, owing also to the inaccuracies in the translations of the papers prepared after decision and sent to this country, and to other causes, I think the right of appeal to the king in council is a great source of

evil and must continue to be so, unless a specific court of appeal be created here expressly for Indian appeal causes above 10,000*l*. At the same time to remove the inaccuracies above noticed, three qualified persons (a European, a Mussalman, and a Hindu) should be nominated joint translators, and the translations should be furnished within one year from the conclusion of the proceedings in India, and both parties should be allowed to examine the accuracy of the translations thus prepared.* But if the appellant neglect to pay the fees of translation within two months after the decision, the appeal should be quashed.

52. Q. *What is the nature of the duties assigned to the revenue commissioners?*

A. They exercise a general superintendence and control over the revenue collectors, with powers similar to those vested in the board at Calcutta, formerly called the board of revenue, and in the board of commissioners for the upper provinces. That board at Calcutta is now the superior authority to which an appeal may be made from the decisions of the present commissioners, (it is in consequence now generally termed the Sudder or supreme board), and thence to the government itself. In other words the office of commissioner is a subsitute for the board of revenue, but an appeal being allowed from the one to the other, of course there is abundance of appeals, and a great part of the business is thus transacted twice or thrice over.

53. Q. *What is the nature of the duties assigned to them as judges of the circuit?*

A. As judges of circuit they exercise control over the magistrates and try the higher classes of criminal causes, which involve a question of life or death, or to the Sudder Nizamut Adawlat, the highest criminal tribunal.

54. Q. *Does not the discharge of one class of duties interfere with the discharge of another class, which seems to be of a very different nature?*

* In noticing this circumstance, I by no means intend to make the least insinuation to the prejudice of the present translators: but make the statement from my own observation of various translations, and my own experience of the great difficulty or rather impracticability, of rendering accurately large masses of documents from an oriental tongue, and frequently a provincial dialect, into a European language, of which the idioms are so widely different, unless the translator be assisted by persons possessing peculiar vernacular knowledge of the various localities.

A. As above noticed (Ans. to Q. 46), while they are engaged in the duties of their circuit court, the reports and references from the revenue collectors must remain for several months unanswered; and not only do the people suffer in consequence, but the public business stagnates, as already observed.

55 and 56. Q. *What is the nature of the functions of the judge of circuit, and his native law assessor? Do they afford each other reciprocal assistance in the discharge of their duties?*

A. Both take cognizance of the charges brought before the magistrates and sent to their court; both hear the evidence and examine the witnesses, and both give their voice in passing the decision, as I observed in Par. 1st, of my Ans. to Q. 30. In a vague sense the Mohammedan law assessor may be considered as analagous to the jury in English courts, while the European judicial officer is the judge.

57. Q. *Are the judges generally competent to the discharge of their duties?*

A. Some of them are highly qualified; but it is not expected that European judges should be generally competent to determine difficult questions of evidence among a people whose language, feelings, and habits of thinking and acting are so totally different from their own.

58. Q. *Are the native law assessors generally competent?*

A. They are generally so: some of the Muftis (Mussulman law assessors) are men of such high honour and integrity, that they may be entrusted with the power of a jury with perfect safety; and they are all of the most essential utility, and indeed the main instrument for expediting the business of the criminal courts. However highly or moderately qualified the European judges may have been, the business has been advantageously conducted through the assistance and co-operation of these Mohammedan assessors for a period of 40 years past.

59. Q. *If they should differ in opinion, what course is adopted?*

A. The case is then referred to the Nizamut Adawlat (the highest criminal tribunal).

60. Q. *What course do the judges of the Nizamut Adawlat adopt?*

A. If the judge of the supreme criminal court, before whom the referred case comes, should, after consulting with the Muftis of that court, concur in the opinion of the circuit judge, his decision is confirmed and carried into execution. But should the Sudder Nizamut (supreme criminal) judge differ from the opinion of the circuit judge,

the case is then submitted to a second, or if necessary, to a third Sudder Nizamut judge, and the opinion given by two Sudder judges against one, is final.

61. Q. *Are the judges of the supreme criminal court also judges of the highest civil court?*

A. Yes ; and very deservedly.

62. Q. *Are they generally competent to the discharge of their duties?*

A. I have already observed (Q. 42.) that they are highly competent.

63. Q. *As it is of the highest importance that the courts of circuit should be above all corruption; can you suggest any means of improving them?*

A. Courts which have the disposal of life and death are undoubtedly of very high importance ; and I would therefore propose instead of only one law assessor (who stands in place of a jury) that three or five (at least three) law assessors should be attached to each court, while trials are going on.

64. Q. *From what class of men would you select the juries in the criminal courts?*

A. The criminal law now established in India has been very judiciously founded on the Mohammedan criminal law. It has however been so greatly modified by the acts of government from time to time since 1793, that it, in fact, constitudes a new system of law, consisting partly of its original basis, and partly of the government regulations. But it has been made a regular study only by the respectable Mohammedans, who, when they attain a certain proficiency, are styled Maulvies, a term equivalent to Doctors of Law. Formerly two of these were attached to each court of circuit, and one to each district court. Of late the office of Maulvi of circuit having been abolished, the Maulvi or Mufti of the Zillah (district) court has been ordered by government to officiate as Mufti of circuit, while the judge of circuit is engaged in the trial of the criminal causes of that district. Thus he alone, as assessor of the judge of circuit, is entrusted with the powers usually assigned to a jury in a British court; having the power of delivering his opinion on every case at the close of the trial.

Par. 2. With a view to lessen the abuse of the great power thus given, it is highly desirable that government should adopt the

following precaution: The judge of circuit previous to his departure for any Zillah (district) or city to try criminal causes, should summon, through the magistrate, one or two additional Maulvis attached to the adjacent courts, with a few other learned, intelligent and respectable inhabitants of that district or city, to join him on his arrival with a moderate extra allowance for their services, and every morning before he takes his seat on the bench, the judge should, without previous intimation, direct three of them to sit with him during the whole trials that may come on for that day as his law assessors and they should be required to deliver their opinions in each case in open court, immediately after the close of the proceedings, without previous opportunity of communicating with any one whatever, on the same principle as an English jury: and the judge should immediately inform the parties of the verdict, to put an end to all intrigues. The judge of circuit should also be required to keep a vigilant watch over the proceedings of the magistrates within his jurisdiction, and to institute an investigation personally and on the spot, into any complaint preferred against them, whenever he sees sufficient ground for adopting this prompt measure; and the judge of circuit only should have the power of inflicting corporal punishment; not any magistrate as injudiciously authorised by Regulation IX of 1807, Sec. 19th.

65. Q. *What would be their duty? Precisely like that of a jury, or like that of the law assessors as hitherto employed?*

A. More resembling that of the law assessors as hitherto employed. The difference between them is not important, and the result would be the same.

66. Q. *Should not the jury be selected from persons of all religious sects and divisions?*

A. Since the criminal law has hitherto been administered by the Mohammedans; to conciliate this class, the assessors should still be selected from among them, until the other classes may have acquired the same qualifications, and the Mohammedans may become reconciled to co-operate with them.

67. Q. *Do you think any alteration necessary in the system of criminal law now established?*

A. As the criminal laws now established are already in general very familiar to the natives, I think they may better remain in their present state, until the government may be able to introduce a regular code.

68. Q. *In what manner do you think a code of criminal law could be framed suitable to the wants of the country?*

A. A code of criminal law for India should be founded as far as possible on those principles which are common to, and acknowledged by all the different sects and tribes inhabiting the country. It ought to be simple in its principles, clear in its arrangement, and precise in its definitions; so that it may be established as a standard of criminal justice in itself, and not stand in need of explanation by a reference to any other books of authority, either Mohammedan or Christian. It is a subject of general complaint that persons of a certain high rank, however profligate some of them may be, are, from political considerations, exempted from the jurisdiction or control of the courts of the law. To remedy this inconvenience, in the proposed code, so as to give general satisfaction, without disregarding the political distinctions hitherto observed, it may perhaps be expedient for government to order such persons to be tried by a special commission, composed of three or more persons of the same rank. This very regulation, when once known to them, would, in all probability, deter them from committing any very gross act of tyranny or outrage upon their dependants or others.

69. Q. *What period of time would it take to frame such a code, and by whom could it be done satisfactorily?*

A. It must require at least a couple of years to do it justice; and it ought to be drawn up by persons, thoroughly acquainted with Mohammedan and Hindu law, as well as the general principles of British law.

70. Q. *Are the judges capable of regulating their proceedings by such a code of laws?*

A. At present they are not generally capable of performing their judicial duties independent of the aid of the assessors; but with a proper code, as above supposed, they might, most of them, in no great period, by making it a regular study, become much more capable of administering justice by it than they are by the present system.

71, 72. Q. *Would not the detention of the young civilians in England to obtain a regular legal education be injurious by delaying their proceeding to India for several years, at that period of life, when they are best capable to acquire the native languages? Do you conceive that any disadvantages arise from civilians going out at an early age?*

A. This is a subject which merits the deepest consideration of the legislature. Young men sent out at an early age, before their principles are fixed, or their education fully matured, with the prospect of the highest power, authority, and influence before them, occupying already the first rank in society immediately on their arrival, and often without the presence of any parent, or near relative to advise, guide or check them, and surrounded by persons ready, in the hope of future favours and patronage, to flatter their vanity and supply money to almost any extent to their too easily excitable passions—are evidently placed in the situation calculated to plunge them into many errors, make them overstep the bounds of duty to their fellow creatures and fellow subjects, and to relax whatever principles of virtue may have been implanted in their yet inexperienced minds. The excuse made for so injudicious an arrangement, that it is favourable to the acquisition of the native languages, is of no weight; for it may be observed that the missionaries, who are usually sent out at the age of from 25 to 35 years, acquire generally in two or three years so thorough a knowledge of these languages as to be able to converse freely in them and even to address a native audience with fluency in their own tongue. In fact the languages are easily acquired at a mature as well as at an immature age by free communication with the people. Moreover, by the system of native assessors, juries and other helps to the judges and magistrates, and by the gradual substitution of English for Persian, as above proposed, so extensive and minute a knowledge of the native languages would not be requisite. In short, from the present system of sending out youths at so early an age, very serious evils arise to themselves, as well as to the Government, and to the public. 1st, With respect to themselves, they are too often seduced into habits which prove ruinous to their health and to their fortunes, becoming thereby involved in debts from which many of them are never afterwards able to extricate themselves without having recourse to improper means. 2ndly, These embarrassments interfere very seriously with their duty to Government and the public, as the persons to whom they are indebted generally surround them, and seize every opportunity of enriching themselves which their situation and influence put in their way. 3rdly, Their indiscreet choice of native officers from youthful partialities, and the thoughtless habits acquired in early days, amid power and influence, prove very injurious to the community. Therefore

no civil servant should be sent to India under 24 or at least 22 years of age, and no candidate among them should be admitted into the judicial line of the service, unless he can produce a certificate from a professor of English law to prove that he possesses a competent knowledge of it. Because, though he is not to administer English law, his proficiency therein will be a proof of his capacity for legal studies and judicial duties, and a knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence as developed in one system of law will enable him to acquire more readily any other system; just as the study of the ancient and dead languages improves our knowledge of modern tongues. This is so important, that no public authority should have the power of violating the rule, by admitting to the exercise of judicial functions any one who has not been brought up a lawyer.

73. Q. *How are the laws of inheritance regulated?*

A. The property of Mohammedans descends and is divided according to their own law of inheritance; and the property of Hindus according to theirs; and of other sects also agreeably to their respective laws of inheritance.

74. Q. *What books do the Hindu lawyers officially attached to the courts follow as law authorities?*

A. There are various books, but in Bengal they chiefly follow the Dayabhaga, with occasional reference to other authorities; and in the western province, and a great part of the Dakhan they follow the Mitakshara principally.

75. Q. *What books do the Mohammedan lawyers follow as authorities?*

A. The majority of the Mussulmans of Hindustan follow the doctrines of Abu Hanifah and his disciples; consequently the Hidaya is their chief law authority; but they also refer to some other books of decision or cases such as the Fatawae Alamgiri and others.

76. Q. *Is there any mode by which the law authorities, now so voluminous and perplexing, might be simplified in such a manner as to prevent the native lawyers from misleading the courts, and confounding the rights of property?*

A. To effect this great and pre-eminently important object, a code of civil law should be formed on similar principles to those already suggested for the criminal code, and this, as well as the former, should be accurately translated, and published under the authority of government. By printing off large impressions, and

distributing them, at prime cost, in the current languages of the people, they might render the rights of property secure; since, these being clear and well-known to the whole community, it would be impossible for any designing man to induce an intelligent person to enter upon litigious suits. The law of inheritance should, of course, remain as at present with modifications peculiar to the different sects, until by the diffusion of intelligence the whole community may be prepared to adopt one uniform system. At present when a new regulation, drawn up by any officer of government and submitted to it, is approved of, it immediately becomes law when promulgated, the same as an act of parliament in this country, when approved of, discussed, and sanctioned by king, lords and commons. From the want of sufficient local knowledge and experience on the part of the framers of such regulations, they are often found not to answer in practice, and the local government is thus frequently obliged to rescind the whole or part of them. I would therefore suggest that if any new regulation be thought necessary before the completion of the civil and criminal codes above proposed, great care and precaution should be observed in its enactment. With this view every such project of law before it is finally adopted by the government, should be printed and a copy sent directly from Government, not only to the judges of the Sudder Dewany Adawlat, and the members of the Board of Revenue, &c., but also to the advocate-general on the part of the Honourable Company, to the principal Zamindars, such as the Rajahs of Burdwan, Behar, Benares, &c., and to the highly respectable merchants such as Jaggat Set at Murshedabad, Baboo Baijnath at Patna, and the representatives of Baboo Manohar Dass at Benares, also to the Muftis of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlat, and the head native officers of the Boards of Revenue, for their opinion on each clause of the Regulation to be sent in writing within a certain period. Because these being the persons who are affected by the Regulations, they will be cautious of recommending any that is injurious.* It should still be optional, however, with government to be guided or not by their suggestions. But a copy of the minutes made by the different parties abovenamed should accompany the Regulations, when these are to be transmitted to England for the consideration of the court of directors, and parliament; and there should be a standing committee of the House of Commons,

* In the case of those parties who do not understand English, the draft regulations, when sent to them, should be accompanied with a translation.

to take the whole regulations and minutes into consideration, and report to the House from time to time on the subject, for their confirmation or amendment.

In such matters as those of war and peace, it may be necessary that the local government should act on its own discretion and responsibility according to existing circumstances, notwithstanding the opinion of the government in England. But as the affairs of India have been known to the authorities in Europe, for such a series of years, in matters of legislation, the local government should be bound to carry into effect any regulations or order in judicial and revenue matters sent out, formally enacted by the British government, or the Court of Directors under the express sanction of the Board of Commissioners for the control of the affairs of Iudia, although the local Government might still remonstrate against them to the home authorities.

The attention thus shewn by the government at home and abroad, to the feelings and interests of the Zamindars, and merchants, as principal members of the community, though it would not confer upon them any political power, would give them an interest in the government, and inspire them with greater attachment to it, and also the whole community, as being under their influence, and in general receiving its opinions from them.

77. Q. *Should the civil servants, in the judicial and revenue departments, be educated expressly for the particular line of the service in which they are engaged, or is it advantageous to transfer them from one branch of it to another?*

A. It is found by experience that persons, by long habit in the performance of any particular duties, become not only more dexterous in but more reconciled and even attached to them, and find them less irksome than others to which they have not been accustomed. In my humble opinion, the duties of a judge are not inferior in difficulty to those of any other profession whatever, nor is the qualification requisite for them to be acquired with less experience. It has been alleged that the revenue officers, when converted into judicial officers, must be better judges of revenue causes. But on this principle, commercial officers ought to become judges for the sake of commercial causes, agriculturists for agricultural causes, and mechanists for mechanical disputes. However, as matters of revenue, commerce, agriculture, &c., are decided on the general principles of law and

justice, any such special preparation has never been found necessary: therefore these two classes of duties should be kept quite distinct, if it is wished that either of them be performed well.

78. Q. *Can you offer any other suggestions for the improvement of the Judicial Establishment ?*

A. 1st. In order to keep the judicial officers above temptation, their salaries should not be reduced. 2ndly. With the additional aids and checks of joint native judges, assessors, and juries above proposed, (Ans. to Q. 30.) all civil courts of appeal may be dispensed with, except the supreme civil court (Sudder Dewany Adawlat), and thus a very considerable saving may be effected by the government. One-tenth of this saving will suffice to support all the native assessors, juries, &c., above recommended (Q. 30). 3rdly, By gradually introducing the natives into the revenue departments under the superintendence of European officers, (as I proposed in my Appendix A, on the revenue system), and in the judicial department in co-operation with them, the natives may become attached to the present system of government, so that it may become consolidated, and maintain itself by the influence of the intelligent and respectable classes of the inhabitants, and by the general good will of the people, and not any longer stand isolated in the midst of its subjects, supporting itself merely by the exertion of superior force.

Par. 2. Should the gradual introduction of the natives into places of authority and trust as proposed, be found, not to answer the expectations of Government, it would then have the power of stopping their farther advancement, or even of reversing what might have been already done in their favour. On the contrary, should the proposed plan of combining Native with European officers have the effect of improving the condition of the inhabitants and of stimulating them with an ambition to deserve the confidence of the government, it will then be enabled to form a judgment of the practicability and expedience of advancing natives of respectability and talent to still higher situations of trust and dignity in the state, either in conjunction with or separately from their British fellow subjects.

Par. 3. In conclusion, I deem it proper to state, that in preparing my replies to these queries, I have not been biassed by the opinions of any individual whatsoever; nor have I consulted with any person or even referred to any work which treats on the subject of India. I have for the facts consulted only my own recollections; and

in regard to the opinions expressed, I have been guided only by my conscience, and by the impressions left on my mind by long experience and reflection. In the improvements which I have ventured to suggest, I have kept in view equally the interests of the governors and the governed; and without losing sight of a just regard to economy, I have been actuated by a desire to see the administration of justice in India placed on a solid and permanent foundation.

(Sd.) RAMMOHUN ROY.

LONDON, *Sep. 19th, 1831.*

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ON THE

REVENUE SYSTEM OF INDIA.

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1. *Question. By what tenure is land held in the provinces with which you are acquainted?*

Answer. In the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and part of Orissa (*Midnapoor*), land is now held by a class of persons called *Zamindars* *i. e.* landholders), who are entitled to perpetual hereditary possession, on condition of paying to government a certain revenue, fixed on their respective lands. This is termed the *Zamindary* system. But in the ceded and conquered provinces belonging to the Presidency of Fort William, no fixed agreement has yet been made with the *Zamindars* as to the amount of assessment. Consequently their estates are not in their own hands, but under the immediate management of government, and subject to fresh assessments from time to time at its discretion.

In the Madras Presidency, the revenue is for the greater part, collected directly from the cultivators (called Ryots), by the government revenue officers, according to the rate fixed on the different descriptions of land in various situations. These cultivators may retain possession as long as they pay the revenue demanded from them.

2. Q. *By what tenure was land held under the former government?*

A. Under the Mohammedan government, lands were held by hereditary right on the Zamindary system (though the revenue was sometimes arbitrarily increased); and the Zamindars were considered as having a right to their respective estates, so long as they paid the public revenue. They were at the same time responsible for any breach of the peace committed within the limits of their estates. In this manner many estates. some of which can yet be referred to, such as Vishnupoor, Nuddea, &c., continued in the same family for several centuries.

3. Q. *Do persons of all religious sects hold by the same tenure?*

A. No religious or other distinctions were observed under the former government in regard to the holding of land; at present, Europeans are interdicted by law from becoming proprietors of land, except within the jurisdiction of the British courts of law at the three presidencies, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

4. Q. *Are the estates most usually large or small?*

A. In the Bengal presidency the estates are many of them considerable, and there are many others of various smaller dimensions; but in the Madras presidency, where the revenue is collected directly from the cultivators, the district is generally divided into small farms.

5. Q. *Do the proprietors cultivate their own estates, or let them to tenants?*

A. To the best of my knowledge, almost all the land in the Bengal presidency is let out by the proprietors in farms, on a larger or smaller scale.

6. Q. *On what terms are the farms rented?*

A. The farms are frequently rented by the *Zamindar* himself to cultivators, often on lease, for payment of a certain fixed rent, and frequently the *Zamindar* lets the whole, or a great part of his Zamindary to respectable individuals, who realize the rents from the cultivators according to the contracts previously made with them by the Zamindars, or subsequently by these middlemen.

7. Q. *Does the ordinary rate of rent seem to press severely on the tenants?*

A. It is considered in theory that the cultivator pays half the produce to the landholder, out of which half, 10-11ths or 9-10ths constitute the revenue paid to Government, and 1-10th or 1-11th the net rent of the landholder. This half of the produce is a very heavy demand upon the cultivator, after he has borne the whole expense of seed and labour; but in practice, under the permanent settlement since 1793, the landholders have adopted every measure to raise the rents by means of the power put into their hands.

8. Q. *Under the former government had the cultivator any right in the soil to cultivate in perpetuity on paying a fixed rent not subject to be increased?*

A. In former times *Khud-Kasht Ryots* (i. e. cultivators of the lands of their own village) were considered as having an absolute

right to continue the possession of their lands in perpetuity on payment of a certain fixed rent, not liable to be increased. But under an arbitrary government, without any regular administration of justice, their acknowledged rights were often trampled upon. From a reference to the laws and the histories of the country, I believe that lands in India were individual property in ancient times. The right of property seems, however, to have been violated by the Mohammedan conquerors in practice; and when the British power succeeded that of the Mohammedans, the former naturally adopted and followed up the system which was found to be in force, and they established it both in theory and practice.

9. Q. *Are the tenants now subjected to frequent increase of rent?*

A. At the time when the permanent settlement was fixed in Bengal (1793), government recognized the *Zamindars* (landholders) as having alone an unqualified proprietary right in the soil, but no such rights as belonging to the cultivators (*Ryots*). (*Vide* Regs. I and VIII of 1793, the foundation of the perpetual settlement.) But by Art. 2, S. 60 of Reg. VIII of 1793, government declared, that no one should cancel the *Pattahs* (i. e., the title deeds), fixing the rates of payments for the lands of the *Khud-Kasht Ryots* (peasants cultivating the lands of their own village), "except upon proof that they had been obtained by collusion," or "that the rents paid by them within the last three years had been below the *Nirkh-bundee* (general rate) of the *Purgannah*," (particular part of the district where the land is situated) or "that they had obtained collusive deductions," or "upon a general measurement of the *Purgannah* for the purpose of equalizing and correcting the assessment." In practice, however, under one or other of the preceding *four* conditions, the landholders (*Zamindars*), through their local influence and intrigues, easily succeeded in completely setting aside the rights, even of the *Khud-Kasht* cultivators, and increased their rents.

10. Q. *In what manner was the revenue assessed by Government upon each estate, and upon what principle at the time of the permanent settlement?*

A. In the province of Bengal at the time of the permanent settlement, (in 1793) the amount of the revenue which had been paid on each estate (*Zamindari*) in the preceding year was taken as a standard of assessment, subject to certain modifications. Estates (*Taaluks*) which had paid a revenue directly to Government for the

twelve years previous without fluctuation, were to be assessed at that rate, and the principle of that assessment was considered to be nearly one-half of the gross produce. In Behar and other places the gross amount of the rents arising from an estate was fixed upon as the rate of government assessment, allowing, however, a deduction of ten per cent. to the landholder (*Zamindar*), in the name of proprietor's dues (*Malikanah*), and also something for the expense of collecting the rents, &c. In the upper provinces attached to the Bengal presidency, as before observed, no settlement has yet been concluded with the Zamindars (*landholders*). The estates (*Zamindaris*) are sometimes let out by government to the highest bidder, to farmers of revenue on leases of a few years, and in other cases the rents are collected from the cultivators by the government officers.

11. Q. *On what principle do the proprietors of land regulate the rate of rent paid by the tenants?*

A. The different fields or plots of ground on an estate are classed into 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th quality, and certain rates per *bigah* (a well-known land measure in India) are affixed to them respectively, agreeable to the established rates in the district. These rates are considered as a standard in settling the rent to be paid by the cultivators. But as the precise quality of land is always liable to dispute, and fields may be classed in the first, second, third, or fourth quality according to the discretion of the Zamindars or government surveyors, and the measurement is also liable to variation through the ignorance, ill-will, or intentional errors of the measurers—there is *in practice* no fixed standard to afford security to the cultivators for the rate or amount of rent demandable from them, although such a standard is laid down *in theory*.

12. Q. *Is the rent any specific proportion of the gross produce of the land?*

A. In theory the rent is estimated, as I before observed, at half the gross produce of the land ; it is often increased however much beyond that amount by various means ; but in places peculiarly subject to have the crops destroyed by sudden inundation, or any other casualty, villagers cultivate generally on condition of receiving half the gross produce and delivering the other half to the landlord (*Zamindar*).

13. Q. *Is the rent paid in money, in agricultural produce, or in labour?*

A. The rent is generally paid in money, except under peculiar circumstances, when the agreement is to pay half the gross produce as rent. And it is sometimes paid by labour, when some of the villagers enter the service of the landlord (*Zamindar*) on condition of holding certain lands in lieu of their services.

14. Q. *If in money or produce, at what period of the year, and in what proportion?*

A. The money rent is usually paid by monthly instalments, the heaviest payments being made when the harvest is realized: and the payment in produce is of course exclusively at that season.

15. Q. *Is the revenue in many instances collected by government directly from the cultivators, and not from the proprietors, or any set of middlemen?*

A. Yes; very commonly in the Madras presidency, and sometimes in the ceded and conquered upper provinces, as above observed (Question 10). Also when lands advertised for sale, in order to realize arrears of revenue, do not find purchasers, they may remain temporarily in the hands of government.

16. Q. *In the event of a proprietor or cultivator falling into arrear in his instalments of revenue, what means are adopted by the government for realizing it?*

A. Various modes have been adopted, but the usual mode now followed, with respect to landholders (*Zamindars*) is, that at the expiration of every third month of the revenue year, should any balance of revenue remain unpaid, the estate in arrear may be advertised for sale.

17. Q. *Is the person of the proprietor liable to be arrested for the revenue?*

A. Should the arrear of revenue due not be realized by the sale of the estate, the person of the proprietor may be seized.

18. Q. *What proportion of the revenue may fall into arrear in one year, or what proportion of the land may be subject to legal process by the public authorities for its recovery?*

A. Perhaps two-fifths, or one-half of the whole revenue are usually in arrear, on an average, taking the whole year round, and more than one-half of the estates are advertised for sale every year, but comparatively few are actually sold, as many of the proprietors contrive, when pressed by necessity, to raise the money by loan or otherwise.

19. Q. *In the event of the tenants falling into arrear with their rent, what means do the proprietors adopt for realizing it?*

A. They distrain their moveable property with some exceptions by the assistance of the police officers, and get it sold by means of the judicial authorities.

20. Q. *Do the courts afford the same facilities to the proprietors for recovering their rents, as to the government for realizing its revenue?*

A. When the revenue of an estate falls into arrear, the government by its own authority sells the property. But the proprietor cannot sell the property of a cultivator, except by the means of the judicial authority, which however generally expedites the recovery of such balances.

21. Q.. *In the event of a sale of land for revenue, what mode does the collector adopt in bringing it to sale?*

A. When, at the end of the revenue quarter or year as before explained, a balance remains due, a notice is put up in the collector's office (*Cutcherry*) announcing that the lands are to be sold, unless the balance of revenue be paid up within a certain period. On the expiration of this period the lands may be sold to the highest bidder at public auction by the collector, under the sanction of the Board of Revenue.

22. Q. *What period of indulgence is given to the defaulter before the sale takes place?*

A. A space of from one month to six weeks, and not less than the former period from the time of advertising is allowed for paying up the arrears before the sale can actually take place.

23. Q. *What previous warning is given to him to pay up his arrears, what length of notice of the intended sale is given to the public. and in what mode is the notice published?*

A. First the collector sends a written order to the defaulting landholder, demanding payment of the arrears due. Failing this, a catalogue of the various estates for sale is inserted in the government gazette, and the particulars of each are advertised in the office of the collector, and of the judicial court and the Board of Revenue.

24. Q. *What class of persons become the principal purchasers?*

A. Frequently other landlords become purchasers, and sometimes the proprietors themselves in the name of a trusty agent. Sometimes persons engaged in trade, and sometimes the native revenue officers in the name of their confidential friends.

25. Q. *What proportion of the land is purchased by the revenue officers?*

A. The porportion purchased by the revenue officers is now comparatively very small.

26. Q. *Do they conduct the sales fairly or turn their official influence to their own private advantage?*

A. As such publicity is not given to the notices of sales as the local circumstances require, native revenue officers have sometimes an opportunity, if they choose, of effecting purchases at a reduced price; since the respectable natives in general, living in the country, are not in the habit of reading the government gazette, or of attending the public offices; and in respect to estates of which the business is transacted by agents, by a collusion with them, the estates are sometimes sold at a very low price.

27. Q. *Can you suggest any plan for obviating abuses of this kind?*

A. 1st, The advertisements or notices of sale should first be regularly sent to the parties interested at their own residences, not merely delivered to their agents. 2ndly, They should be fixed up not only in the government offices, but at the chief market places and ferries (ghats) of the district; also in those of the principal towns, such as Calcutta, Patna, Murshedabad, Benares, Cawnpore. 3rdly, The police officers should be required to take care that the notices remain fixed up in all these situations from the first announcement till the period of sale. 4thly, The day and hour of sale being precisely fixed, the biddings for an estate should be allowed to go on for a specific period—not less than five minutes—that all intending purchasers may have an opportunity of making an offer; and the lapse of that period should be determined by a proper measure of time, as a sand-glass placed on the public table for general satisfaction.

28. Q. *When a cultivator fails to pay his rent, does the proprietor distrain or take possession of the tenant's moveables by his own power, or by applying to any legal authority?*

A. Already answered. (See Ques. 19.)

29. Q. *Does the legal authority seize upon both the moveable and immoveable property, and the person of the tenant for his rent?*

A. 1st, On a summary application to the police, the moveable property of the tenant, with some exceptions, is distrained by the help of the police officers; 2ndly, by the ordinary judicial process,

the immoveable property of the tenant may be attached, and his person arrested for the recovery of the rest.

30. Q. *What is the condition of the cultivator under the present Zamindary system of Bengal, and Ryotwary system of the Madras Presidency?*

A. Under both systems the condition of the cultivators is very miserable; in the one, they are placed at the mercy of the *Zamindar's* avarice and ambition; in the other, they are subjected to the extortions and intrigues of the surveyors and other government revenue officers. I deeply compassionate both; with this difference in regard to the agricultural peasantry of Bengal that there the landlords have met with indulgence from government in the assessment of their revenue, while no part of this indulgence is extended towards the poor cultivators. In an abundant season, when the price of corn is low, the sale of their whole crops is required to meet the demands of the landholder, leaving little or nothing for seed or subsistence to the labourer or his family.

31. Q. *Can you propose any plan of improving the state of the cultivators aud inhabitants at large?*

A. The new system acted upon during the last forty years, having enabled the landholders to ascertain the full measurement of the lands to their own satisfaction, and by successive exactions to raise the rents of the cultivators to the utmost possible extent, the very least I can propose and the least which government can do for bettering the condition of the peasantry, is absolutely to interdict any further increase of rent on any pretence whatsoever; particularly on no consideration to allow the present settled and recognized extent of the land to be disturbed by pretended remeasurements; as in forming the Permanent Settlement (Reg. 1 of 1793, Sec. 8, Art. 1), the government declared it to be its right and its duty to protect the cultivators as being from their situation most helpless, and "that the landlord should not be entitled to make any objection on this account." Even in the Regulation (VIII of 1793, Sec. 60, Art. 2), the government plainly acknowledged the principle of the *Khud-kasht* cultivators having a perpetual right in the lands which they cultivated, and accordingly enacted, that they should not be dispossessed, or have their title deeds cancelled, except in certain specified cases applicable, of course, to that period of general settlement (1793), and not extending to a period of forty years afterwards. If govern-

ment can succeed in raising a sufficient revenue otherwise by means of duties, &c., or by reducing their establishments particularly in the revenue department, they may then, in the districts where the rents are very high, reduce the rents payable by the cultivators to the landholders, by allowing to the latter a proportionate reduction. On this subject I beg to refer to a paper (Appendix A) which I drew up some time before leaving Bengal, which, with some additional hints and quotations, is subjoined.

32. Q. *Are the Zamindars in the habit of farming out their estates to middlemen in order to receive their rents in an aggregate sum, authorizing the middlemen to collect the rent from under-tenants; and if so, how do the middlemen treat the cultivators?*

A. Such middlemen are frequently employed, and are much less merciful than the *Zamindars.*

33. Q. *When the cultivators are oppressed by the Zamindars or middlemen, are the present legal authorities competent to afford redress?*

A. The judicial authorities being few in number, and often situated at a great distance, and the landholders and middlemen being in general possessed of great local influence and pecuniary means, while the cultivators are too poor and too timid to undertake the hazardous and expensive enterprize of seeking redress, I regret to say that the legal protection of the cultivators is not at all such as could be desired.

34. Q. *Can you suggest any change in the revenue or judicial system which might secure justice and protection to the cultivators against the oppression of the Zamindars, middlemen, or officers of government?*

A. I have already suggested (see Q. 31) that *no* further measurement or increase of rent on any pretence whatever should be allowed; 2ndly, Public notices in the current languages of the people, stating these two points, should be stuck up in every village, and the police officers should be required to take care that these notices remain fixed up at least twelve months; and to prevent any infringement thereof, on receiving information of any attempt at remeasurement on the part of any landholder (*Zamindar*), &c. 3rdly, Any native judicial commissioner for small debts (*Munsif*) who is authorized to sell distrained property for the recovery of rent, should be required not to proceed to sale unless fully satisfied that the demand of the *Zamindar* had not exceeded the rate paid in the preceding year; and if not satisfied of this, he should immediately release the property by application to the police. 4thly, That the judge or magistrate be

required to hold a court one day in the week for cases of this kind, and, on finding any *Zamindar* guilty of demanding more than the rent of the preceding years, should subject such offender to a severe fine; and on discovering any police officer or native commissioner guilty of connivance or neglect, he should subject them to fine and dismissal from the service. 5thly, The judge or magistrate in each district should be directed to make a tour of the district once a year, in the cold season in order to see that the above laws and regulations for the protection of the poor peasantry are properly carried into effect. 6th, and lastly, The collector should be required to prepare a general register of all the cultivators, containing their names, their respective portions of land, and respective rents as permanently fixed according to the system proposed.

35. Q. *Is the condition of the cultivators improved within your recollection of the country?*

A. According to the best of my recollection and belief, their condition has not been improving in any degree.

36. Q. *Has the condition of the proprietors of land improved under the present system of assessment?*

A. Undoubtedly: their condition has been much improved; because, being secured by the permanent settlement against further demands of revenue, in proportion to the improvement of their estates, they have in consequence brought the waste lands into cultivation, and raised the rents of their tenantry, and thus increased their own incomes, as well as the resources of the country.

37. Q. *Has the government sustained any loss by concluding the permanent settlement of 1793 in Bengal, Behar, and part of Orissa without taking more time to ascertain the net produce of the land, or waiting for further increase of revenue?*

A. The amount of assessment fixed on the lands of these provinces at the time of the permanent settlement (1793), was as high as had ever been assessed, and in many instances higher than had ever before been realized by the exertions of any government, Mohammedan or British. Therefore the government sacrificed nothing in concluding that settlement. If it had not been formed, the landholders (*Zamindars*) would always have taken care to prevent the revenue from increasing by not bringing the waste lands into cultivation, and by collusive arrangements to elude further demands; while the state of the cultivators would not have been at all better

than it is now. However, if the government had taken the whole estates of the country into its own hands, as in the ceded and conquered provinces and the Madras Presidency, then, by allowing the landholders only ten per cent. on the rents (Malikanah), and securing all the rest to the government, it might no doubt have increased the revenue for a short time. But the whole of the landlords in the country would then have been reduced to the same wretched condition as they are at present in the ceded and conquered provinces of the Bengal Presidency, or rather annihilated, as in many parts of the Madras territory; and the whole population reduced to the same level of poverty. At the same time, the temporary increase of revenue to government under its own immediate management would also have soon fallen off, through the misconduct and negligence of the revenue officers, as shewn by innumerable instances in which the estates were kept *khas*, *i. e.*, under the immediate management of government.

38. Q. *Why are lands so frequently sold for arrears of revenue, and transferred from one set of hands to another?*

A. For ten or twelve years after the introduction of the permanent settlement, the old *Zamindars*, from adhering to their ancient habits of managing their estates by agents, and neglecting their own affairs, very soon lost a great part of their lands and some the whole; the purchasers, by their active exertions and outlay of capital, improved many of their estates, and increased their own fortune: but many of their heirs and successors again becoming less active and more extravagant, by rivalry with each other in nuptial entertainments, funeral rites, and other religious ceremonies, frequently ran into debt, and brought their estates again into the market.

39 *and* 40. Q. *Do the lands sold for arrears usually realize the revenue claimed by government, and fetch their full value? If not, what is the cause of the depreciation?*

A. They generally realize the revenue due from them; not always, however, as they are sold sometimes even below the amount of arrears due by the proprietors, owing to the want of due publicity and consequent absence of competitors; or to collusive sales of the estates as before observed (see Ans. to Quest. 26).

41. Q. *After the sale of the lands, should the arrears not be realized, does the government seize upon the person of the proprietor?*

A. Yes: the government seizes his person, and any other property government may discover him to be possessed of, is sold.

42. Q. *If so, is there any limit to his confinement, except payment of the debt?*

A. There is no specified limit to the best of my recollection; but after government is satisfied that he has given up all his property, he may obtain his release from its humanity.

43. Q. *Have the cultivators any means of accumulating capital under the present system?*

A. Certainly not: very often when grain is abundant, and therefore cheap, they are obliged, as already observed, to sell their whole produce to satisfy the demands of their landholders, and to subsist themselves by their own labour. In scarce and dear years they may be able to retain some portion of the crop to form a part of their subsistence, but by no means enough for the whole. In short, such is the melancholy condition of the agricultural labourers, that it always gives me the greatest pain to allude to it.

44. Q. *When the government makes an assessment on the fields of the cultivators by means of numerous subordinate officers, is there any effectual mode of preventing collusion, embezzlement or oppression in the valuing and measuring of the lands?*

A. I think it is almost impossible under that system, carried on, as it must be, by means of a vast number of individuals who are generally poor, and have no character to support. From their mismanagement not only the cultivators suffer, but ultimately the government itself, from the falling off in the revenue, under a system that at once presses down the people and exhausts the resources of the country. However, if the government would take the survey and assessment of one of the preceding years as a standard, and prevent any future measurement and assessment, it would relieve the cultivators, from the apprehension of further exactions, * and the collector or the registrar of the district should be authorized to grant reduction to any cultivator subjected to overmeasurement on being petitioned, and on personally ascertaining such to have occurred.

45. Q. *Are collectors generally competent to superintend personally the revenue affairs of the district?*

A. From the heat of the climate, and from the difficulty of transacting business in a language which is foreign to them, the

* Since writing the above, I happened to meet with a gentleman from Madras, of high talents and experience, who maintained that no further measurements or assessments are at all allowed in the provinces belonging to that presidency. I felt gratified at the intelligence, and shall feel still more so to find it confirmed by the Regulations of government.

collectors in general for the above reasons, must stand in need of aid from others, whom they employ as instruments in conducting the details. At the same time they have so little intercourse or acquaintance with the native inhabitants, that they must naturally depend chiefly on two or three persons who are around them, in whom they generally place confidence, and consequently these few who have no chance of bettering their condition from the trifling salaries allowed them, sometimes consult their own interests, rather than those of the government or the people.

46. Q. *Are the Collectors vested with sufficient power to perform effectually the duties attached to their office, or do they enjoy authority of an extent to be injurious to the pablic?*

A. Their powers are amply sufficient. The judicial authorities also are always required by the regulations of government to afford they promptly every necessary assistance in the discharge of their duties, and many collectors are even invested with the additional office and powers of magistrates; contrary to the judicious system established by Lord Cornwallis, and to the common principles of justice, as they thus become at once parties and judges in their own case; consequently such powers very often prove injurious to those who attempt to maintain their own right against the claims of government, whose agents the collectors are. I much regret such a wide deviation in principle from the system of Lord Cornwallis; as I think that system, with such modifications and improvements as time may suggest, should be maintained as the basis of the revenue and judicial system of India.

47. Q. *Can you suggest any improvement which might secure the revenue to government and protection to the people?*

A. The regulations already in force are fully adequate to secure the government revenue. But to secure the people against any unjust exactions on the part of the revenue officers, I would propose, first, that the collectors should not by any means be armed with magisterial powers. Secondly, that any charge against the revenue officers should be at once investigated by the judicial courts to which they are subject, without reference to the number of cases on the file of the court, as has been the practice with regard to causes in which the collectors are prosecutors; so that both parties may have an equal chance of legal redress. This, under existing circumstances, seems to be the best remedy that presents itself; but with the present system, I must repeat my fears that redress will not always be attainable.

48. Q. *Would it be injurious or beneficial to allow Europeans of capital to purchase estates and settle on them?*

A. If Europeans of character and capital were allowed to settle in the country, with the permission of the India board, or the Court of Directors, or the local government, it would greatly improve the resources of the country, and also the condition of the native inhabitants, by shewing them superior methods of cultivation, and the proper mode of treating their labourers and dependants.

49. Q. *Would it be advantageous, or the reverse, to admit Europeans of all descriptions to become settlers?*

A. Such a measure could only be regarded as adopted for the purpose of entirely supplanting the native inhabitants, and expelling them from the country. Because it is obvious that there is no resemblance between the higher and educated classes of Europeans and the lower and uneducated classes. The difference in character, opinions and sentiments between Europeans and the Indian race, particularly in social and religious matters, is so great, that the two races could not peaceably exist together, as one community, in a country conquered by the former, unless they were gradually assimilated by constant intercourse, continued and increased for a long period of years, under a strong and vigorous system of police, in every village, large or small; an establishment so expensive, however, that the present revenues of India could not support it. Such assimilation has in some measure taken place at Calcutta, from the daily communication of many of the respectable members of both communities. Yet even in that capital, though the seat of government, and numerous police officers are placed at almost every hundred yards, the common Europeans are often disposed to annoy the native inhabitants. By the above statement I do not mean to convey that there are not any honest and industrious persons among the European labourers. On the contrary I believe that amongst the very humblest class of society such characters are numerous. But even in justice to them, I deem it right to state that without capital, they could not, in a hot country, compete with the native labourers, who are accustomed to the climate, and from their very different habits of life with regard to food, clothes and lodging, can subsist on at least one-sixth, if not one-tenth of what is required by an European labourer. Consequently the latter would not find his situation at all improved, but the very reverse by emigrating to India.

50. Q. *Would the judicial system as at present established, be sufficient to control the European settlers in the interior of the country?*

A. At present British-born subjects are not amenable to the Company's courts, except as regards small debts under 500 rupees (about £50) and for petty cases of assault. Consequently under the present regulations, the courts as now established, are by no means competent to exercise any adequate control over British-born subjects in the interior.

51. Q. *Would it be advisable to extend the jurisdiction of the king's courts already established at the presidencies, or to augment their number; or to give greater power to the Company's judges over the European settlers?*

A. If the expenses attending the king's courts could be reduced to a level with the costs of the Company's courts, it would be useful and desirable to increase the number of such courts to the same extent as that of the Company's courts of appeal at present; if Europeans of respectability are permitted freely to settle in the interior. But should such reduction of expense be impracticable, it seems necessary in that event to extend the power of the Company's courts under the judicial servants of the Company. In the latter case these judicial servants should be regularly educated as barristers in the principles of British law; or the British settlers must consent to be subject to the present description of judicial officers, under such rules and regulations as the local government of India has established for the rest of the inhabitants of the country. With regard to the extension of the jurisdiction of the king's courts already established at the presidencies, although in the courts justice is, I think, ably administered, yet it is at an expense so enormous to the parties, and to the community, that even so wealthy a city as Calcutta is unable to support its exorbitant costs, to which two successive grand juries have called the attentior of the judges without any effect.

52. Q. *How would the settlement on a large scale of Europeans of capital in the country improve its resources?*

A. As a large sum of money is now annually drawn from India by Europeans retiring from it with the fortunes realized there, a system which would encourage Europeans of capital to become permanent settlers with their families, would necessarily greatly improve the resources of the country.

53. Q. *Is there any portion of land in the provinces with which you are acquainted, free from public assessments?*

A. There is land of this description, and in some districts to considerable extent.

54. Q. *Have any measures been adopted by government to ascertain the validity of the titles by which such lands are held free from assessment, or have any of them been resumed, and under what circumstances?*

A. In Reg. XIX of 1793, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General in Council, directed the revenue collectors to enquire into the validity of the titles of such land: and in case of there being any doubt as to their validity, to institute prosecutions so as to have them judicially investigated; and in the event of the parties in possession of the land failling to establish a valid title in the court, the lands might, by a decree of the court, be resumed by the collectors on behalf of government. But the government declared, in the preamble of that regulation, that no holder of such tax-free (*lakhiraj*) lands should be deprived of them, or subjected to revenue, until his title should be judicially investigated and "adjudged invalid by a final judicial decree." However, I feel bound to add, that in 1828, by Reg. III of that year, the revenue collector in each district was authorized to dispossess the holders of such tax-free lands by his own authority, without reference to any judicial courts, if the collector should be of opinion, after such enquiry as might satisfy himself that the title of the proprietor was not valid. It is therein enacted (Sec. 4, Art. 1) that "such decision of the collector shall have the force and effect of a decree." Also (Art. 2), that "it shall not be necessary for him to transmit his procedings to the Board of Revenue," but "the party dispossessed might appeal;" and by Art. 3, whether an appeal be filed or not, "that it shall and may be lawful for the collector immediately to carry into effect his decision by attaching and assessing the lands." This regulation produced great alarm and distrust amongst the natives of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, many of whom petitioned against the principle of one party, who lays claim to the land, dispossessing an actual possessor at his own discretion; and Lord William Bentinck, though he has not rescinded the regulation, has suspended the immediate execution of it for the present.

(Signed) RAMMOHUN ROY.

LONDON, *August* 19, 1831.

PAPER

ON THE

REVENUE SYSTEM OF INDIA.

VARIOUS opinions are entertained by individuals with regard to the perpetual settlement of public revenue, concluded according to Regulation I of 1793 with proprietors of land in the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and arguments resting on different principles have been adduced for and against this system; no room is therefore left for throwing any new light on the subject. We may, however, safely advance so far as to admit the settlement to be advantageous to both the contracting parties, though not perhaps in equal proportion.

2. To convince ourselves, in the first instance, of the accuracy of the opinion that the perpetual settlement has proved advantageous to government, a reference to the revenue records of the former and present rulers will, I think, suffice. No instance can be shewn in those records, in which the sum assessed and annually expected from these provinces was ever collected with equal advantage prior to the year 1793. To avoid the demand of an increase of revenue on the part of government, proprietors in general used then wilfully to neglect the cultivation, which very often proved utterly ruinous to themselves, and excessively inconvenient to government, in managing, farming, or selling such estates for the purpose of realizing their revenues.

3. Such persons as have directed their attention to the revenue records of government, must have been struck with the extreme difference existing between the rate of value at which estates usually sold prior to the year 1793, or even several years subsequent to that period, and the common price which the disposal of those estates now obtains to government or individuals at public or private sales; and it will not, I believe, be alleged that I am far wrong, when I say that this increase may in general be reckoned tenfold, and in some instances twenty. This enormous augmentation of the price of land

is principally to be attributed to the extensive cultivation of waste lands, which has taken place in every part of the country, and to the rise of rents payable by the cultivators, and not to any other cause that I can trace.

4. It is true the common increase of wealth has an irresistible tendency to augment the price, without any improving change in the property; but when we reflect on the extent of overwhelming poverty throughout the country (towns and their vicinity excepted), we cannot admit that increase of wealth in general has been the cause of the actual rise in the value of landed estates. To those who have ever made a tour of the provinces, either on public duty or from motives of curiosity, it is well known that within a circle of a hundred miles in any part of the country there are to be found very few, if any (besides proprietors of lands), that have the least pretension to wealth or independence, or even the common comforts of life.

5. It has been asserted, and perhaps justly, that much of the increased wealth of Bengal in late years is to be ascribed to the opening of the trade in 1814, thereby occasioning a greatly increased demand for the produce of lands. In as far, however, as this cause may have operated to increase of wealth, it is confined to landlords and dealers in commodities.

6. Besides, government appropriates to itself an enormous duty on the transit and exportation of the produce of the soil, which has, since the period of the perpetual settlement, increased to a great amount from the exertion of the proprietors in extending and improving cultivation, under the assurance that no demand of an increase of revenue would be made upon them on account of the progressive productiveness of their estates.

7. In the second place, that the perpetual settlement has been conducive to the interest of the proprietors of land is, in fact, acknowledged by all parties, and is fully evident on reference to the present and former revenue registers. The benefit which the proprietors enjoy is principally owing to two circumstances: First, The extended cultivation of waste lands which formerly yielded no rent: Secondly, Subsequent increase of rents, much beyond those rates paid by cultivators at the time of the perpetual settlement, in defiance of the rights of *Khud-kasht* Ryots—that is, such villagers as cultivate on lease the land that belongs to the village.

8. None will, I think, hesitate to rejoice in the augmentation of the incomes of proprietors derived from the extension of cultivation, as every man is entitled by law and reason to enjoy the fruits of his honest labour and good management. But as to the policy of vesting in the proprietors themselves, exempted from any increase of tax, the power of augmenting rents due from their *Khud-kasht* tenants, I must confess it to be a subject that requires examination.

9. It is too true to be denied that there was no regular system of administering justice, even in theory, under the government of the former rulers, and that there were few instances in which such humble individuals as *Khud-kasht* Ryots succeeded in bringing complaints against proprietors to the notice of higher authorities; nevertheless their claims to the cultivation of particular soils at fixed rates, according to their respective qualities, were always admitted as their means of livelihood, and inducement to continue to reside in their native village, although proprietors very often oppressively extorted from them sums of money, in addition to their rents, under the name of *abwabs*, or subscriptions; while, on the other hand, the Ryots frequently obtained deductions through collusion with the managers acting in behalf of the proprietors.

10. The measure adopted for the protection of *Khud-kasht* tenants in Article 2nd, Sec. LX, Reg. VIII of 1793, was conditional and has been consequently subject to violation. Hence they have benefited very little, if at all, by its provisions.

11. The power of imposing new leases and rents, given to the proprietors by Regs. I and VIII of 1793, and subsequent Regulations, has considerably enriched comparatively a few individuals—the proprietors of land—to the extreme disadvantage, or rather ruin, of millions of their tenants; and it is productive of no advantage to the government.

12. During the former system of government, proprietors in these and other provinces, contrary to the tenure by which lands are held in England, were required to pay a considerable proportion of their rents to the ruler of the country, whose arbitrary will was alone sufficient to augment or reduce the rates of the revenue demandable from them, and who, by despotic power, might deprive them of their rights as proprietors when they failed to pay the revenue unjustly alleged to be due from them. Under these circumstances, the situation of the proprietors was not in any respect on a more favourable

footing than that of the *Khud-kasht* tenant, and consequently their right was not in any way analogous to that of a landlord in England.

13. In short, there were three parties acknowledged to have had a fixed right in the soil:—1st, The Ryots to cultivate the land, and receive one-half of the produce in return for the seed and labour. 2ndly, The government, in return for its general protection, to receive the other half, with the exception of one-tenth or eleventh. 3rdly, The Zamindars, or landholders to receive the tenth or eleventh for their local protection, and for their intervention between the government and the peasantry.

14. With a view to facilitate the collection of revenue and to encourage proprietors to improve their estates, government liberally relieved them in the year 1793 from the distress and difficulties originating in the uncertainty of assessment, by concluding a perpetual settlement with them. But I am at a loss to conceive why this indulgence was not extended to their tenants, by requiring proprietors to follow the example of government, in fixing a definite rent to be received from each cultivator, according to the average sum actually collected from him during a given term of years; or why the feeling of compassion excited by the miserable condition of the cultivators does not now induce the government to fix a *maximum* standard, corresponding with the sum of rent now paid by each cultivator in one year, and positively interdict any further increase.

15. Some, however, doubt whether government can now assume the power of bettering the condition of this immense portion of its subjects, without violating the long-standing practice of the country, and the principles laid down in their existing regulations, at least for the last forty years. But I am satisfied that an unjust precedent and practice, even of longer standing, cannot be considered as the standard of justice by an enlightened government.

16. With respect to the Regulations, however, there would be no real violation of them; as in Reg. I of 1793, which is the basis of the permanent settlement, the government thus expressly declares, that "It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, and more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary, for the protection and welfare of the dependent *Talookdars*, *Ryots*, and other cultivators of the soil; and no *Zamindar*, independent

Talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land, shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay."

17. And again in Regulation VIII of 1793 (Section 60, Article 2), the government recognized the principle of the cultivators of the lands attached to their own village (*Khud-kasht Ryots*) having a permanent right to retain possession thereof at a fixed rent, and enacted that their title-deeds (*Pattahs*) should not be set aside, except in certain specified cases, applicable to that period of general settlement, and not extending to forty years afterwards.

18. I regret to say that in some parts of these provinces the rent is already raised so high, that even an interdict against further increase cannot afford the Ryots (cultivators) any relief or comfort; consequently, the government might endeavour to raise part of its revenue by taxes on luxuries, and such articles of use and consumption as are not necessaries of life, and make a proportionate deduction in the rents of the cultivators, and in the revenues of the *Zamindars* to whom their lands belong.

19. Failing this, the same desirable object may be accomplished by reducing the revenue establishment in the following manner:— Under the former government, the natives of the country, particularly Hindoos, were exclusively employed in the revenue department in all situations, and they are still so almost exclusively under the present system. The collectors being covenanted European servants of the Company, are employed as superintendents at a salary of a thousand or fifteen hundred rupees (100 to 150 *l.*) per mensem. The duties, however, are chiefly performed by the native officers, as they are not of such importance or difficulty as the duties attached to the judicial department, in which one slip might at once destroy the life of the innocent, or alter the just destination of property for a hundred generations.

20. The principal duties attached to the situation of Collector are as follows: 1st. The receipt of the revenue by instalments according to the assessment, and remitting the amount thus collected to the General Treasury; or to one of the commanding officers; or to the Commercial Resident, or Salt Agent, as directed by the Accountant General. 2nd. Advertising and selling the estates of defaulters to realize arrears. 3rd. Taking care of his own treasury (to prevent any mismanagement of it) and the revenue records. 4th. Making

partitions of estates, when joint sharers thereof apply to him for such division. 5th. Preparing a quinquennial register of the estates paying revenue within his collectorship. 6th. Ascertaining what tax-free land has been in the possession of individuals without a valid title. 7th. Furnishing the judicial authorities with official papers required by them, and executing their decrees concerning lands, &c. 8th. Deciding cases which the judicial officer has it in his option to refer to the collector. 9th. Officiating as local post-master under the authority of the post-master-general. 10th. Assessing duties on the vendors of liquors and drugs with the concurrence of the magistrate, and collecting the duties payable thereon (receiving five per cent. on the amount of collection for his trouble). 11th. Giving out stamped papers to native vendors, and he being responsible for the same, ten per cent., I think, on the sum realized is allowed him for his trouble and responsibilty. (The two latter articles produce of the collector an additional monthly income of from not less than 200 to 1,000 rupees a month, according to the greater or smaller sale in different districts). 12th. Regulating the conduct of the native sub-collectors, assessors and surveyors, employed on the estates under the immediate management of government. 13th. Transmitting monthly and annual reports and accounts to the accountant-general and the civil auditor, and corresponding with the Board of Revenue on the various affairs of his collectorship as well as obeying their instructions.

21. A native of respectability at a salary of about 300 or 400 rupees per month may be appointed in lieu of the European collector, and he should give sureties for his character and responsibility to such amount as government may deem adequate. The large sum that may thus be saved by dispensing with the collectors would not only enable government to give some relief to the unfortunate Ryots above referred to by reducing their rents, but also raise the character of the natives and render them attached to the existing government and active in the discharge of their public duties, knowing that under such a system the faithful and industrious native servant would receive the merit, and ultimately the full reward of his services; whereas under the present system the credit or discredit is attributed to the European head of the department; while the natives who are the real managers of the business are entirely overlooked and neglected, and consequently they seem most of them to be rendered quite indifferent to anything but their own temporary interest.

22. With respect to the expediency and advantage of appointing native revenue officers to the higher situations in the revenue department, I am strongly supported by the opinions of persons whose sentiments have great weight with the governing party as well as with the party governed. I can safely quote the remarks of many distinguished servants of the Honourable East India Company, such as Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Robert Rickards, Mr. H. Ellis, and others.

23. The native collectors should be under the immediate and strict control of the Board of Revenue as the European collectors at present are, and should be made strictly responsible for every act performed in their official capacity. No one should be removed from his situation unless on proof of misconduct regularly established to the satisfaction of government on the report of the Board of Revenue.

24. For the present, perhaps, it would be proper to transfer the duty of selling the property of defaulting landholders to the registrars; and the judges, instead of referring causes to the revenue officers, should submit them to the Sudder Ameens (or native commissioners already appointed to decide causes under a certain amount).

25. In order to prevent the exercise of any undue influence or bribery in obtaining the situation of native collectors of revenue, it is requisite that all the present *Serishtadars* or head native officers attached to the different collectorships, should each be confirmed, at once, in the situation of collector, and in case of his death or removal, the next in rank should succeed him. In the same manner those under them should be each promoted regularly in succession according to his rank in the revenue department, unless incapacitated from being unable to produce the requisite security, or from other evident disqualification. And no one should be allowed to hold the situation of collector unless he had been at least ten years in the revenue service.

26. The present collectors may be transferred, if found qualified, to the judicial or some other department, or allowed to retire on suitable pensions. Besides the Board of Revenue, who should exercise a constant superintendence over the revenue branch, there should be six or eight European civil servants of the company, who stand high in the estimation of government, appointed under the denomination of circuit collectors, to examine personally, from time to time, the records kept, and the proceedings held by the native collectors.

27. At all events I must conclude with beseeching any and every authority to devise some mode of alleviating the present miseries of the agricultural peasantry of India and thus discharge their duty to their fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects.

LONDON,
August 19, 1831.

ADDITIONAL QUERIES

RESPECTING

THE CONDITION OF INDIA.

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1. QUESTION. *What is your opinion of the physical condition of the Indian peasantry?*

ANSWER. India is so extensive a country that no general statement on this subject will apply correctly to the people of the various parts of it. The Natives of the Southern and Eastern Provinces for example, are by no means equal in physical qualities to those of the Northern and Western Provinces. But as regards physical strength, they are upon the whole inferior to the Northern nations, an inferiority which may be traced, I think, to three principal causes : 1st, The heat of the climate of India, which relaxes and debilitates the constitution: 2ndly, The simplicity of the food which they use, chiefly from religious prejudices: 3rdly, The want of bodily exertion and industry to strengthen the corporeal frame, owing principally to the fertility of the soil, which does not render much exertion necessary for gaining a livelihood. Hence the Natives of Africa, and some parts of Arabia, though subject to the influence of the same, or perhaps a greater intensity of heat, yet from the necessity imposed upon them of toiling hard for sustenance, and from using animal food, are able to cope with any Northern race in physical strength; therefore, if the people of India were to be induced to abandon their religious prejudices, and thereby become accustomed to the frequent and common use of a moderate proportion of animal food, (a greater proportion of the land being gradually converted to the pasture of cattle), the physical qualities of the people might be very much improved. For I have observed with respect to distant cousins, sprung from the same family, and living in the same district, when one branch of the family had been converted to Mussulmanism, that those of the Muhammadan branch living in a freer manner, were distinguished by greater bodily activity and capacity for exertion, than those of the other branch which had adhered to the Hindoo simple mode of life.

2. Q. *What is the moral condition of the people?*

A. A great variety of opinions on this subject has already been afloat in Europe for some centuries past, particularly in recent times, some favourable to the people of India and some against them. Those Europeans, who, on their arrival in the country, happened to meet with persons whose conduct afforded them satisfaction, felt prepossessed in favour of the whole native population, and respected them accordingly; others again who happened to meet with ill-treatment and misfortunes, occasioned by the misconduct or opposition, social or religious, of the persons with whom they chanced to have dealings or communication, represented the whole Indian race in a corresponding light; while some, even without being in the country at all, or seeing or conversing with any Natives of India, have formed an opinion of them at second hand founded on theory and conjecture. There is, however, a fourth class of persons, few indeed in number, who though they seem unprejudiced, yet have differed widely from each other, in many of their inferences from facts, equally within the sphere of their observation, as generally happens with respect to matters not capable of rigid demonstration. I therefore feel great reluctance in offering an opinion on a subject on which I may unfortunately differ from a considerable number of those gentlemen. However, being called upon for an opinion, I feel bound to state my impression, although I may perhaps be mistaken.

From a careful survey and observation of the people and inhabitants of various parts of the country, and in every condition of life, I am of opinion that the peasants or villagers who *reside at a distance from large towns and head stations and courts of law*, are as innocent, temperate and moral in their conduct as the people of any country whatsoever; and the farther I proceed towards the North and West, the greater the honesty, simplicity and independence of character I meet with. The virtues of this class however rest at present *chiefly on their primitive simplicity*, and a strong religious feeling which leads them to expect reward or punishment for their good or bad conduct, not only in the next world, but like the ancient Jews, also in this: 2ndly, The inhabitants of the cities, towns or stations who have much intercourse with persons employed about the courts of law, by Zamindars, &c., and with foreigners and others in a different state of civilization, generally imbibe their habits and opinions. Hence their religious opinions are shaken without any

other principles being implanted to supply their place. Consequently a great proportion of these are far inferior in point of character to the former class, and are very often even made tools of in the nefarious work of perjury and forgery : 3rdly, A third class consists of persons who are in the employ of landholders (Zamindars) or dependent for subsistence on the courts of law, as attorney's clerks, and who must rely for a livelihood on their shrewdness; not having generally sufficient means to enter into commerce or business. These are for the most part still worse than the second class; more especially when they have no prospect of bettering their condition by the savings of honest industry, and no hope is held out to them of rising to honour or affluence by superior merit. But I must confess that I have met a great number of the second class engaged in a respectable line of trade, who were men of real merit, worth and character. Even among the third class I have known many who had every disposition to act uprightly and some actually honest in their conduct. And if they saw by experience that their merits were appreciated, that they might hope to gain an independence by honest means, and that just and honourable conduct afforded the best prospect of their being ultimately rewarded by situations of trust and respectability, they would gradually begin to feel a high regard for character and rectitude of conduct; and from cherishing such feelings become more and more worthy of public confidence, while their example would powerfully operate on the second class above-noticed, which is generally dependent on them and under their influence.

3. Q. *What is the rate of wages generally allowed to the peasantry and labourers?*

A. In Calcutta, artizans, such as blacksmiths and carpenters, if good workmen, get (if my memory be correct) from ten to twelve rupees a month (that is, about 20 to 24 shillings); common workmen who do inferior plain work, 5 or 6 rupees (that is, about 10 or 12 shillings sterling money); masons from 5 to 7 (10 to 14 shillings) a month; common labourers about 3½ and some 4 rupees; gardeners or cultivators of land about 4 rupees a month, and palanquin-bearers the same. In small towns the rates are something below this, in the country places still lower.

4. Q. *On what kind of provisions do they subsist?*

A. In Bengal they live most commonly on rice with a few vegetables, salt, hot spices and fish. I have however often observed the

poorer classes living on rice and salt only. In the upper provinces they use wheaten flour instead of rice, and the poorer classes frequently use bajra (millet), &c.; the Mohamedans in all parts who can afford it add fowl and other animal food. A full grown person in Bengal consumes about 1lb. to 1½lb. of rice a day; in the upper provinces a larger quantity of wheaten flour, even though so much more nourishing. The Vaishyas (persons of the third class) and the Brahmans of the Dakhan never eat flesh under any circumstances.

5. Q. *What sort of houses do they inhabit?*

A. In higher Bengal and the upper and Western Provinces they occupy mud huts; in the lower and Eastern parts of Bengal generally hovels composed of straw, mats and sticks; the higher classes only having houses built of brick and lime.

6. Q. *How are they clothed?*

A. The Hindus of the Upper Province wear a turban on the head, a piece of cotton cloth (called a *Chadar*) wrapped round the chest, and another piece girt closely about the loins and falling down towards the knee; besides, they have frequently under the *Chadar* a vest or waistcoat cut and fitted to the person. In the lower provinces they generally go bareheaded; the lower garment is worn more open but falling down towards the ankle; and the poorer classes of labourers have merely a small strip of cloth girt round their loins for the sake of decency and are in other respects quite naked. The Mohammedans everywhere use the turban and are better clad. The respectable and wealthy classes of people, both Mussulmans and Hindus, are of course dressed in a more respectable and becoming manner.

7. Q. *Does the population increase rapidly?*

A. It does increase considerably, from the early marriages of the people and from the males so seldom leaving their families, and almost never going abroad. But there are occasional strong natural checks to this superabundance. The vast number carried off of late years by cholera morbus having greatly reduced the surplus population, the condition of the labourers has since been much improved, in comparison with what it was before the people were thinned by that melancholy scourge.

8. Q. *What is the state of industry among them?*

A. The Mohammedans are more active and capable of exertion than the Hindus, but the latter are also generally patient of labour,

and diligent in their employments, and those of the Upper Province not inferior to the Mohammedans themselves in industry.

9. Q. *What capability of improvement do they possess?*

A. They have the same capability of improvement as any other civilized people.

10. Q. *What degree of intelligence exists among the native inhabitants?*

A. The country having been so long under subjection to the arbitrary military government of the Mahommedan rulers, which showed little respect for Hindu learning, it has very much decayed and indeed almost disappeared, except among the Brahmans in some parts of the Dakhan (Deccan), and of the Eastern side of India, more distant from the chief seat of Mohammedan government. The Mussulmans, as well as the more respectable classes of Hindus chiefly, cultivated Persian literature, a great number of the former and a few of the latter also extending their studies likewise to Arabic. This practice has partially continued to the present time, and among those who enjoy this species of learning, as well as among those who cultivate Sanscrit literature, many well-informed and enlightened persons may be found, though from their ignorance of European literature, they are not naturally much esteemed by such Europeans as are not well versed in Arabic or Sanscrit.

11. Q. *How are the people in regard to education?*

A. Those about the courts of the native princes are not inferior in point of education and accomplishments to the respectable and well-bred classes in any other country. Indeed they rather carry their politeness and attention to courtesy to an inconvenient extent. Some seminaries of education (as at Benares, &c.) are still supported by the princes and other respectable and opulent native inhabitants, but often in a very irregular manner. With respect to the Hindu College in Calcutta, established under the auspices of government on a highly respectable and firm footing, many learned Christians object to the system therein followed of teaching literature and science without religion being united with them; because they consider this as having a tendency to destroy the religious principles of the students (in which they were first brought up and which consequently were a check on their conduct), without substituting anything religious in their stead.

12. Q. *What influence has surperstition over the conduct of the people?*

A. I have already noticed this in reply to query 2nd.

13. Q. *What is the prevailing opinion of the Native inhabitants regarding the existing form of government and its administrators, Native and European?*

A. The peasantry and villagers in the interior are quite ignorant of, and indifferent about either the former or present government, and attribute the protection they may enjoy or oppression they may suffer to the conduct of the public officers immediately presiding over them. But men of aspiring character and members of such ancient families as are very much reduced by the present system, consider it derogatory to accept of the trifling public situations which natives are allowed to hold under the British Government, and are decidedly disaffected to it. Many of those, however, who engage prosperously in commerce, and of those who are secured in the peaceful possession of their estates by the permanent settlement, and such as have sufficient intelligence to foresee the probability of future improvement which presents itself under the British rulers, are not only reconciled to it, but really view it as a blessing to the country.

But I have no hesitation in stating, with reference to the general feeling of the more intelligent part of the Native community, that the only course of policy which can ensure their attachment to any form of Government, would be that of making them eligible to gradual promotion, according to their respective abilities and merits, to situations of trust and respectability in the state.

(Signed) RAMMOHUN ROY.

LONDON:
September 28, 1831.

NOTE.

In replying to Queries 2nd, 9th and 10th, I have felt great delicacy in offering to the British public, situated at the distance of so many thousand miles, my opinion of the character of my own countrymen, and of their intelligence and capability of improvement; lest I should be accused of partiality, or supposed to be prejudiced in their favour. I have, therefore, endeavoured to convey my sentiments in very moderate language.

In replying to Query 11, I wish to be distinctly understood as referring to those Natives of India who have been brought up under the mixed system of Hindoo and Mahommedan education, which has hitherto existed in the country among the respectable classes. The present generation of youth, particularly at the Presidency, bred up in communication and intercourse more or less with Europeans, are progressively becoming imbued with their habits, manners, and ideas, and will, in the course of time, most probably approximate very nearly to them. My remarks are, therefore, not applicable to these, and may in a few years appear strange to those who do not consider and make allowance for these changes.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Since the foregoing evidence has been circulated, a gentleman of high literary repute, connected with India, has expressed doubts regarding the policy or expediency of the suggestions I made in reply to Queries 71, 72, on the Judicial System, in the following words:

"No civil servant should be sent to India under twenty-four or at least twenty-two years of age, and no candidate among them should be admitted into the judicial line of the service, unless he can produce a certificate from a professor of English law to prove that he possesses a competent knowledge of it."

In addition to the reasons there advanced in support of this position, and also in reply to Query 77, I beg here to quote (with deference to that gentleman's extensive oriental acquirements), the authority of Sir William Blackstone, given in his introduction to the celebrated "Commentaries on the Laws of England", an authority which stands very high in the estimation of the British public.

"Should a judge in the most subordinate jurisdiction be deficient in the knowledge of the law, it will reflect *infinite contempt* on himself and *disgrace* upon those who employ him. And yet the consequence of his ignorance is *comparatively* very trifling and small: his judgment may be examined and his errors rectified by other courts. But how much more serious and affecting is the case of a superior judge, if without any skill in the laws he will boldly venture to decide a question upon which the welfare and subsistence of whole families may depend, where the chance of his judging right or wrong is barely equal, and where if he chances to judge wrong, he does an injury of the most alarming nature, an injury without possibility of redress." Sec. 1, No. 12.

It should not be overlooked that the Company's District Judges and young Registrars who have the decision of minor causes, are afterwards made judges of the provincial courts of appeal, and also of the Sudder Dewany and Nizamut Adawlut (the highest civil and criminal tribunals), whose decision is final in all criminal causes, as

well as in civil causes under 50,000 rupees; and that even in regard to causes above that sum, very few have the means of appealing to the *king* and council in England. The peculiar difficulties and discouragements attending such appeals have been already pointed out in my evidence. (Judicial System, Q. 51.)

No. II.

In my paper on the Revenue System I expressed an opinion that the permanent settlement has been beneficial to both the contracting parties, *i.e.*, the government and the landholders. This position, which, as regards the former, was long much controverted, does not now rest upon theory; but can be proved by the results of about forty years' practice. To illustrate this, I subjoin the annexed statements, Nos. I. and II., shewing the failure of the whole amount of the public revenue at Madras under the Ryotwary system as contrasted with the general increase of the revenue of Bengal under the Zamindary permanent settlement; the latter diffusing prosperity into the other branches of revenue, whereas the former (or Ryotwary system), without effecting any material increase, in that particular branch, has, by its impoverishing influence, tended to dry up the other sources of Revenue: a fact which must stand valid and incontrovertible as a proof of the superiority of the latter, until a contrary fact of greater or at least equal weight can be adduced.

STATEMENT 1ST.—*Bengal, Behar and Orissa.*

By a comparative view of the Revenues of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, from the period of the Perpetual Settlement, it appears that, in the thirty-five years, from 1792-93 to 1827-28, there was a total increase on the whole amount of the Revenue of above 100 per cent. (101·71), and that this increase has been steady and progressive up to the present time; in the first seventeen years (from 1792-3 to 1809-10) it was about $42\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in the next eighteen years (from 1809-10 to 1827-28) $43\frac{8}{10}$ per cent., and in the last ten years of that period (from 1817-18 to 1827-28) it was nearly 30 per cent.

These results are extracted from The Second Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company in 1810, p. 80; The Second Report of 1830, p. 98. In 1815-16, the revenue of Cuttack was incorporated with that of Bengal, but in 1822 the revenue of this Province did not exceed 185,000 *l.*

STATEMENT 2ND.—*Madras.*

By a comparative view of the revenue of the old British territory in Madras, it appears that during the same period of thirty-five years (i.e., from 1793 to 1828), there was an increase of only about 40 per cent., (40·15) on the total smount of the whole revenue; that the increase during the first seventeen years (from 1793 to 1810) was $43\frac{28}{100}$ per cent.; that in the next eight years the increase was only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and that in the last eighteen years, (i. e., from 1810 to 1828) there has been a decrease of $2\frac{15}{100}$ per cent.

These results are extracted from the Second Report of the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company in 1810 (p. 88); Second Report of 1830, (p. 98) and Minutes of Evidence, 1830-31.

No. III.

A doubt has been expressed with regard to the policy and advantage of acting on the principle suggested in my paper on the Revenue System (paragraphs 14 to 17), in which I expressed my opinion as to the propriety (on grounds of justice and humanity) of fixing a maximum rent to be paid by each of the cultivators, that their rents, already raised to a ruinous extent, might not be subject to further increase. I shall therefore here offer a few additional remarks on that point, shewing the policy of such a measure.

Since the establishment of the permanent settlement in the lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency, the landholders (whose rents have been secured by it) are well-known to have been firmly attached to the existing government (as I noticed in reply to No. 13 of the Additional Queries). This cannot be said of the same class in the ceded and conquered provinces, whose estates have not been secured by a similar arrangement; and it is not the case with regard to the people of a large proportion of the Madras Presidency, where no similar attachment can be reasonably expected. Hence we may be justified in inferring that if the benefit of a permanent settlement were also extended to the cultivators, the farmers and labourers in every part of the country, both in the upper and lower provinces (who form the largest portion of the population of India) would be equally attached to government, and ready to rise in defence of it, as a militia or in any other shape that might be required; so as to secure the British rule in a foreign and remote empire, alike from internal intrigue and from external aggression, without the necessity of keeping

on foot an immense standing army at an enormous cost. This consideration is of great importance in respect to the natives of the upper and western provinces, who are distinguished by their superior bravery, and form the greater part of the British Indian army. If this race of men, who are by no means deficient in feelings of personal honor and regard for family respectability, were assured that their rights in the soil were indefeasible so long as the British power should endure, they would from gratitude and self-interest at all times be ready to devote their lives and property in its defence. The saving that might be effected by this liberal and generous policy, through the substituting of a militia force for a great part of the present standing army, would be much greater than any gain that could be realized by any system of increasing land revenue that human ingenuity could devise. How applicable to this case is the following line of the Persian sage (Sadi). "Be on friendly terms with thy subjects, and rest easy about the warfare of thine enemies; for to an upright prince his people is an army."

Bá rayat sulh kun wa'z jang i khasm aiman nishín
Z'ánki sháhinsháh i ádil rá rayat lashkar ast.

On the other hand the same confidence could not be produced by any periodical settlement (be it quinquennial, decennial or even centennial) formed on the narrow policy of securing a temporary advantage or remote problematical gain to the government; since the love of offspring and the desire of continuing name and lineage in connection with the place of nativity and of residence, and with hereditary property, are the same in a peasant as in a prince.

No. IV.

An idea has gone abroad that the permanent or Zamindary system, though undeniably beneficial to Government, has proved too advantageous to the landholders; and the vast wealth which they are supposed to have derived from it has excited an anxiety in the minds of some to devise a plea for overturning it. The fact, however, is, that even the greatest landholder in the country, such as the Rajah of Burdwan, who pays a landtax of between 30 and 40 lakhs of rupees to Government, does not receive more than six or eight lakhs, about 20 per cent. on the amount collected, for his own share as proprietor. For this sum they incur an immense responsibility to the Government; they are punishable for thefts and robberies committed within their

estates, when suspected even of negligence in preventing or detecting such offences, and subject to loss by inundations and failure of crops. Some may have about an equal sum with that payable to government, and a very few double; these almost exclusively in the eastern parts of Bengal. But the generality are by no means so favourably situated as is generally supposed; a fact clearly proved by the estates which come into the immediate management of Government in the Court of Wards, and which may be easily inferred from the frequent sales of estates for arrears of revenue.

Supposing these landholders of Bengal to stand in the place of the farmers in England, who are considered to pay about one-third of the produce of their farms as rent; is there anything so unreasonable, if the Zamindars receive 15 or 20 per cent.; a very few 30 per cent. of the produce of their estates? If the persons above alluded to, who suppose the Zamindars too well off, will only wait a little, as the law of primogeniture is not established or observed, the effect of hereditary succession will soon so subdivide the estates, and reduce the incomes of the landholders, that very few, if any, rich Zamindars can be found in the country.

No. V.

In illustration of the statement made in my reply to Query 52, on the Revenue System, that as a sum of money is drawn from India by Europeans retiring from it with fortunes realized there, a different system, calculated to encourage Europeans of capital to become permanent settlers with their families, would necessarily greatly improve the resouces of the country; I here subjoin some tables showing the amount paid to the principal European Civil Officers of the Government in the General, Judicial and Revenue Departments in India in 1826-7. The Military Establishment, of course, is not included. Besides, such Europeans as are barristers, solicitors, and law officers paid by fees, merchants, agents, and planters also, not being permitted to settle in the country, retire from it with their fortunes; and these, likewise, are not included in the statement. Moreover, many miscellaneous and minor officers are not enumerated in the subjoined list; I also annex a note shewing the amount of the Revenues of India expended in England.

BENGAL CIVIL OFFICES.

I.—General Branch.

	Per Annum. Indian Money. Rs.	Sterling. £
Governor-General's Salary	2,44,181	24,418
3 Members of Council, in all	2,93,017	29,301
6 Secretaries to Government	2,74,000	27,400
3 Judges of the King's Supreme Court ...	1,95,344	19,534
Lord Bishop of Calcutta	50,303	5,030
Archdeacon and 31 Chaplains	3,00,222	30,022
Advocate-General, Company's Attorney, and Standing Council	80,581	8,058
7 Residents at Native Courts, (Delhi, Lucknow, Gwalior, Nagpoor, Hyderabad, Indore, Nepal)...	6,81,509	68,150
9 Local (Political) Agents, with 6 Assistants and Surgeons	2,37,573	23,757
5 Ditto ditto (at Joypore, Harowtee, for Sikh and Hill Affairs—Serowhee, Mhairwarra)	95,241	9,524
18 Assistants	1,29,000	12,900
11 Surgeons and Assistants, Ditto ...	86,640	8,664
Postmaster-General	60,635	6,063
Accountant-General	44,400	4,440
Sub-Treasurer	36,000	3,600
4 Mint Masters	60,993	6,099
4 Assay Masters	60,600	6,060

II.—Judicial Branch.

Supreme Civil and Criminal Courts (Sudder Dewanee and Nizamut Adawluts.)

	Rs.	£
5 Judges	2,80,000	28,000
1 Registrar and Deputy	39,600	3,960
4 Assistants	27,683	2,768
2 Translators	9,600	960

Four Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit, viz., *Calcutta, Dacca, Moorshedabad and Patna.*

	Rs.	£
17 Judges	6,55,000	65,500
6 Surgeons, at Rs. 4,800	28,800	2,880

Two Additional Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit of Benares and Bareilly, 9 Judges; also Benares City Adawlut, Ghazeepore, Juanpore and Mirzapoor, 4 Judges and Magistrates.

	Per Annum. Indian Money. Rs.	Sterling. £
13 Judges	4,71,196	47,119
5 Registrars, and Registrars and Joint Magistrates	51,082	5,108
8 Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons	38,400	3,840

Three City Adawluts—Dacca, Moorshedabad, Patna.

3 Judges with Magisterial power ... S.	84,000	8,400
5 Registrars	37,200	3,720

Forty Zillah Adawluts.

49 Judges, Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates,	12,13,762	1,21,376
57 Registrars (or Registrars and Joint Magistrates)	4,39,893	43,989
49 Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons	2,26,393	22,693
Superintendents and Assistant do.	1,38,120	13,812
5 Commissioners and Assistant do.	1,18,510	11,851

III.—Revenue Branch.

Lower Provinces.

Board of Revenue, 3 Members	1,40,000	14,000
Secretary	26,784	2,678
Sub-Secretary and 2 Assistants	20,400	2,040
3 Commercial (or Opium) Agents in Behar Benares, Malwa	1,56,091	15,609
Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, 2 Members ...	1,05,000	10,500
Secretary	29,449	2,944
8 Salt Agents	2,89,354	28,935
20 Collectors of Customs and Duties	4,30,695	43,069
5 Superintendents of Stamps and of Salt ...	1,22,099	12,209
28 Collectors in the Lower Provinces	6,06,288	60,628
Commissioner in the Sundarbunds	22,800	2,280
10 Revenue Officers for Calcutta, Hooghley, Jungal Mehals, N. E. of Rungpore, Kumaoon, Cuttack, Balasore, Kherdah	1,99,424	19,942
Secretary of Presidency Committee of Records and Registrar	10,800	1,080

	Per Annum. Indian Money.	Sterling.
Western Provinces.	Rs.	£
Board of Commissioners, 3 Members	1,44,487	14,448
Secretary, Sub-ditto, and Assistant	42,744	4,274
12 Collectors, 2 Dy.-Collectors, and 1 Sub-Collector	4,14,792	41,479
Central Provinces.		
Board of Revenue, 3 Members	1,45,000	14,500
Secretary and 5 Assistants	58,179	5,817
16 Collectors and Sub-Collectors	3,53,129	35,312
Agent to Govr.-General in Saugor & Nerbuddah	50,000	5,000
9 Assistants in charge of Districts	1,23,765	12,376

The allowances of the Civil Officers in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, are similar to those of Bengal; the chief difference exists between the salaries of the Governors and Members of Council in these Presidencies, and those of the Governor-General in Bengal and the Members of his Council. I shall, therefore, only subjoin an Abstract of the Total Amount of the Civil Service of the Three Presidencies.

Abstract of the Total Number of Covenanted Assistants, and Military and Medical Officers employed in the Civil Department of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, distinguishing the different Branches and Total Expense of the same in the year 1827. (Extracted from Official Returns, ordered to be printed, 25th Feb. 1830).

1827.	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.		Total.	
Branches.	Nos.	Allowances.	Nos.	Allowances.	Nos	Allowances.	Nos	Allowances.
		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
General ...	302	42,47,914	124	14,25,785	18	13,34,391	507	70,08,040
Judicial ...	236	40,48,268	101	16,58,975	66	9,68,733	403	66,70,976
Revenue ...	177	37,11,206	85	13,95,052	65	7,82,370	327	58,88,631
Marine ...	16	1,42,740	22	78,078	20	1,60,596	58	3,81,414
Commercial	...	...	6	1,25,978	5	1,04,981	11	2,30,959
Totals ...	731	1,21,50,131	338	46,78,818	237	33,51,071	1306	2,01,80,020

Total number of persons, one thousand, three hundred and six.

Total amount of money, two crores, one lakh, eighty thousand and twenty Rupees; nearly two millions English money.

Note.—In the above Statement the Rupee is taken at two shillings for the convenience of calculation; the real rate of exchange, however, has varied considerably, and of late years may be taken at an average, perhaps, of 1*s.* 10*d.*; consequently 10 or 11 Rupees will constitute a Pound Sterling.

N. B.—By the evidence of Messrs. Lloyd and Melville (the former the Accountant-General, and the latter the Auditor-General of the East India Company), recorded in the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 23rd February 1830, it appears that the proportion of the Indian revenues *expended in England* on the territorial account amounts, on an average, to 3,000,000*l.* sterling annually. It includes the expenses at the Board of Control and India House, pay, absentee allowances, and pensions to Civil and Military Officers in Europe for services in India, with interest of money realized there, &c., &c., besides 453,588*l.* for territorial stores consigned to India.

In a letter of the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, dated the 20th of June, 1810, and quoted in the work "On Colonial Policy as applicable to the Government of India," by a very able servant of the Company, holding a responsible situation in Bengal, the Directors state that "it is no extravagant assertion to advance, that the annual remittances to London on account of individuals, have been at the rate of nearly 2,000,000*l.* per annum *for a series of years past.*" (p. 70.) From these and other authentic documents the author calculates the amount of capital, or "the aggregate of tribute, public and private, so withdrawn from India from 1765 to 1820, at 110,000,000*l.*" (p. 65.)

REMARKS

ON SETTLEMENT IN INDIA BY EUROPEANS.

REMARKS

ON SETTLEMENT IN INDIA BY EUROPEANS.*

Much has been said and written by persons in the employ of the Hon. East India Company and others on the subject of the settlement of Europeans in India, and many various opinions have been expressed as to the advantages and disadvantages which might attend such a political measure. I shall here briefly and candidly state the principal effects which, in my humble opinion, may be expected to result from this measure.

2. I notice, first, some of the advantages that might be derived from such a change.

ADVANTAGES.

First.—European settlers in India will introduce the knowledge they possess of superior modes of cultivating the soil and improving its products (in the article of sugar, for example), as has already happened with respect to indigo, and improvements in the mechanical arts, and in the agricultural and commercial systems generally, by which the natives would of course benefit.

Secondly.—By a free and extensive communication with the various classes of the native inhabitants the European settlers would gradually deliver their minds from the superstitions and prejudices, which have subjected the great body of the Indian people to social and domestic inconvenience, and disqualified them from useful exertions.

Thirdly.—The European settlers being more on a par with the rulers of the country, and aware of the rights belonging to the subjects of a liberal Government, and the proper mode of administering justice, would obtain from the local Governments, or from the Legislature in England, the introduction of many necessary improvements in the laws and judicial system; the benefit of which would of course extend to the inhabitants generally, whose condition would thus be raised.

Fourthly.—The presence, countenance and support of the European settlers would not only afford to the natives protection against the impositions and oppression of their landlords and other superiors, but also against any abuse of power on the part of those in authority.

* This originally appeared in the General Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832.—Ed.

Fifthly.—The European settlers, from motives of benevolence, public spirit and fellow-feeling towards their native neighbours, would establish schools and other seminaries of education for the cultivation of the English language throughout the country, and for the diffusion of a knowledge of European arts and sciences; whereas at present the bulk of the natives (those residing at the Presidencies and some large towns excepted) have no more opportunities of acquiring this means of national improvement than if the country had never had any intercourse or connection whatever with Europe.

Sixthly.—As the intercourse between the settlers and their friends and connections in Europe would greatly multiply the channels of communication with this country, the public and the Government here would become much more correctly informed, and consequently much better qualified to legislate on Indian matters than at present, when, for any authentic information, the country is at the mercy of the representations of comparatively a few individuals, and those chiefly the parties who have the management of public affairs in their hands, and who can hardly fail therefore to regard the result of their own labours with a favourable eye.

Seventhly.—In the event of an invasion from any quarter, east or west, Government would be better able to resist it, if, in addition to the native population, it were supported by a large body of European inhabitants, closely connected by national sympathies with the ruling power, and dependent on its stability for the continued enjoyment of their civil and political rights.

Eighthly.—The same cause would operate to continue the connection between Great Britain and India on a solid and permanent footing; provided only the latter country be governed in a liberal manner, by means of Parliamentary superintendence, and such other legislative checks in this country as may be devised and established. India may thus, for an unlimited period, enjoy union with England, and the advantage of her enlightened Government; and in return contribute to support the greatness of this country.

Ninthly.—If, however, events should occur to effect a separation between the two countries, then still the existence of a large body of respectable settlers (consisting of Europeans and their descendants, professing Christianity, and speaking the English language in common with the bulk of the people, as well as possessed of superior knowledge, scientific, mechanical, and political) would bring that vast Empire,

in the east to a level with other large Christian countries in Europe, and by means of its immense riches and extensive population, and by the help which may be reasonably expected from Europe, they (the settlers and their descendants) may succeed sooner or later in enlightening and civilizing the surrounding nations of Asia.

3. I now proceed to state some of the principal disadvantages which may be apprehended, with the remedies which I think calculated to prevent them, or at any rate their frequent occurrence.

DISADVANTAGE

First.—The European settlers being a distinct race, belonging to the class of the rulers of the country, may be apt to assume an ascendancy over the aboriginal inhabitants, and aim at enjoying exclusive rights and privileges, to the depression of the larger, but less favoured class; and the former being also of another religion, may be disposed to wound the feelings of the natives, and subject them to humiliations on account of their being of a different creed, colour and habits.

As a remedy or preventive of such a result, I would suggest, 1st, That as the higher and better educated classes of Europeans are known from experience to be less disposed to annoy and insult the natives than persons of lower class, European settlers, for the first twenty years at least, should be from among educated persons of character and capital, since such persons are very seldom, if ever, found guilty of intruding upon the religious or national prejudices of persons of uncultivated minds; 2nd. The enactment of equal laws, placing all classes on the same footing as to civil rights, and the establishment of trial by jury (the jury being composed impartially of both classes), would be felt as a strong check on any turbulent or overbearing characters amongst Europeans.

The second probable disadvantage is as follows: the Europeans possess an undue advantage over the natives, from having readier access to persons in authority, these being their own countrymen, as proved by long experience in numerous instances; therefore, a large increase of such a privileged population must subject the natives to many sacrifices from this very circumstance.

I would therefore propose as a remedy, that in addition to the native vakeels, European pleaders should be appointed in the country courts in the same manner as they are in the King's courts at the Presidencies, where the evil referred to is consequently not felt, because

the counsel and attornies for both parties, whether for a native or a European, have the same access to the judge, and are in all respects on an equal footing in pleading or defending the cause of their clients.

The third disadvantage in contemplation is, that at present the natives of the interior of India have little or no opportunity of seeing any Europeans except persons of rank holding public offices in the country, and officers and troops stationed in or passing through it under the restraint of military discipline, and consequently those natives entertain a notion of European superiority, and feel less reluctance in submission; but should Europeans of all ranks and classes be allowed to settle in the country, the natives who come in contact with them will materially alter the estimate now formed of the European character, and frequent collisions of interests and conflicting prejudices may gradually lead to a struggle between the foreign and native race till either one or the other obtain a complete ascendancy, and render the situation of their opponents so uncomfortable that no government could mediate between them with effect, or ensure the public peace and tranquillity of the country. Though this may not happen in the interior of Bengal, yet it must be kept in mind, that no inference drawn from the conduct of the Bengalese (whose submissive disposition and want of energy are notorious) can be applied with justice to the natives of the Upper Provinces, whose temper of mind is directly the reverse. Among this spirited race the jarrings above alluded to must be expected, if they be subjected to insult and intrusion —a state of things which would ultimately weaken, if not entirely undermine, the British power in India, or at least occasion much bloodshed from time to time to keep the natives in subordination.

The remedy already pointed out (para. 3rd, art. 1st, remedy 1st), will, however, also apply to this case, that is, the restriction of the European settlers to the respectable intelligent class already described, who in general may be expected not only to raise the European character still higher, but also to emancipate their native neighbours from the long standing bondage of ignorance and superstition, and thereby secure their affection, and attach them to the government under which they may enjoy the liberty and privileges so dear to persons of enlightened minds.

Some apprehend, as *the fourth probable danger*, that if the population of India were raised to wealth, intelligence, and public spirit, by the accession and by the example of numerous respectable

European settlers, the mixed community so formed would revolt as) the United States of America formerly did) against the power of Great Britain, and would ultimately establish independence. In reference to this, however, it must be observed that the Americans were driven to rebellion by misgovernment, otherwise they would not have revolted and separated themselves from England. Canada is a standing proof that an anxiety to effect a separation from the mother country is not the natural wish of a people, even tolerably well-ruled. The mixed community of India, in like manner, so long as they are treated liberally, and governed in an enlightened manner, will feel no disposition to cut off its connection with England, which may be preserved with so much mutual benefit to both countries. Yet, as before observed, if events should occur to effect a separation, (which may arise from many accidental causes, about which it is vain to speculate or make predictions), still a friendly and highly advantageous commercial intercourse may be kept up between two free and Christian countries, united as they will then be by resemblance of language, religion, and manners.

The fifth obstacle in the way of settlement in India by Europeans is, that the climate in many parts of India may be found destructive, or at least very pernicious to European constitutions, which might oblige European families who may be in possession of the means to retire to Europe to dispose of their property to disadvantage, or leave it to ruin, and that they would impoverish themselves instead of enriching India. As a remedy I would suggest that many cool and healthy spots could be selected and fixed upon as the head-quarters of the settlers (where they and their respective families might reside and superintend the affairs of their estates in the favourable season, and occasionally visit them during the hot months, if their presence be absolutely required on their estates), such as the Suppatoo, the Nielgherry Hills, and other similar places, which are by no means pernicious to European constitutions. At all events, it will be borne in mind that the emigration of the settlers to India is not compulsory, but entirely optional with themselves.

To these might be added some minor disadvantages though not so important. These (as well as the above circumstances) deserve fair consideration and impartial reflection. At all events, no one will, I trust, oppose me when I say, that the settlement in India by Europeans should at least be undertaken experimentally, so that its effects may be

ascertained by actual observation on a moderate scale. If the result be such as to satisfy all parties, whether friendly or opposed to it, the measure may then be carried on to a greater extent, till at last it may seem safe and expedient to throw the country open to persons of all classes.

On mature consideration, therefore, I think I may safely recommend that educated persons of character and capital should now be permitted and encouraged to settle in India, without any restriction of locality or any liability to banishment, at the discretion of the government; and the result of this experiment may serve as a guide in any future legislation on this subject.

(Sd.) RAMMOHUN ROY.

LONDON, *July 14th, 1832.*

TRANSLATION

OF

A CONFERENCE

BETWEEN

AN ADVOCATE FOR,

AND

AN OPPONENT OF, THE PRACTICE

OF

BURNING WIDOWS ALIVE;

FROM

THE ORIGINAL BUNGLA.

CALCUTTA:

1818.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE little tract, of which the following is a literal translation, originally written in Bungla, has been for several weeks past in extensive circulation in those parts of the country where the practice of widows burning themselves on the pile of their husbands is most prevalent. An idea that the arguments it contains might tend to alter the notions that some European gentlemen entertain on this subject, has induced the writer to lay it before the British public also in its present dress.

November 30, 1818.

CONFERENCE

BETWEEN

AN ADVOCATE FOR,

AND

AN OPPONENT OF, THE PRACTICE

OF

BURNING WIDOWS ALIVE.

Advocate. I AM surprised that you endeavour to oppose the practice of Concremation and Postcremation of widows,* as long observed in this country.

Opponent. Those who have no reliance on the Sastra, and those who take delight in the self-destruction of women, may well wonder that we should oppose that suicide which is forbidden by all the Sastras, and by every race of men.

Advocate. You have made an improper assertion in alleging that Concremation and Postcremation are forbidden by the Sastras. Hear what Angira and other saints have said on this subject:

"That Woman who, on the death of her husband, ascends the burning pile with him, is exalted to heaven, as equal to Arundhati.

"She who follows her husband to another world, shall dwell in a region of joy for so many years as there are hairs in the human body, or thirty-five millions.

"As a serpent-catcher forcibly draws a snake from his hole, thus raising her husband by her power, she enjoys delight along with him.

"The woman who follows her husband expiates the sins of three races; her father's line, her mother's line, and the family of him to whom she was given a virgin.

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* When a widow is absent from her husband at the time of his death, she may in certain cases burn herself along with some relic representing the deceased. This practice is called Anumaran or Postcremation.

"There possessing her husband as her chiefest good, herself the best of women, enjoying the highest delights, she partakes of bliss with her husband as long as fourteen Indras reign.

"Even though the man had slain a Brahman, or returned evil for good, or killed an intimate friend, the woman expiates those crimes.

"There is no other way known for a virtuous woman except ascending the pile of her husband. It should be understood that there is no other duty whatever after the death of her husband."

Hear also what Vyasa has written in the parable of the pigeon:

"A pigeon, devoted to her husband, after his death entered the flames, and ascending to heaven, she there found her husband."

And hear Harita's words:

"As long as a woman shall not burn herself after her husband's death she shall be subject to *transmigration in a female form*."

Hear too what Vishnu, the saint, says:

"After the death of her husband a wife must live as an ascetic, or ascend his pile."

Now hear the words of the Brahma Purana on the subject of Postcremation:

"If her lord die in another country, let the faithful wife place his sandals on her breast, and pure enter the fire."

The faithful widow is declared no suicide by this text of the Rig Veda: "When three days of impurity are gone she obtained obsequies."

Gotama, says:

"To a Brahmani after the death of her husband, Postcremation is not permitted. But to women of the other classes it is esteemed a chief duty."

"Living let her benefit her husband; dying she commits suicide."

"The woman of the Brahman tribe that follows her dead husband, cannot, on account of her self-destruction, convey either herself or her husband to heaven."

Concremation and Postcremation being thus established by the words of many sacred lawgivers, how can you say they are forbidden by the Sastras, and desire to prevent their practice?

Opponent. All those passages you have quoted are indeed sacred law; and it is clear from those authorities, that if women perform Concremation or Postcremation, they will enjoy heaven for a considerable time. But attend to what Manu and others say respecting

the duty of widows: "Let her emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits, but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as were devoted to one only husband."

Here Manu directs, that after the death of her husband, the widow should pass her whole life as an ascetic. Therefore, the laws given by Angira and others whom you have quoted, being contrary to the law of Manu, cannot be accepted; because the Veda declares, "Whatever Manu has said is wholesome;" and Vrihaspati, "Whatever law is contrary to the law of Manu is not commendable." The Veda especially declares, "By living in the practice of regular and occasional duties the mind may be purified. Thereafter by hearing, reflecting, and constantly meditating on the Supreme Being, absorption in Brahma may be attained. Therefore from a desire during life of future fruition, life ought not to be destroyed." Manu, Yajnavalkya, and others, have then, in their respective codes of laws prescribed to widows, the duties of ascetics only. By this passage of the Veda, therefore, and the authority of Manu and others, the words you have quoted from Angira and the rest are set aside; for by the express declaration of the former, widows after the death of their husbands, may, by living as ascetics, obtain absorption.

Advocate. What you have said respecting the laws of Angira and others, that recommended the practice of Concremation and Postcremation we do not admit: because, though a practice has not been recommended by Manu, yet, if directed by other lawgivers, it should not on that account be considered as contrary to the law of Manu. For instance, Manu directs the performance of Sandhya, but says nothing of calling aloud on the name of Hari; yet Vyasa prescribes calling on the name of Hari. The words of Vyasa do not contradict those of Manu. The same should be understood in the present instance. Manu has commended widows to live as ascetics; Vishnu and other saints direct that they should either live as ascetics or follow their husbands. Therefore the law of Manu may be considered to be applicable as an alternative.

Opponent. The analogy you have drawn betwixt the practice of Sandhya and invoking Hari, and that of Concremation and Postcre-

mation does not hold. For, in the course of the day the performance of Sandhya, at the prescribed time, does not prevent one from invoking Hari at another period; and, on the other hand, the invocation of Hari need not interfere with the performance of Sandhya. In this case, the direction of one practice is not inconsistent with that of the other. But in the case of living as an ascetic or undergoing Concremation, the performance of the one is incompatible with the observance of the other. *Scil.* Spending one's whole life as an ascetic after the death of a husband, is incompatible with immediate Concremation as directed by Angira and others; and, *vice versa,* Concremation, as directed by Angira and others, is inconsistent with living as an ascetic, in order to attain absorption. Therefore those two authorities are obviously contradictory of each other. More especially as Angira, by declaring that "there is no other way known for a virtuous woman except ascending the pile of her husband," has made Concremation an indispensable duty. And Harita also, in his code, by denouncing evil consequences, in his declaration, that "as long as a woman shall not burn herself after the death of her husband, she shall be subject to transmigration in a female form," has made this duty absolute. Therefore all those passages are in every respect contradictory to the law of Manu and others.

Advocate. When Angira says that there is no other way for a widow except Concremation, and when Harita says that the omission of it is a fault, we reconcile their words with those of Manu, by considering them as used merely for the purpose of exalting the merit of Concremation, but not as prescribing this as an indispesable duty. All these expressions, moreover, convey a promise of reward for Concremation, and thence it appears that Concremation is only optional.

Opponent. If, in order to reconcile them with the text of Manu, you set down the words of Angira and Harita, that make the duty incumbent, as meant only to convey an exaggerated praise of Concremation, why do you not also reconcile the rest of the words of Angira, Harita, and others, with those in which Manu prescribes to the widow the practice of living as an ascetic as her absolute duty? And why do you not keep aloof from witnessing the destruction of females, instead of tempting them with the inducement of future fruition? Moreover, in the text already quoted, self-destruction with the view of reward is expressly prohibited.

Advocate. What you have quoted from Manu and Yajnavalkya and the text of the Veda is admitted. But how can you set aside the following text of the Rig Veda on the subject of Concremation? "O fire! let these women, with bodies anointed with clarified butter, eyes coloured with collyrium, and void of tears, enter thee, the parent of water, that they may not be separated from their husbands, but may be, in unison with excellent husbands, themselves sinless and jewels amongst women."

Opponent. This text of the Veda, and the former passages from Harita and the rest whom you have quoted, all praise the practice of Concremation as leading to fruition, and are addressed to those who are occupied by sensual desires; and you cannot but admit that to follow these practices is only optional. In repeating the Sankalpa of Concremation, the desire of future fruition is declared as the object. The text therefore of the Veda which we have quoted, offering no gratifications, supersedes, in every respect, that which you have adduced, as well as all the words of Angira and the rest. In proof we quote the text of the Kathopanishad: "Faith in God which leads to absorption is one thing; and rites which have future fruition for their object, another. Each of these, producing different consequences, hold out to man inducements to follow it. The man, who of these two chooses faith, is blessed: and he, who for the sake of reward practices rites, is dashed away from the enjoyment of eternal beatitude." Also the Mundakopanishad: "Rites, of which there are eighteen members, are all perishable: he who considers them as the source of blessing shall undergo repeated transmigrations; and all those fools who, immersed in the foolish practice of rites, consider themselves to be wise and learned, are repeatedly subjected to birth, disease, death, and other pains. When one blind man is guided by another, both subject themselves on their way to all kinds of distress."

It is asserted in the Bhagavad Gita, the essence of all the Smritis, Puranas, and Itihasas, that, "all those ignorant persons who attach themselves to the words of the Vedas that convey promises of fruition, consider those falsely alluring passages as leading to real happiness, and say, that besides them there is no other reality. Agitated in their minds by these desires, they believe the abodes of the celestial gods to be the chief object; and they devote themselves to those texts which treat of ceremonies and their fruits, and entice by promises

of enjoyment. Such people can have no real confidence in the Supreme Being." Thus also do the Mundakopanishad and the Gita state that, "the science by which a knowledge of God is attained is superior to all other knowledge." Therefore it is clear, from those passages of the Veda and of the Gita, that the words of the Veda which promise fruition, are set aside by the texts of contrary import. Moreover, the ancient saints and holy teachers, and their commentators, and yourselves, as well as we and all others, agree that Manu is better acquainted than any other lawgiver with the spirit of the Veda. And he, understanding the meaning of those different texts, admitting the inferiority of that which promised fruition, and following that which conveyed no promise of gratifications, has directed widows to spend their lives as ascetics. He has also defined in his 12th chapter, what acts are observed merely for the sake of gratifications, and what are not. "Whatever act is performed for the sake of gratifications in this world or the next is called Prabartak, and those which are performed according to the knowledge respecting God, are called Nibartak. All those who perform acts to procure gratifications, may enjoy heaven like the gods; and he who performs acts free from desires, procures release from the five elements of this body, that is, obtains absorption."

Advocate. What you have said is indeed consistent with the Vedas, with Manu, and with the Bhagavad Gita. But from this I fear, that the passages of the Vedas and other Sastras, that prescribe Concremation and Postcremation as the means of attaining heavenly enjoyments, must be considered as only meant to deceive.

Opponent. There is no deception. The object of those passages is declared. As men have various dispositions, those whose minds are enveloped in desire, passion and cupidity, have no inclination for the disinterested worship of the Supreme Being. If they had no Sastras of rewards, they would at once throw aside all Sastras, and would follow their several inclinations, like elephants unguided by the hook. In order to restrain such persons from being led only by their inclinations, the Sastra prescribes various ceremonies, as Syenayaga for one desirous of the destruction of the enemy, Putreshti for one desiring a son, and Jyotishtoma for one desiring gratifications in heaven, &c.; but again reprobates such as are actuated by those desires, and at the same moment expresses contempt for such gratifications. Had the Sastra not repeatedly reprobrated both those

actuated by desire and the fruits desired by them, all those texts might be considered as deceitful. In proof of what I have advanced I cite the following text of the Upanishad, "Knowledge and rites together offer themselves to every man. The wise man considers which of these two is the better and which the worse. By reflecting, he becomes convinced of the superiority of the former, despises rites, and takes refuge in knowledge. And the unlearned, for the sake of bodily gratifications, has recourse to the performance of rites." The Bhagavad Gita says: "The Vedas that treat of rites are for the sake of those who are possessed of desire: therefore, O Arjuna! do thou abstain from desires."

Hear also the text of the Veda reprobating the fruits of rites: "As in this world the fruits obtained from cultivation and labour perish, so in the next world fruits derived from rites are perishable." Also the Bhagavad Gita: "Also those who observe the rites prescribed by the three Vedas, and through those ceremonies worship me and seek for heaven, having become sinless from eating the remains of offerings, ascending to heaven, and enjoying the pleasures of the gods, after the completion of their rewards, again return to earth. Therefore, the observers of rites for the sake of rewards, repeatedly, ascend to heaven, and return to the world, and cannot obtain absorption."

Advocate. Though what you have advanced from the Veda and sacred codes against the practice of Concremation and Postcremation, is not to be set aside, yet we have had the practice prescribed by Harita and others handed down to us.

Opponent. Such an argument is highly inconsistent with justice. It is every way improper to persuade to self-destruction by citing passages of inadmissible authority. In the second place, it is evident from your own authorities, and the Sankalpa recited in conformity with them, that the widow should voluntarily quit life, ascending the flaming pile of her husband. But, on the contrary, you first bind down the widow along with the corpse of her husband, and then heap over her such a quantity of wood that she cannot rise. At the time too of setting fire to the pile, you press her down with large bamboos. In what passage of Harita or the rest do you find authority for thus binding the woman according to your practice? This then is, in fact, deliberate female murder.

Advocate. Though Harita and the rest do not indeed authorize this practice of binding, &c., yet were a woman after having recited

the Sankalpa not to perform Concremation, it would be sinful, and considered disgraceful by others. It is on this account that we have adopted the custom.

Opponent. Respecting the sinfulness of such an act, that is mere talk : for in the same codes it is laid down, that the performance of a penance will obliterate the sin of quitting the pile. Or in case of inability to undergo the regular penance, absolution may be obtained by bestowing the value of a cow, or three kahans of cowries. Therefore the sin is no cause of alarm. The disgrace in the opinion of others is also nothing: for good men regard not the blame or reproach of persons who can reprobate those who abstain from the sinful murder of women. And do you not consider how great is the sin to kill a woman; therein forsaking the fear of God, the fear of conscience, and the fear of the Sastras, merely from a dread of the reproach of those who delight in female murder?

Advocate. Though tying down in this manner be not authorized by the Sastras, yet we practise it as being a custom that has been observed throughout Hindustan.

Opponent. It never was the case that the practice of fastening down widows on the pile was prevalent throughout Hindustan : for it is but of late years that this mode has been followed, and that only in Bengal, which is but a small part of Hindustan. No one besides who has the fear of God and man before him, will assert that male or female murder, theft, &c., from having been long practised, cease to be vices. If, according to your argument, custom ought to set aside the precepts of the Sastras, the inhabitants of the forests and mountains who have been in the habits of plunder, must be considered as guiltless of sin, and it would be improper to endeavour to restrain their habits. The Sastras, and the reasonings connected with them, enable us to discriminate right and wrong. In those Sastras such female murder is altogether forbidden. And reason also declares, that to bind down a woman for her destruction, holding out to her the inducement of heavenly rewards, is a most sinful act.

Advocate. This practice may be sinful or any thing else, but we will not refrain from observing it. Should it cease, people would generally apprehend that if women did not perform Concremation on the death of their husbands, they might go astray; but if they burn themselves this fear is done away. Their family and relations are freed from apprehension. And if the husband could be assured

during his life that his wife would follow him on the pile, his mind would be at ease from apprehensions of her misconduct.

Opponent. What can be done, if, merely to avoid the possible danger of disgrace, you are unmercifully resolved to commit the sin of female murder. But is there not also a danger of a woman's going astray during the life-time of her husband, particularly when he resides for a long time in a distant country? What remedy then have you got against this cause of alarm?

Advocate. There is a great difference betwixt the case of the husband's being alive, and of his death; for while a husband is alive, whether he resides near or at a distance, a wife is under his control; she must stand in awe of him. But after his death that authority ceases, and she of course is divested of fear.

Opponent. The Sastras which command that a wife should live under the control of her husband during his life, direct that on his death she shall live under the authority of her husband's family, or else under that of her parental relations; and the Sastras have authorized the ruler of the country to maintain the observance of this law. Therefore, the possibility of a woman's going astray cannot be more guarded against during the husband's life than it is after his death. For you daily see, that even while the husband is alive, he gives up his authority, and the wife separates from him. Control alone cannot restrain from evil thoughts, words, and actions; but the suggestions of wisdom and the fear of God may cause both man and woman to abstain from sin. Both the Sastras and experience show this.

Advocate. You have repeatedly asserted, that from want of feeling we promote female destruction. This is incorrect, for it is declared in our Veda and codes of law, that mercy is the root of virtue, and from our practice of hospitality, &c., our compassionate dispositions are well known.

Opponent. That in other cases you shew charitable dispositions is acknowledged. But by witnessing from your youth the voluntary burning of women amongst your elder relatives, your neighbours and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, and by observing the indifference manifested at the time when the women are writhing under the torture of the flames, habits of insensibility are produced. For the same reason, when men or women are suffering the pains of death, you feel for them no sense of compassion, like the worshippers

of the female deities who, witnessing from their infancy the slaughter of kids and buffaloes, feel no compassion for them in the time of their suffering death, while followers of Vishnu are touched with strong feelings of pity.

Advocate. What you have said I shall carefully consider.

Opponent. It is to me a source of great satisfaction, that you are now ready to take this matter into your consideration. By forsaking prejudice and reflecting on the Sastra, what is really conformable to its precepts may be perceived, and the evils and disgrace brought on this country by the crime of female murder will cease.

A
SECOND CONFERENCE
BETWEEN
AN ADVOCATE FOR,
AND
AN OPPONENT OF THE PRCTICE
OF
BURNING WIDOWS ALIVE.

CALCUTTA:

1820.

TO

THE MOST NOBLE

THE MARCHIONESS OF HASTINGS,

COUNTESS OF LOUDOUN, &c., &c.

THE following tract, being a translation of a Bengalee Essay, published some time ago, as an appeal to reason in behalf of humanity, I take the liberty to dedicate to YOUR LADYSHIP; for to whose protection can any attempt to promote a benevolent purpose be with so much propriety committed?

I have the honour to remain, with the greatest respect,

YOUR LADYSHIP'S
Most obedient servant,
THE AUTHOR.

February 26, 1820.

ON CONCREMATION;

A SECOND CONFERENCE BETWEEN AN ADVOCATE AND AN OPPONENT OF THAT PRACTICE.

Advocate. UNDER the title of Vidhayak, or Preceptor, I have offered an answer to your former arguments. That, no doubt, you have attentively perused. I now expect your reply.

Opponent. I have well considered the answer that, after the lapse of nearly twelve months, you have offered. Such parts of your answer as consist merely of a repetition of passages already quoted by us, require no further observations now. But as to what you have advanced in opposition to our arguments and to the Sastras, you will be pleased to attend to my reply.

In the first place, at the bottom of your 4th page you have given a particular iuterpretation to the following words of Vishnu, the lawgiver :—

"Mrite bhartari brahmacharyam tadanwarohanam va"* meaning "after the death of her husband a woman shall become an ascetic, or ascend the funeral pile," and implying that either alternative is optional. To this, you say, eight objections are found in the Sastras, therefore one of the alternatives must be preferred: that is to say, the woman who is unable to ascend the flaming pile shall live as an ascetic. This you maintain is the true interpretation; and in proof you have cited the words of the Skanda Purana and of Angira. I answer. In every country all persons observe this rule that meanings are to be inferred from the words used. In this instance the text of Vishnu is comprised in five words: 1st, Mrite, "on death," 2nd, bhartari, "of a husband," 3rd, brahmacharyam, "asceticism," 4th, tadanwarohanam, "ascending his pile," 5th, va, "or." That is, "on the death of a husband, *his widow should* become an ascetic, or ascend his pile." It appears, therefore, from asceticism being mentioned first in order, that this is the most pious conduct for a widow to follow. But your interpretation, that this alternative is only left for widows who are

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* मृते भर्त्तरि ब्रह्मचर्य्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा ।

unable to ascend the flaming pile, can by no means be deduced from the words of the text; nor have any of the expounders of the Sastras so expressed themselves.

For instance, the author of the Mitakshara, whose authority is always to be revered, and whose words you have yourself quoted as authority in p. 27, has thus decided on the subject of Concremation:— "The widow who is not desirous of final beatitude, but who wishes only for a limited term of a small degree of future fruition, is authorized to accompany her husband."*

The Smarta Bhattacharya (Raghunandana, the modern law commentator of Bengal) limited the words of Angria, that "besides Concremation there is no other pious course for a widow," by the authority of the foregoing text of Vishnu; and authorized the alternative of a widow living as an ascetic, or dying with her husband, explaining the words of Angira as conveying merely the exaggerated praise of Concremation.

Secondly. From the time that Sastras have been written in Sanskrit, no author or man of learning has ever asserted, as you have done, that the person who, desirous of the enjoyments of heaven, is unable to perform the rites leading to fruition, may devote himself to the attainment of final beatitude. On the contrary, the Sastras uniformly declare that those who are unable to pursue final beatitude, may perform rites, but without desire; and persons of the basest minds who do not desire eternal beatitude, may even perform rites for the sake of their fruits.

As Vasishtha declares:—

"The person who does not exert himself to acquire that knowledge of God which leads to final absorption, may perform ceremonies without expectation of reward.†

"To encourage and improve those ignorant persons, who looking only to pleasure, cannot distinguish betwixt what is God and not God, the Sruti has promised rewards."‡

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* अतश्च मोक्षमनिच्छन्त्या अनित्याल्पसुखरूपस्वर्गार्थिन्या,
अनुगमनं युक्तमितरकाम्यानुष्ठानवदिति सर्व्वमनवद्यं ।

† यस्मै न रोचते ज्ञानं अध्यात्मं मोक्षसाधनं ।
ईशार्पितेन चित्तेन यजेन्निष्कामकर्म्मणा ॥

‡ मूढानां भोगदृष्टीनां आत्मानात्माविवेकिनां ।
रुचये चाधिकाराय विदधाति फलं श्रुतिः ॥

Bhagavad Gita.

"If you are unable to acquire by degrees divine knowledge, be diligent in performing works with a view to please me, that by such works you may acquire a better state. If you are unable even to perform rites solely for my sake, then, controlling your senses, endeavour to perform rites without the desire of fruition."*

Therefore, to give the preference to self-immolation, or to the destruction of others, for the sake of future reward, over asceticism, which gives a prospect of eternal beatitude, is to treat with contempt the authorities of the Vedas, the Vedanta, and other Darsanas, as well as of the Bhagavad Gita and many others. As the Veda says—

"Knowledge and rites both offer themselves to man; but he who is possessed of wisdom, taking their respective nature into serious consideration, distinguishes one from the other, and chooses faith, despising fruition; while a fool, for the sake of advantage and enjoyment, accepts the offer of rites."†

Without entirely rejecting the authority of the Gita, the essence of all Sastras, no one can praise rites performed for the sake of fruition, nor recommend them to others; for nearly half of the Bhagavad Gita is filled with the dispraise of such works, and with the praise of works performed without desire of fruition. A few of those passages have been quoted in the former conference, and a few others are here given.

"Works performed, except for the sake of God, only entangle the soul. Therefore, O Arjuna, forsaking desire perform works with the view to please God."‡

* अभ्यासेऽप्यसमर्थोसि मत्कर्म्मपरमो भव ।
मदर्थमपि कर्म्माणि कुर्व्वन् सिद्धि मवापस्यसि ॥
अथैतदप्यशक्तोसि कर्त्तुं मद्योगमाश्रितः ।
सर्व्वकर्म्मफलत्यागं ततः कुरु यतात्मवान् ॥

† श्रेयश्च प्रेयश्च मनुष्यमेतस्तौ सम्परीत्य विविनक्ति धीरः ।
श्रेयोहि धीरोऽभिप्रेयसो वृणीते प्रेयो मन्दो योगक्षेमाद्वृणीते ॥

‡ यज्ञार्थात् कर्म्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकोऽयं कर्म्मबन्धनः ।
तदर्थं कर्म्म कौन्तेय मुक्तसङ्गः समाचर ॥

"The person who performs works without desire of fruition, directing his mind to God, obtains eternal rest. And the person who is devoted to fruition, and performs works with desire, he is indeed inextricably involved."*

"Oh, Arjuna, rites performed for the sake of fruition are degraded far below works done without desire, which lead to the acquisition of the knowledge of God. Therefore perform thou works without desire of fruition, with the view of acquiring divine knowledge. Those who perform works for the sake of fruition are most debased."†

"It is my firm opinion, that works are to be performed forsaking their consequences, and the prospect of their fruits."‡

The Gita is not a rare work, and you are not unacquainted with it. Why then do you constantly mislead women, unacquainted with the Sastras, to follow a debased path, by holding out to them as temptations the pleasures of futurity, in defiance of all the Sastras, and merely to please the ignorant?

You have said, that eight objections are to be found in Sastras to the optional alternative deduced from the works of Vishnu. To this I reply.

First. To remove an imaginary difficulty, a violation of the obvious interpretation of words, whose meaning is direct and consistent, is altogether inadmissible.

Secondly. Former commentators, finding no such objection to the interpretation given to the words of Vishnu, as following the optional alternative of asceticism or Concremation, have given the preference to asceticism. The author of the Mitakshara, quoting this text of Vishnu in treating of Concremation, makes no allusion to such an objection, but finally declares in favour of asceticism.

* युक्तः कर्म्मफलं त्यक्त्वा शान्तिमाप्नोति नैष्ठिकीं ।
अयुक्तः कामकारेण फले सक्तो निबध्यते ॥

† दूरेणह्यवरं कर्म्म बुद्धियोगाद्धनञ्जय ।
बुद्धौ शरणमन्विच्छ कृपणाः फलहेतवः ॥

‡ एतान्यपितु कर्म्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलानि च ।
कर्त्तव्यानीति मे पार्थ निश्चितं मतमुत्तमं ॥

Thirdly. Even allowing an optional alternative to be liable to the eight objections, former authors have on many occasions admitted such an alternative. For example :—

Sruti. "Oblations are to be made of wheat or of barley."* But the meaning of this is not, according to your mode of interpretation, "That if it cannot be made of barley, an offering is to be made of wheat"

"Burnt offering is to be made at sunrise or before sunrise."† In this instance your mode of explanation may be applied; but no authors have ever given such an interpretation, but all have admitted the alternative to be optional.

उपासीत जगन्नाथं शिवम्वा जगतां पति ।

Here also, according to your opinion, the meaning would be, that if you cannot worship Siva you should worship Vishnu. But no authors have ever given such an interpretation to those words, and to give more or less worship to Siva than to Vishnu is quite contrary to the decision of all the Sastras.

Fourthly. The following text has also been quoted by you in opposition to the optional alternative in question, taken as you assert from the Skanda Purana :—

"On the death of her husband, if by chance a woman is unable to perform Concremation, nevertheless she should preserve the virtue required of widows. If she cannot preserve that virtue, she must descend to hell."‡ To confirm this text you have quoted the words of Angria :—"There is no other pious course for a widow besides Concremation;" § which you have interpreted, that "for a widow there is no other course so pious."

I answer, the words of Angria are express, that there is no other pious course for a widow than Concremation. And the Smarta commentator, having thus interpreted the text in reconciling it with the words of Vishnu already quoted, declares, that it conveys merely exaggerated praise of Concremation.

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* व्रीहिभिर्यजेत यवैर्यजेत ।

† उदिते जुहोति अनुदिते जुहोति ॥

‡ अनुयाति न भर्त्तारं यदि दैवात् कथञ्चन ।
तथापि शीलं संरक्ष्यं शीलभङ्गात् पतत्यधः ॥

§ नान्यो हि धर्म्मो विज्ञेयो मृते भर्त्तरि कर्हिचित् ।

But you, in opposition to the true meaning of the expression and to the interpretation given by the Smarta commentator, have explained those words to suit your own argument, that there is no other course more pious than that of Concremation. Perverting thus the meaning of the Sastras, what benefit do you propose by promoting the destruction of feeble woman, by holding up the temptation of enjoyments in a future state? This I am at a loss to understand.

If the passage you have quoted from the Skanda Purana really exist, the mode in which the Smarta commentator has explained the words of Angira ("there is no other virtuous course,") must be applied to those of the Skanda Purana, *viz.*, that the text of the Skanda Purana which contradicts Manu, Vishnu, and others, is to be understood as merely conveying exaggerated praise; because, to exalt Concremation, which leads to future enjoyments that are treated as despicable by the Upanishads of the Vedas and Smriti, and by the Bhagavad Gita, above asceticism, in which the mind may be purified by the performance of works without desire, that may lead to eternal beatitude, is every way inadmissible, and in direct opposition to the opinions maintained by ancient authors and commentators.

SECTION II.

IN the latter end of the 7th page you have admitted, that the sayings of Angira, Vishnu, and Harita, on the subject of Concremation, are certainly at variance with those of Manu; but assert, that any law given by Manu, when contradicted by several other lawgivers, is to be considered annulled:—therefore, his authority in treating of the duties of widows is not admissible, on account of the discord existing between it and passages of Harita, and Vishnu and others. With a view to establish this position you have advanced three arguments. The first of them is, that Vrihaspati says, "whatever law is contrary to the law of Manu, is not commendable,"* in which the nominative case, "whatever law," as being used in the singular number, signifies, that in case laws, given by a single person, stand in opposition to those of Manu they are not worthy of reverence, but if several persons differ from Manu in any certain point, his authority must be set aside. I reply. It has been the invariable practice of ancient and modern authors, to explain all texts of law so as to make them coincide with

* मन्वर्थविपरीता या सा स्मृति र्न प्रशस्यते ।

the law of Manu. They in no instance declare that the authority of Manu is to be set aside, in order to admit that of any other lawgiver. But you have, on the contrary, set aside the authority of Manu, on the ground of inconsistence with the words of two or three other authors. In this you not only act contrary to the practice of all commentators, but moreover in direct opposition to the authority of the Veda, for the Veda declares, whatever Manu lays down, that is commendable,"* which text you have yourself quoted in p. 7. And as to what you have said respecting the words of Vrihaspati as being in the singular number, and therefore only applicable to a case in which Manu is opposed by only one lawgiver, it is obvious that the word "whatever," being a general term, includes every particular case falling under it; and therefore his law must be followed, whatever number of authors there may be who lay down a different direction. And the reason of this is expressed in the former part of the verse of Vrihaspati, that "Manu has in his work collected the meaning of the Vedas." From this it follows that whatever law is inconsistent with the code of Manu, which is the substance of the Veda, is really inconsistent with the Veda itself, and therefore inadmissible. Admitting the justice of your explanation of Vrihaspati's text, that the authority of any individual lawgiver, who is inconsistent with Manu, must be set aside, but that when several authorities coincide in laying down any rule inconsistent with his law, they are to be followed, one might on the same principle give a new explanation to the following text:—

"The person who attempts to strike a Brahman goes to the hell called Satnayat, or of a hundred punishments; and he who actually strikes a Brahman, goes to the hell of Sahasrayat, or a thousand punishments."†

Here, also, the noun in the nominative case, and that in the accusative case also, are both in the singular number; therefore, according to your exposition, where two or three persons concur in beating a Brahman, or where a man beats two or three Brahmans, there is no crime committed. There are many similar instances of laws, the force of which would be entirely frustrated by your mode of interpretation.

You have argued in the second place that the practice of Concremation is authorized by a text of the Rig Veda, and consequently the

* यत किञ्चिन्मनुरवदत्तद्धि भेषजं । श्रुतिः ।

† यो ब्राह्मणा यावगुरेत्तं शतेन यातयात् योनिहन्यात् तं सहस्रेण। श्रुतिः

authority of Manu is superseded by a higher authority. I reply. In the 12th line of the 9th page of your tract, you have quoted and interpreted a text of the Vedas, expressing "that the mind may be purified so as to seek a knowledge of God from which absorption may accrue, by the performance of the daily and occasional ceremonies, without the desire of fruition; therefore, while life may be preserved, it ought not to be destroyed." With this then and all similar texts, there is the most evident concord wiih the words of Manu. Notwithstanding your admission to this effect, you assert that the authority of the Vedas contradicts the declaration of Manu. From the text already quoted, "that whatever Manu has declared is to be accepted," it follows that there can be no discrepancy between Manu and the Veda. But that is certainly an apparent inconsistency between the text quoted from the ceremonial part of the Rig Veda authorizing Concermation, and that above quoted from the spiritual parts of the Veda to which the celebrated Manu has given the preference, well aware that such parts of the Veda are of more authority than the passage relating to debased ceremonies. He has accordingly directed widows to live, practising austerities. The text of the Rig Veda, of course, remains of force to those ignorant wretches who are fettered with the desire of fruition, which debars them from the hope of final beatitude. This too has been acknowledged by yourself, in p. 11, line 17, and was also fully considered in the first Conference, p. 13, line 18. You cannot but be aware too, that when there is doubt respecting the meaning of any text of the Veda, that interpretation which has been adopted by Manu is followed by both ancient and modern authors. In the Bhavishya Purana, Mahadeva gave instructions for the performance of a penance for wilfully slaying a Brahman; but observing that this was at variance with the words of Manu, which declare that there is no expiation for wilfully killing a Brahman, he does not set aside the text of Manu founded on the Vedas by his own authority, but explains the sense in which it is to be accepted:—"The object of the declaration of Manu that there is no expiation for the wilful murder of a Brahman, was the more absolute prohibition of the crime; or it may be considered as applicable to Kshatriyas, and the other tribes."*

* कामतो ब्राह्मणवधे यदेतन्मनुनोदितम् ।
एकान्ततो विप्रवधवर्जनार्थमुदीरितम् ।
यद्वा क्षत्रादिविषयमेतद्वै वचनं विदुः ॥

The great Mahadeva, then, did not venture to set aside the words of Manu, but you have proposed to set up the texts of Harita and Angira as of superior authority.

Thirdly. You have quoted, with the view of doing away with the authority of Manu the text of Jaimini, signifying that if there be a difference of opinion respecting a subject, then the decision of the greater number must be adopted; and therefore, as the authority of Manu, in the present instance, is at variance with several writers, it must yield to theirs. I reply. It is apparent that this text, as well as common sense, only dictates, that where those who differ in opinion are equal in point of authority, the majority ought to be followed; but if otherwise, this text is not applicable to the case. Thus the authority of the Veda, though single, cannot be set aside by the concurrent authorities of a hundred lawgivers; and in like manner the authority of Manu which is derived immediately from the Veda, cannot be set aside by the contradicting authorities of the others either singly or collectively. Moreover, if Angira, Harita, Vishnu, and Vyasa, authorized widows to choose the alternative of Concremation, or of living as ascetics, on the other hand, besides Manu, Yajnavalkya, Vasishtha, and several other lawgivers have prescribed asceticism only. Why, therefore, despising the authorities of Manu and others, do you persist in encouraging weak women to submit to murder, by holding out to them the temptations of future pleasures in heaven?

SECTION III.

The quotation from the Mundaka Upanishad and Bhagavad Gita, which we quoted in our first Conference, to shew the light in which rites should be held, you have repeated; and have also quoted some texts of the Vedas directing the performance of certain rites, such as, "He who desires heavenly fruition shall perform the sacrifice of horse."*

In page 17 you have given your final conclusion on the subject to this effect: "That rites are not prohibited, but that pious works performed without desire are preferable to works performed for the sake of fruition; and he also who performs those works without desire, is superior to him who performs works for the sake of fruition." If then works without desire are acknowledged by you to

* स्वर्गकामोऽश्वमेधेन यजेत ।

be superior to works with desire of fruition, why do you persuade widows to perform work for the sake of fruition, and do not recommend to them rather to follow asceticism, by which they may acquire eternal beatitude? And with respect to your assertion, that "rites are not prohibited," this is inconsistent with the Sastras; for if all the texts of the Vedas and lawgivers, prohibiting rites, were to be quoted, they would fill a large volume; (of these a few have been already quoted by me in pp. 5 and 6.) There are indeed Sastras directing the performance of rites for the sake of fruition, but these are acknowledged to be of less authority than those which prohibit such rites; as is proved by the following text from the Mundaka Upanishad: "Sastras are of two sorts, superior and inferior; of these the superior are those by which the Eternal God is approached."*

In the Bhagavad Gita Krishna says: "Amongst Sastras, I am those which treat of God."†

In the Sri Bhagavat is the following text: "Ill-minded persons, not perceiving that the object of the Veda is to direct us to absorption, call the superficially tempting promises of rewards their principal fruit; but such as know the Vedas thoroughly do not hold this opinion."‡

The passages directing works for the sake of fruition are therefore adapted only for the most ignorant. 'Learned men should endeavour to withdraw all those ignorant persons from works performed with desire, but should never, for the sake of profit, attempt to drown them in the abyss of passion. Raghunandana quotes and adopts the following words: "Learned men should not persuade the ignorant to perform rites for the sake of fruition, for it is written in the Purana, that he who knows the path to eternal happiness will not direct the ignorant to perform works with desire, as the good physician refuses to yield to the appetite of his patient for injurious food."§

* द्वे विद्ये वेदितव्ये परा चैवापरा च
अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते ।

† अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां ।

‡ एवं व्यवसितं केचिदविज्ञाय कुबुद्धयः ।
फलश्रुतिं कुसुमितां न वेदज्ञा वदन्ति हि ॥

§ पण्डितेनापि मुर्खः काम्येकर्म्माणि न प्रवर्त्तयितव्यः, भागवते,
स्वयं निःश्रेयसं विद्वान् न वक्त्यज्ञाय कर्म्म हि ।
न राति रोगिणो पथ्यं वाञ्छतेपि भिषक्तमः ॥

Section IV.

In page 17, line 13, of your treatise, you have said, that the Sastra does not admit that widows, in giving up the use of oil, and betel and sexual pleasures, &c., as ascetics, perform works without desire, and acquire absorption. And for this you advance two proofs: the first, that it appears that Manu directs that a widow should continue till death as an ascetic, *aiming* to practise the incomparable rules of virtue that have been followed by such women as were devoted to only one husband. From the word *aiming*, it follows, that the duties of an ascetic, to be practised by widows, are of the nature of those performed with desire. Secondly. From the subsequent words of Manu it appears, that those widows who live austere lives ascend to heaven like ascetics from their youth; therefore from the words ascending to heaven, it is obvious that the austerities that may be performed by them are for reward. I reply. I am surprised at your assertion, that austerities practised by widows cannot be considered as performed without desire, and leading to absorption; for whether austerities or any other kind of act be performed with desire or without desire, must depend on the mind of the agent. Some may follow asceticism or other practices for the sake of heavenly enjoyments, while others, forsaking desire of fruition, may perform them, and at length acquire final beatitude. Therefore, if a widow practise austerities without the desire of fruition, and yet her acts are asserted to be with desire of fruition, this amounts to a setting at defiance both experience and the Sastras, in a manner unworthy of a man of learning like yourself. As to what you have observed respecting the word *aiming* in the text of Manu, it never can be inferred from the use of that word, that the asceticism of widows must necessarily be with desire; for with the object of final beatitude, we practise the acquisition of the knowledge of God, which no Sastras nor any of the learned has ever classed amongst works performed with desire of fruition. For no man possessed of understanding performs any movement of mind or body without an object. It is those works only, therefore, that are performed for the sake of corporeal enjoyment, either in the present or in a future state of existence, that are said to be with desire, and that are, as such, prohibited, as Manu defines: "Whatever act is performed for the sake of gratifications in this world or the next is called

Prabarttak; and those which are performed according to the knowledge of God, are called Nibarttak."*

As to your second argument, that widows leading an ascetic life are rewarded by a mansion in heaven, I reply; that from these words it does not appear that austerities should necessarily be reckoned amongst works performed for reward; for a mansion in heaven is not granted to those alone who perform works with desire, but also to those who endeavour to acquire a knowledge of God, but come short of attaining it in this life. They must after death remain for a long time in the heaven called the Brahmaloka, and again assume a human form, until they have, by perfecting themselves in divine knowledge, at length obtained absorption. The Bhagavad Gita says distinctly:

"A man whose devotions have been broken off by death, having enjoyed for an immensity of years the rewards of his virtues in the regions above, at length is born again in some holy and respectable family."†

Kulluka Bhatta, the commentator on Manu, says expressly in his observations on the text of his author, that those ascetic widows ascend to heaven like Sanaka, Balakhilya and other devotees from their youth. By this, it is clearly shewn, that, those widows ascend to heaven in the same way as those pious devotees who have already acquired final beatitude, which can only be attained by works performed without desire. And hence the austerities of widows must be reckoned amongst works without desire.

SECTION V.

IN page 18, you have asserted that a widow who undergoes Concremation has a higher reward than she who lives as a devotee; for the husband of the woman who performs Concremation, though guilty of the murder of a Brahman, or of ingratitude or treachery towards a friend, has his sins, by her act, expiated, and is saved from hell, and her husband's, her father's, and her mother's progenitors, are all beatified, and she herself is delivered from female form.

* इह वामुत्र वा काम्यं प्रवृत्तं कर्म्म कीर्त्यते ।
निष्कामं ज्ञानपूर्व्वन्तु निवृत्तमुपदिश्यते ॥

† प्राप्य पुण्यकृतां लोकानुषित्वा शाश्वतीः समाः ।
शुचीनां श्रीमतां गेहे योगभ्रष्टोऽभिजायते ॥

I reply. You have stated in page 27, commencing at the 3rd line, that works without desire are preferable to those performed for the sake of fruition; while here again you say, that Concremation is preferable to asceticism. You have, however, assigned as a reason for your new doctrine, that Concremation saves progenitors as well as the husband. I have already shewn, that such promises of reward are merely held out to the most ignorant, in order to induce them to follow some kind of religious observance, and to withdraw from evil conduct. Therefore, to prefer works performed with a desire of fruition, to works without desire, merely on the ground of such exaggerated promises, is contrary to all the Sastras. If, in defiance of all the Sastras, you maintain that such promises of reward are to be understood literally, and not merely as incitements, still there can be no occasion for so harsh a sacrifice, so painful to mind and body, as burning a person to death in order to save her lines of Progenitors; for by making an offering of one ripe plantain to Siva, or a single flower of Karabir, either to Siva or to Vishnu, thirty millions of lines of progenitors may be saved.

"He, who maketh an oblation of a single ripe plantain to Siva, shall with thirty millions of races of progenitors ascend to the heaven of Siva."*

"By presenting a single Karabir, white or not white, to Vishnu or Siva, thirty millions of races of progenitors are exalted to heaven."†

Nor is there any want of promise of reward to those who perform works without desire. In fact, rather more abundant rewards are held out for such works than those you can quote for the opposite practice. "Those who have acquired knowledge in the prescribed mode can, by mere volition, save any number of progenitors; and all the gods offer worship to the devotees of the Supreme Being." ‡

* एकं मोचाफलं पक्क यः शिवाय निवेदयेत् ।
त्रिकोटिकुलसंयुक्तः शिवलोके महीयते ॥

† एकेन करवीरेण सितेनाप्यसितेन वा ।
हरिं वा हरमभ्यर्च्चय त्रिकोटिकुलमुद्धरेत् ॥

‡ सङ्कल्पादेवास्य पितरः समुत्तिष्ठन्ति,
सर्व्वे देवा अस्मै बलिमाहरन्ति ।

A volume filled with texts of this kind might be easily written. Moreover, should even the least part of any ceremony performed for reward be omitted or mistaken, the fruits are destroyed, and evil is produced. But there is no bad consequence from a failure in works performed without desire, for the completion of these, even in part, is advantageous. In proof I quote the Bhagavad Gita: "Works without desire, if only commenced, are never without advantage; and if any member be defective, evil consequences do not ensue, as in works performed with desire. And the performance of even a small portion of a work without desire brings safety."*

There is evidently a possibility of a failure in some portion of the rite of Concremation or Postcremation, particularly in the mode in which you perform the ceremony contrary to the directions of the Sastras. What connection is there betwixt that mode and the enjoyment of temporary heavenly gratifications—a mode which only subjects the widow to the consequences of a violent death?

Section VI.

Again in p. 17, line 3, you admit it to be more commendable for a widow to attend to the acquisition of knowledge than to die by Concremation; but afterwards, in order to persuade them to the practice of Concremation, and to prevent them from pursuing the acquisition of knowledge, you observe, that women are naturally prone to pleasure, are extremely devoted to works productive of fruits, and are always subject to their passions. To persuade such persons to forsake Concremation, in order to attempt the acquisition of knowledge is to destroy their hopes in both ways. In support of your opinion you have quoted the Gita: "Those ignorant persons who are devoted to works ought not to be dissuaded from performing them."†

I reply. Your object in persuading women to burn themselves may now be distinctly perceived; you consider women, even of respectable classes, as prone to pleasure, and always subject to their passions; and therefore you are apprehensive lest they should lose both prospects of hope, by giving up Concremation, and attempting

* नेहातिक्रमनाशोऽस्ति प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते ।
स्वल्पमप्यस्य धर्म्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात् ॥

† न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेदज्ञानां कर्म्मसङ्गिनां ।

to acquire knowledge. For this reason you lead them to the destruction of their lives, by holding out to them the temptation of future rewards. It is very certain that all mankind, whether male or female, are endowed with a mixture of passions; but by study of the Sastras, and frequenting the society of respectable persons, those passions may be gradually subdued and the capability of enjoying an exalted state may be attained. We ought, therefore, to endeavour to withdraw both men and women from debased sensual pleasures, and not to persuade them to die with the hope of thereby obtaining sensual enjoyments, by which after a certain period of gratification, they are again immersed in the pollutions of the womb, and subjected to affliction. The Śastras have directed those men or women, who seek after a knowledge of God, to hear and reflect upon this doctrine, that they may escape from the grievous pain of this world; and they have also prescribed daily and occasional rites to be performed without the hope of reward by those who do not seek after divine knowledge in order that their minds may be purified, and prepared to receive that knowledge. We, therefore, in conformity with the Sastra, make it our endeavour to dissuade widows from desiring future base and fleeting enjoyments, and encourage them to the acquisition of that divine knowledge which leads to final beatitude. Widows, therefore, by leading an ascetic life in the performance of duties without desire, may purify their minds and acquire divine knowledge, which may procure for them final beatitude. And consequently there is no reason why they should lose both objects of future hope by forsaking Concremation.

"Oh Arjuna, by placing their reliance on me, women and those of the lower classes of Vaisya and Sudra may obtain the highest exaltation."*

You, however, considering women devoted to their passions and consequently incapable of acquiring divine knowledge, direct them to perform Concremation; and maintain that, if any amongst them should not burn with their husbands, according to your final decision from the Sastras, they must lose the hopes that belong to both practices; because according to your opinion, they are entirely incapable of acquiring divine knowledge, and by not adopting

* मां हि पार्थ व्यपाश्रित्य येऽपि स्युः पापयोनयः ।
स्त्रियो वैश्या स्तथा शूद्रास्तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम् ॥

Concremation, they give up the prospect of future gratifications. As to your quotation from the Gita, to show that persons devoted to works ought not to be dissuaded from the performance of them, it may be observed that this text applies only to rites offered without desire of rewards, though applied by you to works performed for the sake of future enjoyment, in direct inconsistency with the authority of the Gita. The object of this, as well as of all texts of the Gita, is to dissuade men from works performed with desire. The Gita and its Commentaries are both accessible to all. Let the learned decide the point.

You have quoted the following text of Vasishtha: "He who being devoted to worldly pleasures, boasts, saying, 'I am a knower of God,' can neither obtain the consequences procurable from works, nor attain final beatitude, the fruit of divine knowledge."*

I admit the force of this text. For whether a man be devoted to worldly pleasures or not, if he be a boaster either of divine knowledge or of any other acquirememt, he is indeed most despicable; but I am unable to see how this text, which forbids vain glory, is applicable to the question before us, which relates to the Concremation of widows.

SECTION VII.

In your 20th page, you have stated for us, that we do not object to the practice of Concremation, but to the tying down of the widow to the pile before setting it on fire. I reply. This is very incorrect, for it is a gross misrepresentation of our argument; because Concremation or Postcremation is a work performed for the sake of future reward, which the Upanishad and the Gita, and other Sastras, have declared to be most contemptible. Consequently, relying on those Sastras, it has been always our object to dissuade widows from the act of Concremation or Postcremation, that they might not, for the sake of the debased enjoyment of corporeal pleasures, renounce the attainment of divine knowledge. As to the mode in which you murder widows by tying them to the pile, we do exert ourselves to prevent such deeds, for those who are witnesses to an act of murder, and neglect to do anything towards its prevention, are accomplices in the crime.

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* सांसारिकसुखासक्तं ब्रह्मज्ञोऽस्मीतिवादिनं ।
कर्म्म ब्रह्मोभयभ्रष्टं इत्यादि ।

In justification of the crime of burning widows by force, you have stated, towards the foot of the same page, that in those countries where it is the custom for widows to ascend the flaming pile, there cannot be any dispute as to the propriety of following that mode; but where that is not the mode followed, and it is the practice for those that burn the corpse to place a portion of fire contiguous to the pile, so that it may gradually make its way to the pile, and at that time the widow, according to the prescribed form, ascends the pile, in this mode also there is nothing contrary to the Sastras. You have at the same time quoted two or three authorities to shew, that rites should be performed according to the custom of the country. I reply. Female murder, murder of a Brahman, parricide, and similar heinous crimes, cannot be reckoned amongst pious acts by alleging the custom of a country in their behalf; by such customs rather the country in which they exist is itself condemned. I shall write more at large to this purpose in the conclusion. The practice, therefore, of forcibly tying down women to the pile, and burning them to death, is inconsistent with the Sastras, and highly sinful. It is of no consequence to affirm, that this is customary in any particular country—if it were universally practised, the murders would still be criminal. The pretence that many are united in the commission of such murder will not secure them from divine vengeance. The customs of a country or of a race may be followed in matters where no particular rules are prescribed in the Sastras; but the wilful murder of widows, prohibited by all Sastras, is not to be justified by the practice of a few. From the Skanda Purana: "In those matters in which neither the Vedas nor lawgivers give either direct sanction or prohibition, the customs of a country or of a race may be observed."*

If you insist that the practice of a country or of a race, though directly contrary to the directions of the Sastras, is still proper to be observed, and to be reckoned amongst lawful acts, I reply, that in Sivakanchi and Vishnukanchi, it is the custom of the people of all classes of one of those places, whether learned or ignorant, mutually, to revile the god peculiarly worshipped by the people of the other—those of Vishnukanchi despising Siva, and of Sivakanchi in the same manner holding Vishnu in contempt. Are the inhabitants of those

* न यत्र साक्षाद्विधयो न निषेधाः श्रुतौ स्मृतौ ।
देशाचारकुलाचारै स्तत्र धर्मो निरूप्यते ॥

places, whose custom it is thus to revile Siva and Vishnu not guilty of sin? For each of those tribes may assert, in their own defence, that it is the practice of their country and race to revile the god of the other. But no learned Hindu will pretend to say, that this excuse saves them from sin. The Rajputs, also, in the neighbourhood of the Dooab, are accustomed to destroy their infant daughters; they also must not be considered guilty of the crime of child-murder, as they act according to the custom of their country and race. There are many instances of the same kind. No Pandits, then, would consider a heinous crime, directly contrary to the Sastras, as righteous, by whatever length of practice it may appear to be sanctioned.

You have at first alleged, that to burn a widow after tying her down on the pile, is one of the acts of piety, and have then quoted our argument for the opposite opinion, that "the inhabitants of forests and mountains are accustomed to robbery and murder: but must these be considered as faultless, because they follow only the custom of their country?" To this you have again replied, that respectable people are not to be guided by the example of mountaineers and foresters. But the custom of burning widows you say, "has been sanctioned by the most exemplary Pandits for a length of time. It is the custom, then, of respectable people that is to be followed, and not that of men of no principles." I answer. Respectability and want of respectability, depend upon the acts of men. If people of this province, who have been constantly guilty of the wilful murder of women by tying them to the pile in which they are burnt, are to be reckoned amongst the respectable, then why should not the inhabitants of mountains and forests be also reckoned good, who perpetrate murder for the sake of their livelihood, or to propitiate their cruel deities? To shew that the custom of a country should be followed, you have quoted a text of the Veda, signifying that the example of Brahmans well versed in the Sastras, of good understanding, and whose practice is in conformity with reason and the Sastras, not subject to passion, and accustomed to perform good works, should be followed. And you have also quoted the words of Vyasa, signifying that the authorities of the Vedas and Sastras, as well as of reason, being various, the practice pointed out by illustrious men should be adopted. I reply. You have shewn that the example of men versed in the Sastras, and who act in conformity with reason and the Sastras, should be followed; but can you call those who, in defiance of the Sastras, wilfully put

women to death by tying them down to the pile on which they are burnt, illustrious, acquainted with the Vedas, and devoted to acts prescribed by the Sastras and by reason? If not, their example is to be disregarded. If you can call those, who wilfully tie down women to put them to death, righteous and illustrious, then there is no instance of unrighteousness and depravity. I have already said, that when any act is neither directly authorized nor prohibited by the Sastras, the custom of the country or of the race, should be the rule of conduct; but in the present case, the words are express in prescribing that the widow shall *enter* the flaming pile. But those who, in direct defiance of the authority of the Sastras, act the part of woman-murderers, in tying down the widow to the pile, and, subsequently applying the flame, burn her to death, can never exculpate themselves from the sin of woman-murder. As to the words you have quoted from the Skanda Purana, signifying that the arguments of one who has no faith in Siva and Vishnu can have no weight in the discussion of the legality of facts, I reply, this text is applicable to those who worship images. Those who worship forms under any name, and have no faith in Siva and Vishnu, their worship is vain, and their words to be disregarded. In the same way the words of the Kularnava: "He whose mouth does not give out the smell of wine and flesh, should perform a penance and be avoided, and is as an inferior animal. This is undoubted."* These words are applicable only to those who follow the Tantras; and if all such texts are considered otherwise applicable than in relation to the sects to whom they are directed, there is no possibility of reconcilling the variances betwixt the different Sastras. The Sastras, treating of God, contains the following words: "Acts and rites that originate in movements of the hands, and other members of the body, being perishable, cannot effect beatitude that is eternal."†

"Those that worship forms under appellations, continue subject to form and appellation; for no perishable means can effect the acquisition of an imperishable end."‡

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* आमिषासवसौरभ्यहीनं यस्य मुखं भवेत् ।
प्रायश्चित्ती स वर्ज्यश्च पशुरेव न संशयः ॥

† न ह्यध्रुवैः प्राप्यते हि ध्रुवं तत । कठश्रुतिः ।

‡ ध्यायन्तो नामरूपाणि यान्ति तन्मयतां जनाः ।
अध्रवाहस्तु जाताद्वि ध्रुवं नैवोपजायते ॥ स्मृतिः ।

"That man who considers the Being that is infinite, incomprehensible, pure, extending as far as space and time and vacuity, to be finite, perceptible by the senses, limited by time and place, subject to passion and anger, what crime is such a robber of Divine majesty not guilty of?"* That is, he is guilty of those sins which are considered as the most heinous, as well as of those that are considered ordinary sins. Therefore the words of so sinful a person can have no weight in the discussion of the legality of rites.

Section VIII.

You have stated in p. 2, that in the same manner as when part of a village or of a piece of cloth has been burnt, the village or piece of cloth is said to be burnt, so if a portion of the pile is inflamed, the whole pile may be said to be flaming. Therefore, it may with propriety be affirmed, that widows do in this country ascend the flaming pile.

I reply. You may afford gratification to those who take delight in woman-murder by such a quibble, but how can you avoid divine punishment by thus playing upon words?—for we find in the text of Harita and of Vishnu, the phrase "Pravivesa hutasanam," which means *entering into flames*, and the term "Samaroheddhutasanam," signifying *ascending the flames*. You have intepreted these directions in this way;—that, a considerable distance from the pile, fire may be placed, and a piece of grass or rope may connect the fire with the pile; and that thus, by ascending the pile, which has not been in the smallest degree affected by the fire, the widow may fulfil the direction of ascending and entering the flaming pile. But I beg to remark, that both in vulgar dialect and in Sanskrit, the word "Praves" expresses only the introgression of one substance into another; as for example, "Griha pravesh koriachhilam," *I entered the house*; the word entered cannot be used unless I actually passed into the house. If a long bamboo be attached to the house and a rope be fastened to that bamboo, no one can in any language say, that in merely touching that rope or bamboo he has entered that house. If a single billet of wood belonging to the pile were indeed inflamed, then you might say, according to your

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* योऽन्यथा सन्तमात्मान मन्यथा प्रतिपद्यते ।
किन्तेन न कृतं पापं चौरेनात्मापहारिणा ॥ स्मृतिः ।

quibble regarding the burning of the cloth and of the village, that the pile was inflamed, and the flaming pile, entered; but even this is by no means the case, in the mode in which your pile is used. Unless, however, the pile is so completely in fire that the flames may surround the whole of her body, the woman cannot be said to enter into the flame. You must then, before you can justify your murder of helpless women, prepare a new dictionary; but there is no great probability of its interpretations being adopted by men of knowledge.

Towards the end of the 28th page you assert, that those who tie down the woman to the pile according to the custom of the country, are not guilty of violation of the Sastras: for it is to be understood from the words of Harita before quoted, that until her body be burnt, the widow cannot be delivered from female form, which implies that her body ought to be completely consumed; and that it is on this account that those who burn her make her fast to the pile, lest by accident any part of the dead body should fall out of the pile, and fail of being consumed, and in that case the burning be incomplete. This practice of tying down, therefore, is also conformable to the Sastra; and those who, in burning the woman, make her fast to the pile, are not therein guilty of any sin, but rather perform a pious act. In support of this assertion you have quoted the words of Apastamba, signifying that he who performs an act prescribed by the Sastras, or he who persuades or permits another to perform a prescribed act, ascends to heaven; and he who commits an act forbidden by the Sastra, or who persuades or permits another to perform a prohibited action, sinks to hell.

I reply. You mean to say, that it is not in order to avoid the danger of the widow's flying from the pile from fear of the flames, or from pain, that she is made fast—but merely, lest any fragments of the body should fall from the pile unburnt, that she is tied down to the pile while alive. I ask, is it with an iron chain that the woman is made fast, or with a common rope? For by securing the body by means of iron, the danger of portions of it being scattered from the pile may undoubtedly be avoided. But if, on the contrary, the body is bound with a common rope, the rope will be consumed before life has altogether quitted the body and the rope, when so burned, can be of no use in retaining within the pile, the members of the body. So far have Pandits been infatuated, in attempting to give the appearance of propriety to improper actions, that they

have even attempted to make people believe, that a rope may remain unconsumed amidst a flaming fire, and prevent the members of a body from being dispersed from the pile. Men of sense may now judge of the truth of the reason to which you ascribe the practice of tying down widows. All people in the world are not blind, and those who will go and behold the mode in which you tie down women to the pile, will readily perceive the truth or falsehood of the motives you assign for the practice. A little reflection ought to have convinced you of the light in which such an argument must be viewed, even by those of your friends who have the smallest regard for truth. As for the text you have quoted from Apastamba, it might have, with more propriety been cited by us, because it is established by that passage, that those who commit, persuade to, or permit an improper action, descend to hell; for those that are guilty of wilful woman-murder, by tying women down with ropes, and burning them to death, a practice unauthorized by the Sastras, and considered as most heinous, and those who persuade or permit others to do so, are certainly obnoxious to the denunciation of Apastamba. The pretext of custom of the country, or of the object of preventing portions of the body from being scattered, will not exculpate them.

You have written, in page 29, that those who, by the permission of the widow, increase the flames by throwing wood or straw on the pile, are meritorious: for he who without reward assists another in a pious act, is to be esteemed most meritorious. In confirmation, you have quoted an anecdote of the Matsya Purana, that a goldsmith, by affording his gratuitous assistance in a pious act, obtained a great reward. To this I have already replied: for if those who voluntarily commit woman-murder, by tying down a widow to the pile, and holding her down with bamboos to be burnt to death, are to be reckoned as performers of a pious act, those who assist them in so doing must be esteemed meritorious; but if this be a most heinous and debased crime, the promoters of it must certainly reap the fruits of woman-murder.

In your concluding paragraph you have quoted three texts, to prove the continual observance of this practice during all ages. The first recounting, that a dove entered into the flaming pile of her deceased husband. The second, that when Dhritarashtra was burning in the flames of his hermitage, his wife, Gandhari, threw herself into the fire. The wives of Vasudeva (the father of Krishna), of Balarama,

of Pradyumna, and of others, entered the flaming piles of their respective husbands. Those three instances occurred, as narrated by the Purana writers, within intervals of a few years towards the close of the Dwapara Yuga. You ought then to have quoted other instances, to shew the continual observance of this practice throughout all ages. Let that be as it may, you yourself cannot fail to know, that in former ages there were, as in later times, some who devoted themselves to the attainment of final beatitude, and others to the acquisition of future pleasure. Some too were virtuous, and some sinful; some believers, some sceptics. Amongst those, both men and women, who performed rites for reward, after enjoying pleasures in heaven, have again fallen to earth. Those Sastras themselves declare this fact; but in the Sastras that teach the path to final beatitude, the performance of rites for the sake of reward is positively forbibdden. According to these Sastras, numberless women, in all ages, who were desirous of final beatitude, living as ascetics, attained their object. Evidence of this is to be found in the Mahabharata and other works: "The widows of the heroic *Kurus*, who fell valiantly with their faces to the foe, and were translated to the heaven of Brahma, performed only the prescribed ceremonies with water,"* and did not burn themselves on the piles of their husbands. I have, moreover, to request your attention to the fact, that in the three instances you have quoted, the very words "entered into fire" are used. In those three cases, then, it appears that the widows actually entered the flames, and therefore whatever widow in the present time does not enter the fire, but is burnt to death by others tying her down to the pile, has not performed the ceremony according to the ancient practice you have instanced; and from rites so performed she cannot even be entitled to the temporary enjoyment of heavenly pleasures: and those who tie her down, and pressing on her with bamboos, kill her, must, according to all Sastras, be considered guilty of the heinous crime of woman-murder.

SECTION IX.

Advocate. I alluded, in page 18, line 18, to the real reason for our anxiety to persuade widows to follow their husbands, and for our endeavours to burn them pressed down with ropes: *viz.*, that women are by nature of inferior understanding, without resolution, unworthy

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* उदके क्रियमाणे तु वीराणां वीरपत्नीभिः। इत्यादि।

of trust, subject to passions, and void of virtuous knowledge; they, according to the precepts of the Sastra, are not allowed to marry again after the demise of their husbands, and consequently despair at once of all worldly pleasure; hence it is evident, that death to these unfortunate widows is preferable to existence; for the great difficulty which a widow may experience by living a purely ascetic life, as prescribed by the Sastras, is obvious; therefore, if she do not perform Concremation, it is probable that she may be guilty of such acts as may bring disgrace upon her paternal and maternal relations, and those that may be connected with her husband. Under these circumstances, we instruct them from their early life in the idea of Concremation, holding out to them heavenly enjoyments in company with their husbands, as well as the beatitude of their relations, both by birth and marriage, and their reputation in this world. From this many of them, on the death of their husbands, become desirous of accompanying them; but to remove every chance of their trying to escape from the blazing fire, in burning them we first tie them down to the pile.

Opponent. The reason you have now assigned for burning widows alive is indeed your true motive, as we are well aware; but the faults which you have imputed to women are not planted in their constitution by nature; it would be, therefore, grossly criminal to condemn that sex to death merely from precaution. By ascribing to them all sorts of improper conduct, you have indeed successfully persuaded the Hindu community to look down upon them as contemptible and mischievous creatures, whence they have been subjected to constant miseries. I have, therefore, to offer a few remarks on this head.

Women are in general inferior to men in bodily strength and energy; consequently the male part of the community, taking advantage of their corporeal weakness, have denied to them those excellent merits that they are entitled to by nature, and afterwards they are apt to say that women are naturally incapable of acquiring those merits. But if we give the subject consideration, we may easily ascertain whether or not your accusation against them is consistent with justice. As to their inferiority in point of understanding, when did you ever afford them a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity? How then can you accuse them of want of understanding? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him

as deficient; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce on their inferiority. On the contrary, Lilavati, Bhanumati, the wife of the prince of Karnat, and that of Kalidasa, are celebrated for their thorough knowledge of all the Sastras: moreover in the Vrihadaranyaka Upanishad of the Yajur Veda it is clearly stated that Yajnavalkya imparted divine knowledge of the most difficult nature to his wife Maitreyi, who was able to follow and completely attain it!

Secondly. You charge them with want of resolution, at which I feel exceedingly surprised: for we constantly perceive, in a country where the name of death makes the male shudder, that the female, from her firmness of mind, offers to burn with the corpse of her deceased husband; and yet you accuse those women of deficiency in point of resolution.

Thirdly. With regard to their trustworthiness, let us look minutely into the conduct of both sexes, and we may be enabled to ascertain which of them is the most frequently guilty of betraying friends. If we enumerate such women in each village or town as have been deceived by men, and such men as have been betrayed by women, I presume that the number of the deceived women would be found ten times greater than that of the betrayed men. Men are, in general, able to read and write, and manage public affairs, by which means they easily promulgate such faults as women occasionally commit, but never consider as criminal the misconduct of men towards women. One fault they have, it must be acknowledged; which is, by considering others equally void of duplicity as themselves, to give their confidence too readily, from which they suffer much misery, even so far that some of them are misled to suffer themselves to be burnt to death.

In the fourth place, with respect to their subjection to the passions, this may be judged of by the custom of marriage as to the respective sexes; for one man may marry two or three, sometimes even ten wives and upwards; while a woman, who marries but one husband, desires at his death to follow him, forsaking all worldly enjoyments, or to remain leading the austere life of an ascetic.

Fifthly. The accusation of their want of virtuous knowledge is an injustice. Observe what pain, what slighting, what contempt, and what afflictions their virtue enables them to support! How many Kulin Brahmans are there who marry ten or fifteen wives

for the sake of money, that never see the greater number of them after the day of marriage, and visit others only three or four times in the course of their life. Still amongst those women, most, even without seeing or receiving any support from their husbands, living dependent on their fathers or brothers, and suffering much distress, continue to preserve their virtue; and when Brahmans, or those of other tribes, bring their wives to live with them, what misery do the women not suffer? At marriage the wife is recognized as half of her husband, but in after-conduct they are treated worse than inferior animals. For the woman is employed to do the work of a slave in the house, such as, in her turn, to clean the place very early in the morning, whether cold or wet, to scour the dishes, to wash the floor, to cook night and day, to prepare and serve food for her husband, father, mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law, and friends and connections! (for amongst Hindus more than in other tribes relations long reside together, and on this account quarrels are more common amongst brothers respecting their worldly affairs.) If in the prepration or serving up of the victuals they commit the smallest fault, what insult do they not receive from their husband, their mother-in-law, and the younger brothers of their husbaud? After all the male part of the family have satisfied themselves, the women content themselves with what may be left, whether sufficient in quantity or not. Where Brahmans or Kayasthas are not wealthy, their women are obliged to attend to their cows, and to prepare the cow-dung for firing. In the afternoon they fetch water from the river or tank, and at night perform the office of menial servants in making the beds. In case of any fault or omission in the performance of those labours they receive injurious treatment. Should the husband acquire wealth, he indulges in criminal amours to her perfect knowledge and almost under her eyes, and does not see her perhaps once a month. As long as the husband is poor, she suffers every kind of trouble, and when he becomes rich, she is altogether heart-broken. All this pain and affliction their virtue alone enables them to support. Where a husband takes two or three wives to live with him, they are subjected to mental miseries and constant quarrels. Even this distressed situation they virtuously endure. Sometimes it happens that the husband, from a preference for one of his wives, behaves cruelly to another. Amongst the lower classes, and those even of the better class who have not associated with good company, the wife, on the

slightest fault, or even on bare suspicion of her misconduct, is chastised as a thief. Respect to virtue and their reputation generally makes them forgive even this treatment. If unable to bear such cruel usage, a wife leaves her husband's house to live separately from him, then the influence of the husband with the magisterial authority is generally sufficient to place her again in his hands ; when, in revenge for her quitting him, he seizes every pretext to torment her in various ways, and sometimes even puts her privately to death. These are facts occurring every day, and not to be denied. What I lament is, that, seeing the women thus dependent and exposed to every misery, you feel for them no compassion, that might exempt them from being tied down and burnt to death.

ABSTRACT

OF

THE ARGUMENTS

REGARDING

THE BURNING OF WIDOWS,

CONSIDERED AS A RELIGIOUS RITE.

CALCUTTA:

1830.

ABSTRACT

OF

THE ARGUMENTS, &c.

SEVERAL ESSAYS, Tracts, and Letters, written in defence of or against the practice of burning Hindu widows alive have for some years past attracted the attention of the public. The arguments therein adduced by the parties being necessarily scattered, a complete view of the question cannot be easily attained by such readers as are precluded by their immediate avocations from bestowing much labour in acquiring information on the subject. Although the practice itself has now happily ceased to exist under the Government of Bengal,* nevertheless it seems still desirable that the substance of those publications should be condensed in a concise but comprehensive manner, so that enquirers may with little difficulty, be able to form a just conclusion, as to the true light in which this practice is viewed in the religion of Hindus. I have, therefore, made an attempt to accomplish this object, hoping that the plan pursued may be found to answer this end.

The first point to be ascertained is, whether or not the practice of burning widows alive on the pile and with the corpse of their husbands, is imperatively enjoyed by the Hindu religion? To this question even the staunch advocates for Concremation must reluctantly give a negative reply, and unavoidably concede the practice to the option of widows. This admission on their part is owing to two principal considerations, which it is now too late for them to feign to overlook. First, because Manu in plain terms enjoins a widow to "*continue till death* forgiving all injuries, performing austere duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as were devoted to

*The administration to which this distinguished merit is due, consisted of Lord W. C. Bentinck, Governor-General, Viscount Combermere, Commander-in-Chief, W. B. Bayley, Esq., and Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Members of Council.

one only husband." (ch. v., *v.* 158.)* So Yajnavalkya inculcates the same doctrine : " A widow shall live under care of her father, mother, son, brother, mother-in-law, father-in-law, or uncle; since, on the contrary, she shall be liable to reproach." (*Vide* Mitakshara, ch. i.)† Secondly, because an attempt on the part of the advocates for Concremation to hold out the act as an incumbent duty on widows, would necessarily bring a stigma upon the character of the living widows, who have preferred a virtuous life to Concremation, as charging them with a violation of the duty said to be indispensible. These advocates, therefore, feel deterred from giving undue praise to a few widows, choosing death on the pile, to the disgrace of a vast majority of that class preferring a virtuous life. And in consideration of these obvious circumstances, the celebrated Smartta Raghunandana, the latest commentator on Hindu Law in Bengal, found himself compelled to expound the following passage of Angira, "there is no other course for a widow besides Concremation,"‡ as " conveying exaggerated praise of the adoption of that course." §

The second point is, that in case the alternative be admitted, that a widow may either live a virtuous life, or burn herself on the pile of her husband, it should next be determined whether both practices are esteemed equally meritorious, or one be declared preferable to the other. To satisfy ourselves on this question, we should first refer to the Vedas, whose authority is considered paramount, and we find in them a passage most pointed and decisive against Concremation, declaring that " From a desire, during life, of future fruition, life ought not to be destroyed." (*Vide* Mitakshara, ch. i.)|| While the advocates of Concremation quote a passage from the Vedas, of a very abstruse nature, in support of their position, which is as follows : " O fire, let these women, with bodies anointed with clarified

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* आसीतामरणात् क्षान्ता नियता ब्रह्मचारिणी ।
यो धर्म्म एकपत्नीनां काङ्क्षन्ती तमनुत्तमं ॥

† पितृमातृसुतभ्रातृश्वश्रूश्वशुरमातुलैः ।
हीना न स्यात् विना भर्त्रा गर्हणीयान्यथा भवेत् ॥

‡ नान्यो हि धर्म्मो विज्ञेयो मृते भर्त्तरि कर्हिचित् ।

§ नान्यो हि धर्म्म इति तु सहमरणस्तुत्यर्थं ।

|| तस्मादुह न पुरायुषः स्वःकामी प्रेयात् ।

butter, eyes coloured with collyrium and void of tears, enter thee, the parent of water,* that they may not be separated from their husbands, themselves sinless, and jewels amongst women."† This passage (if genuine) does not, in the first place, enjoin widows to offer themselves as sacrifices; secondly, no allusion whatever is made in it to voluntary death by a widow *with the corpse of her husband*; thirdly, the phrase "these women" in the passage, literally implies women then present; fourthly, some commentators consider the passage as conveying an allegorical allusion to the constellations of the moon's path, which are invariably spoken of in Sanskrit in the feminine gender:—butter implying the milky path, collyrium meaning unoccupied space between one star and another, husbands signifying the more splendid of the heavenly bodies, and entering the fire, or, properly speaking, ascending it, indicating the rise of the constellations through the south-east horizon, considered as the abode of fire. Whatever may be the real purport of this passage, no one ever ventured to give it an interpretation as *commanding* widows to burn themselves on the pile and with the corpse of their husbands.

We next direct attention to the Smriti, as next in authority to the Vedas. Manu, whose authority supersedes that of other lawgivers, enjoins widows to live a virtuous life, as already quoted. Yajnavalkya and some others have adopted the same mode of exhortation. On the other hand, Angira recommends the practice of Concremation, saying, "That a woman who, on the death of her husband, *ascends the burning pile* with him, is exalted to heaven as equal to Arundhati."‡ So Vyasa says, "A pigeon devoted to her husband, after his death, *entered the flames*, and, ascending to heaven, she there found her husband."§ "She who follows her husband to another world, shall dwell in a region of glory for so many years as there are hairs in the human body, or thirty-five

* In Sanskrit writings, water is represented as originating in fire.

† इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्त्वनश्रवा अनमीवाः सुरत्ना आरोहन्तु यामयो योनिमग्नेः ।

‡ मृते भर्त्तरि या नारी समारोहेद्धुताशनम् ।
साऽरुन्धतीसमाचारा स्वर्गलोके महीयते ॥

§ पतिव्रता सम्प्रदीप्तं प्रविवेश हुताशनम् ।
तत्र चित्राङ्गदधरं भर्त्तारं सान्वपद्यत ॥

millions."* Vishnu, the saint, lays down this rule, "After the death of her husband, a wife should live as an ascetic or ascend his pile."† Harita and others have followed Angira in recommending Concremation.

The above quoted passages, from Angira and others, recommend Concremation on the part of widows, as means to obtain future carnal fruition; and, accordingly, previous to their ascent on the pile, all widows invariably and solemnly declare future fruition as their object in Concremation. But the Bhagavadgita, whose authority is considered the most sacred by Hindus of all persuasions, repeatedly condemns rites performed for fruition. I here quote a few passages of that book. "All those ignorant persons who attach themselves to the words of the Sastras that convey promises of fruition, consider those extravagant and alluring passages as leading to real happiness, and say, besides them there is no other reality. Agitated in their minds by these desires, they believe the abodes of the celestial gods to be the chief object, and they devote themselves to those texts which treat of ceremonies and their fruits, and entice by promises of enjoyment. Such people can have no real confidence in the Supreme Being."‡ "Observers of rites, after the completion of their rewards, return to earth. Therefore they, for the sake of rewards, repeatedly ascend to heaven and return to the world, and cannot obtain eternal bliss."§

Manu repeats the same. "Whatever act is performed for the sake of gratification in this world or the next, is called Pravartak, as leading to the temporary enjoyment of the mansions of gods; and those which are performed according to the knowledge respecting

* तिस्रः कोटयर्द्धकोटी च यानि लोमानि मानवे।
तावन्त्यब्दानि सा स्वर्गे भर्त्तारं यानुगच्छति ॥

† मृते भर्त्तरि ब्रह्मचर्य्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा ।

‡ यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः ।
वेदवादरताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीतिवादिनः ॥
कामात्मानः स्वर्गपरा जन्मकर्म्मफलप्रदाम् ।
क्रियाविशेषबहुलां भोगैश्वर्य्यगतिं प्रति ॥
भोगैश्वर्य्यप्रसक्तानां तयापहृतचेतसाम् ।
व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिः समाधौ न विधीयते ॥

§ ते तं भुक्त्वा स्वर्गलोकं विशालं क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोकं विशन्ति ।
एवं त्रयीधर्म्ममनुप्रपन्ना गतागतं कामकामा लभन्ते ॥

God are called Nivartak, as means to procure release from the five elements of this body; that is, they obtain eternal bliss."*

The author of the Mitakshara, a work which is considered as a standard of Hindu Law throughout Hindustan, referring on the one hand to the authority of Manu, Yajnavalkya, the Bhagavadgita, and similar sacred writings, and to the passages of Angira, Harita and Vyasa on the other hand, and after having weighed both sides of the question, declares that "The widow who is not desirous of eternal beatitude, but who wishes only for a perishable and small degree of future fruition, is authorized to accompany her husband."† So that the Smartta Raghuandana, the modern expounder of Law in Bengal, classes Concremation among the rites holding out promises of fruition; and this author thus inculcates: "Learned men should not endeavour to persuade the ignorant to perform rites holding out promises of fruition."‡ Hence, Concremation, in their opinion, is the least virtuous act that a widow can perform. §

The third and the last point to be ascertained is whether or not *the mode* of Concremation prescribed by Harita and others was ever duly observed. The passages recommending Concremation, as quoted by these expounders of law, require that a widow, resolving to die

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* इह वामुत्र वा काम्यं प्रवृत्तं कर्म्म कीर्त्यते ।
निष्कामं ज्ञानपूर्ब्बन्तु निवृत्तमुपदिश्यते ॥
प्रवृत्तं कर्म्म संसेव्य देवानामेति सार्ष्णिताम् ।
निवृत्तं सेवमानस्तु भूतान्यत्येति पञ्च वै ॥

† अतश्च मोक्षमनिच्छन्त्या अनित्याल्पसुखरूपस्वर्गार्थिन्याः सहमरणानुमरणयोराधिकार इतरकाम्यानुष्ठानवत् ।

‡ पण्डितेनापि मूर्खैः काम्ये कर्म्मणि न प्रवर्त्तयितव्यः ।

§ Hindoos are persuaded to believe that Vyasa, considered as an inspired writer among the ancients, composed and left behind him numerous and voluminous works under different titles, as Maha-puranas, Sanhitas, Smritis, &c., &c., to an extent that no man, during the ordinary course of life, could prepare. These, however, with a few exceptions, exist merely in name, and those that are genuine bear the commentaries of celebrated authors. So the Tantras, or works ascribed to Siva as their author, are esteemed as consisting of innumerable millions of volumes, though only a very few, comparatively, are to be found. Debased characters among this unhappy people, taking advantage of this circumstance, have secretly composed forged works and passages, and published them as if they were genuine, with the view of introducing new doctrines, new rites, or new prescripts of secular law. Although they have frequently succeeded by these means in working on the minds of the ignorant, yet the learned have never admitted the authority of any passage or work alleged to be sacred, unless it has been quoted or expounded by one of the acknowledged and authoritative commentators. It is now unhappily reported, that some advocates for the destruction of widows, finding

after the demise of her husband, should *voluntarily ascend* and enter the flames* † *to destroy her existence*; allowing her, at the same time, an opportunity of retracting her resolution, should her courage fail from the alarming sight or effect of the flames, and of returning to her relatives, performing a penance for abandoning the sacrifice,‡ or bestowing the value of a cow on a Brahman.§ Hence, as *voluntarily ascending* upon and *entering into the flames* are described as indispensably necessary for a widow in the performance of this rite, the violation of one of these provisions renders the act mere suicide, and implicates, in the guilt of female murder, those that assist in its perpetration, even according to the above quoted authorities, which are themselves of an inferior order. But no one will venture to assert, that the provisions, prescribed in the passages adduced, have ever been observed; that is, no widow ever voluntarily *ascended* on and *entered* into the *flames* in the fulfilment of this rite. The advocates for Concremation have been consequently driven to the necessity of taking refuge in *usage*, as justifying both suicide and female murder, the most heinous of crimes.

We should not omit the present opportunity of offering up thanks to Heaven, whose protecting arm has rescued our weaker sex from cruel murder, under the cloak of religion, and our character, as a people, from the contempt and pity with which it has been regarded, on account of this custom, by all civilized nations on the surface of the globe.

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their cause unsupported by the passages cited by the author of the Mitakshara, by the Smartta Raghunandana, or by other expounders of Hindu law, have disgracefully adopted the trick of coining passages in the name of the Puranas or Tantras, conveying doctrines not only directly opposed to the decisive expositions of these celebrated teachers of law, but also evidently at variance with the purport of the genuine sacred passages which they have quoted. The passages thus forged are said to be calculated to give a preference to Concremation over virtuous life. I regret to understand that some persons belonging to the party opposing this practice, are reported to have had recourse to the same unworthy artifice, under the erroneous plea that stratagem justifies stratagem.

* समारोहेद्धुताशनम । Angira.

† पतिव्रता सम्प्रदीप्तं प्रविवेश हुताशनम् । Vyasa.

‡ चितिभ्रष्टा तु या नारी मोहाद्विचलिता भवेत् ।
प्राजापत्येन शुद्धेत्तु तस्माद्धि पापकर्मण: ॥

§ प्राजापत्यव्रताशक्तौ धेनुं दद्यात् पयस्विनीम् ।
धेनोरभावे दातव्यं तुल्यं मूल्यं न संशय: ॥

BRIEF REMARKS

REGARDING

MODERN ENCROACHMENTS

ON THE

ANCIENT RIGHTS OF FEMALES,

ACCORDING TO THE

HINDU LAW OF INHERITANCE.

CALCUTTA :

1822.

In 1856, Babu Rumaprusad Roy, son of the illustrious author, reprinted this treatise with the following introduction :—

"At this moment, when thousands of my countrymen have openly come forward to invoke the assistance of the Legislature to suppress the abominations of Kulin Polygamy, I have deemed it proper to re-print the following small Tract, published by the late Rajah Rammohun Roy in 1822. Those who have joined in the application to the Legislative body, will have the satisfaction to see that my revered father, so far back as 1822, entertained sentiments on the subject of Kulin Polygamy similar to those which have now moved them to act in a way so independent of their prejudices, and so well fitted to confer incalculable benefits on the Hindu Community.

CALCUTTA, *July 12, 1856.* RUMAPRUSAD ROY."

BRIEF REMARKS

REGARDING

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ANCIENT RIGHTS OF FEMALES.

WITH a view to enable the public to form an idea of the state of civilization throughout the greater part of the empire of Hindustan in ancient days,* and of the subsequent gradual degradation intro-

* At an early age of civilization, when the division into castes was first introduced among the inhabitants of India, the second tribe, who were appointed to defend and rule the country, having adopted arbitrary and despotic practices, the others revolted against them; and under the personal command of the celebrated Parasuram, defeated the Royalists in several battles, and put cruelly to death almost all the males of that tribe. It was at last resolved that the legislative authority should be confined to the first class who could have no share in the actual government of the state, or in managing the revenue of the country under any pretence; while the second tribe should exercise the executive authority. The consequence was, that India enjoyed peace and harmony for a great many centuries. The Brahmans having no expectation of holding an office, or of partaking of any kind of political promotion, devoted their time to scientific pursuits and religious austerity, and lived in poverty. Freely associating with all the other tribes they were thus able to know their sentiments, and to appreciate the justness of their complaints, and thereby to lay down such rules as were required, which often induced them to rectify the abuses that were practised by the second tribe. But after the expiration of more than two thousand years, an absolute form of government came gradually again to prevail. The first class having been induced to accept employments in political departments, became entirely dependent on the second tribe, and so unimportant in themselves, that they were obliged to explain away the laws enacted by their fore-fathers, and to institute new rules according to the dictates of their contemporary princes. They were considered as merely nominal legislators, and the whole power, whether legislative or executive, was in fact exercised by the Rajputs. This tribe exercised tyranny and oppression for a period of about a thousand years, when Musulmans from Ghuznee and Ghore, invaded the country, and finding it divided among hundreds of petty princes, detested by their respective subjects, conquered them all successively, and introduced their own tyrannical system of government, destroying temples, universities and all other sacred and literary establishments. At present the whole empire (with the exception of a few provinces) has been placed under the British power, and some advantages have already been derived from the prudent management of its rulers, from whose general character a hope of future quiet and happiness is justly entertained. The succeeding generation will, however, be more adequate to pronounce on the real advantages of this government.

duced into its social and political constitution by arbitrary authorities, I am induced to give as an instance, the interest and care which our ancient legislators took in the promotion of the comfort of the female part of the community ; and to compare the laws of female inheritance which they enacted, and which afforded that sex the opportunity of enjoyment of life, with that which moderns and our cotemporaries have gradually introduced and established, to their complete privation, directly or indirectly, of most of those objects that render life agreeable.

All the ancient lawgivers unanimously award to a mother an equal share with her son in the property left by her deceased husband, in order that she may spend her remaining days independently of her children, as is evident from the following passages :

Yajnavalkya. "After the death of a father, let a mother also inherit an equal share with her sons in the division of the property *left by their father*."*

KATYAYANA. "The father being dead, the mother should inherit an equal share with the son."†

NARADA. "After the death of husband, a mother should receive a share equal to that of each of his sons."‡

VISHNU THE LEGISLATOR. "Mothers should be receivers of shares according to the portion allowed to the sons."§

VRIHASPATI. "After his (the father's) death a mother, the parent of his sons, should be entitled to an equal share with his sons ; their step-mothers also to equal shares : but daughters to a fourth part of the shares of the sons."||

VYASA. "The wives of a father by whom he has no male issue, are considered as entitled to equal shares with his sons, and all the grand-mothers *(including the mothers and step-mothers of the father)*, are said to be entitled as mothers."¶

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* पितुरूर्द्ध्वं विभजतां माताप्यंशं समं हरेत् ।

† माता च पितरि प्रेते पुत्रतुल्यांशहारिणी ।

‡ समांशहारिणी माता पुत्राणां स्यान्मृते पतौ ।

§ मातरः पुत्रभागानुसारभागहारिण्यः ।

|| तदभावे तु जननी तनयांशसमांशिनी ।
समांशा मातरस्त्वेषां तुरीयांशास्तु कन्यकाः ॥

¶ असुतास्तु पितुः पत्न्यः समानांशाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।
पितामह्यश्च ताः सर्व्वा मातृतुल्याः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥

This Muni seems to have made this express declaration of rights of step-mothers, omitting those of mothers, under the idea that the latter were already sufficiently established by the direct authority of preceding lawgivers.

We come to the moderns.

The author of the Dayabhaga and the writer of the Dayatattwa, the modern expounders of Hindu law (whose opinions are considered by the natives of Bengal as standand authority in the division of property among heirs) have thus limited the rights allowed to widows by the above ancient legislators. When a person is willing to divide his property among his heirs during his lifetime, he should entitle only those wives by whom he has no issue, to an equal share with his sons; but if he omit such a division, those wives can have no claim to the property he leaves. These two modern expounders lay stress upon a passage of Yajnavalkya, which requires a father to allot equal shares to his wives, in case he divides his property during his life, whereby they connect the term "of a father," in the above quoted passage of Vyasa, *viz.*, "the wives of a father, &c.," with the term "division" understood, that is, the wives by whom he has no son, are considered in the division made by a father, as entitled to equal shares with his sons; and that when sons may divide property among themselves after the demise of their father, they should give an equal share to their mother only, neglecting step-mothers in the division. Here the expounders did not take into their consideration any proper provision for step-mothers, who have naturally less hope of support from their step-sons than mothers can expect from their own children.

In the opinion of these expounders even a mother of a single son should not be entitled to any share. The whole property should, in that case, devolve on the son; and in case that son should die after the succession to the property, his son or wife should inherit it. The mother in that case should be left totally dependent on her son or on her son's wife. Besides, according to the opinion of these expounders, if more than one son should survive, they can deprive their mother of her title, by continuing to live as a joint family (which has been often the case,) as the right of a mother depends, as they say, on division, which depends on the will of the sons.

Some of our contemporaries, (whose opinion is received as a erdict by Judicial Courts,) have still further reduced the right of a

mother to almost nothing, declaring, as I understand, that if a person die, leaving a widow and a son or sons, and also one or more grandsons, whose father is not alive, the property so left is to be divided among his sons and his grandsons, his widow in this case being entitled to no share in the property, though she might have claimed an equal share, had a division taken place among those surviving sons and the father of the grand-son while he was alive.* They are said to have founded their opinion on the above passage, entitling a widow to a share when property is to be divided among *sons*.

In short, a widow, according to the exposition of the law, can receive nothing when her husband has no issue by her; and in case he dies leaving only one son by his wife, or having had more sons, one of whom happened to die leaving issue, she shall, in these cases, also have no claim to the property; and again, should any one leave more than one surviving son, and they, being unwilling to allow a share to the widow, keep the property undivided, the mother can claim nothing in this instance also. But when a person dies, leaving two or more sons, and all of them survive and be inclined to allot a share to their mother, her right is in this case only valid. Under these expositions, and with such limitations, both step-mothers and mothers have, in reality, been left destitute in the division of their husband's property, and the right of a widow exists in theory only among the learned, but unknown to the populace.

The consequence is, that a woman who is looked up to as the sole mistress by the rest of a family one day, on the next, becomes dependent on her sons, and subject to the slights of her daughters-in-law. She is not authorized to expend the most trifling sum or dispose of an article of the least value, without the consent of her son or daughter-in-law, who were all subject to her authority but the day before. Cruel sons often wound the feelings of their dependent mothers, deciding in favour of their own wives, when family disputes take place between their mothers and wives. Step-mothers, who often are numerous on account of polygamy, being allowed in these countries, are still more shamefully neglected in general by their step-sons, and sometimes dreadfully treated by their sisters-in-law who have fortunately a son or sons by their husband.

* This exposition has been (I am told) set aside by the Supreme Court in consequence of the Judges having prudently applied for the opinions of other Pandits, which turned out to be at variance with those of the majority of the regular advisers of the Court in points of Hindu law.

It is not from religious prejudices and early impressions only, that Hindu widows burn themselves on the piles of their deceased husbands, but also from their witnessing the distress in which widows of the same rank in life are involved, and the insults and slights to which they are daily subjected, that they become in a great measure regardless of their existence after the death of their husbands: and this indifference, accompanied with the hope of future reward held out to them, leads them to the horrible act of suicide. These restraints on female inheritance encourge, in a great degree, polygamy, a frequent source of the greatest misery in native families; a grand object of Hindus being to secure a provision for their male offspring, the law, which relieves them from the necessity of giving an equal portion to their wives, removes a principal restraint on the indulgence of their inclinations in respect to the number they marry. Some of them, especially Brahmans of higher birth, marry ten, twenty or thirty women,* either for some small consideration, or merely to gratify their brutal inclinations, leaving a great many of them, both during their life-time and after their death, to the mercy of their own paternal relations. The evil consequences arising from such polygamy, the public may easily guess, from the nature of the fact itself, without my being reduced to the mortification of particularising those which are known by the native public to be of daily occurrence.

To these women there are left only three modes of conduct to pursue after the death of their husbands. 1st. To live a miserable life as entire slaves to others, without indulging any hope of support from another husband. 2ndly. To walk in the paths of unrighteousness for their maintenance and independence. 3rdly. To die on the funeral pile of their husbands, loaded with the applause and honour of their neighbours. It cannot pass unnoticed by those who are acquainted with the state of society in India, that the number of female suicides in the single province of Bengal, when compared with those of any other British provinces, is almost ten to one: we may safely attribute this disproportion chiefly to the greater frequency of a plurality of wives among the natives of Bengal, and to their total neglect in providing for the maintenance of their females.

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* The horror of this practice is so painful to the natural feelings of man that even Madhab Singh, the late Rajah of Tirhoot, (though a Brahman himself), through compassion, took upon himself (I am told) within the last half century, to limit Brahmans of his estate to four wives only.

This horrible polygamy among Brahmans is directly contrary to the law given by ancient authors; for Yajnavalkya authorizes second marriages, while the first wife is alive, only under eight circumstances: *1st.* The vice of drinking spirituous liquors. *2ndly.* Incurable sickness. *3rdly.* Deception. *4thly.* Barrenness. *5thly.* Extravagance. *6thly.* The frequent use of offensive language. *7thly.* Producing only female offsprings. Or, *8thly.* Manifestation of hatred towards her husband.*

Manu, ch. 9th, v. 80th. "A wife who drinks any spirituous liquors, who acts immorally, who shows hatred *to her lord*, who is *incurably diseased*, who is mischievous, who wastes his property, may at all times be superseded by another wife."†

81st. "A barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth year; she, whose children are all dead, in the tenth; she, who brings forth *only* daughters, in the eleventh; she, who is accustomed to speak unkindly, without delay."‡

82nd. "But she, who, though, afflicted with illness, is beloved and virtuous, must never be disgraced, though she may be superseded by another wife with her own consent."§

Had a Magistrate or other public officer been authorized by the rulers of the empire to receive applications for his sanction to a second marriage during the life of a first wife, and to grant his consent only on such accusations as the foregoing being substantiated, the above Law might have been rendered effectual, and the distress of the female sex in Bengal, and the number of suicides, would have been necessarily very much reduced.

According to the following ancient authorities a daughter is entitled to one-fourth part of the portion which a son can inherit.

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* सुरापी व्याधिता धूर्त्ता वन्ध्यार्थघ्न्यप्रियंवदा ।
स्त्रीप्रसूश्चाधिवेत्तव्या पुरुषद्वेषिणी तथा ॥

† मद्यपासाधुवृत्ता च प्रतिकूला च या भवेत् ।
व्याधिता वाधिवेत्तव्या हिंस्रार्थघ्नी च सर्व्वदा ॥

‡ वन्ध्याष्टमेऽधिवेद्याऽब्दे दशमे तु मृतप्रजा ।
एकादशे स्त्रीजननी सद्यस्त्वप्रियवादिनी ॥

§ या रोगिणी स्यात्तु हिता सम्पन्ना चैव शीलतः ।
सानुज्ञाप्याधिवेत्तव्या नावमान्या च कर्हिचित् ॥

VRIHASPATI. "The daughters should have the fourth part of the portion to *which the sons are entitled.*"*

VISHNU. "The rights of unmarried daughters shall be proportioned according to the shares allotted to the sons."†

MANU, ch. *9th*, v. 118. "To the unmarried daughters let their brothers give portions out of their own allotments respectively. Let each give a fourth part of his own distinct share, and they who feel disinclined to give this shall be condemned."‡

YAJNAVALKYA. "Let such brothers as are already purified by the essential rites of life, purify by the performance of those rites the brothers that are left *by their late father* unpurified; let them also purify the sisters by giving them a fourth part of their own portion."§

KATYAYANA.|| "A fourth part is declared to be the share of unmarried daughters, and three-fourths of the sons; if the fourth part of the property is *so* small *as to be inadequate to defray the expenses attending their marriage, the sons have an exclusive* right to the property, *but shall defray the morriage ceremony of the sisters.*"

But the commentator on the Dayabhaga sets aside the right of the daughters, declaring that they are not entitled to any share in the property left by their fathers, but that the expenses attending their marriage should be defrayed by the brothers. He founds his opinion on the foregoing passage of Manu and that of Yajnavalkya, which as he thinks, imply mere donation on the part of the brothers from their own portions for the discharge of the expenses of marriage.

In the practice of our contemporaries a daughter or a sister is often a source of emolument to the Brahmas of less respectable caste, (who are most numerous in Bengal) and to the Kayasthas of high

* तुरीयांशास्तु कन्यकाः ।

† अनूढाश्च दुहितरः पुत्रभागानुसाराः ।

‡ स्वेभ्योऽशंभ्यस्तु कन्याभ्यः प्रदद्युर्भ्रातरः पृथक् ।
स्वात् स्वादंशाच्चतुर्भागं पतिताः स्युरदित्सवः ॥

§ चसंस्कृतास्तु संस्कार्य्या भ्रातृभिः पूर्व्वसंस्कृतैः ।
भगिन्यश्च निजादंशाद्दत्वांशन्तु तुरीयकम् ॥

|| कन्यकाना मदत्तानां चतुर्थोभाग उच्यते ।
पुत्राणाञ्च तयो भागाः स्वाम्यं स्वल्पधने स्मृतम् ॥

caste. These so far from spending money on the marriage of their daughters or sisters, receive frequently considerable sums, and generally bestow them in marriage on those who can pay most.* Such Brahmans and Kayasthas, I regret to say, frequently marry their female relations to men having natural defects or worn-out by old age or disease, merely from pecuniary considerations, whereby they either bring widowhood upon them soon after marriage or render their lives miserable. They not only degrade themselves by such cruel and unmanly conduct, but violate entirely the express authorities of Manu and all other ancient law-givers, a few of which I here quote.

MANU, ch. 3rd, v. 51. "Let no father, who knows the law, receive a gratuity, however small, for giving his daughter in marriage; since the man, who, through avarice, takes a gratuity *for that purpose*, is a seller of his offspring."†

Ch. 9th, v. 98. "But even a man of the servile class ought not to receive a gratuity when he gives his daughter in marriage, since a father who takes a fee *on that occasion*, tacitly sells his daughter."‡

V. 100. "Nor, even in former births, have we heard the *virtuous approve* the tacit sale of a daughter for a price, under the name of nuptial gratuity."§

KASAPA. "Those who, infatuated by avarice, give their own daughters in marriage, for the sake of a gratuity, are the sellers of their daughters, the images of sin, and the perpetrators of a heinous iniquity."||

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*Rajah Krishnachandra, the great-grandfather of the present ex-Rajah of Nadia, prevented this cruel practice of the sale of daughters and sisters thoughout his estate.

† न कन्यायाः पिता विद्वान् गृह्णीयात् शुल्कमण्वपि ।
गृह्णन् हि शुल्कं लोभेन स्यान्नरोऽपत्यविक्रयी ॥

‡ आददीत न शूद्रोपि शुल्कं दुहितरं ददत् ।
शुल्कं हि गृह्णन् कुरुते छन्नं दुहितृविक्रयं ॥

§ नानुशुश्रुम जात्वेतत पूर्व्वेष्वपि हि जन्मसु ।
शुल्कसंज्ञेन मूल्येन छन्नं दुहितृविक्रयं ॥

|| शुल्केन ये प्रयच्छन्ति स्वसुतां लोभमोहिताः ।
कन्याविक्रयिणः पापा महाकिल्विषकारिणः ॥

Both common sense, and the law of the land designate such a practice as an actual sale of females; and the humane and liberal among Hindus, lament its existence, as well as the annihilation of of female rights in respect of inheritance introduced by modern expounders. They, however, trust, that the humane attention of Government will be directed to those evils which are the chief sources of vice and misery and even of suicide among women; and to this they are encouraged to look forward by what has already been done in modifying, in criminal cases, some parts of the law enacted by Muhammadan Legislators, to the happy prevention of many cruel practices formely established.

How distressing it must be to the female community and to those who interest themselves in their behalf, to observe daily that several daughters in a rich family can prefer no claim to any portion of the property, whether real or personal, left by their deceased father, if a single brother be alive: while they (if belonging to a Kulin family or Brahman of higher rank) are exposed to be given in marriage to individuals who have already several wives and have no means of maintaining them.

Should a widow or a daughter wish to secure her right of maintenance, however limited, by having recourse to law, the learned Brahmans, whether holding public situations in the courts or not, generally divide into two parties, one advocating the cause of those females and the other that of their adversaries. Sometimes in these or other matters respecting the law, if the object contended for be important, the whole community seems to be agitated by the exertions of the parties and of their respective friends in claiming the verdict of the law against each other. In general, however, a consideration of the difficulties attending a law suit, which a native woman, particularly a widow, is hardly capable of surmounting, induces her to forego her right; and if she continue virtuous, she is obliged to live in a miserable state of dependence, destitue of all the comforts of life; it too often happens, however, that she is driven by constant unhappiness to seek refuge in vice.

At the time of the decennial settlement in the year 1793, there were among European gentlemen so very few acquainted with Sanskrit and Hindu law that it would have been hardly possible to have formed a committee of European oriental scholars and learned Brahmans, capable of deciding on points of Hindu law. It was, therefore, highly judicious in Government to appoint Pandits in the

different Zillah Courts of Appeal, to facilitate the proceedings of Judges in regard to such subjects. But as we can now fortunately find many European gentlemen capable of investigating legal questions with but little assistance from learned Natives, how happy would it be for the Hindu community, both male and female, were they to enjoy the benefits of the opinion of such gentlemen, when disputes arise, particularly on matters of inheritance.

Lest any one should infer from what I have stated, that I mean to impeach, universally, the character of the great body of learned Hindus, I declare positively, that this is far from my intention. I only maintain, that the Native community place greater confidence in the honest judgment of European gentlemen than in that of their own countrymen. But, should the Natives receive the same advantages of education that Europeans generally enjoy, and be brought up in the same notions of honour, they will, I trust, be found, equally with Europeans, worthy of the confidence of their countrymen and the respect of all men.

ESSAY

ON

THE RIGHTS OF HINDOOS

OVER

ANCESTRAL PROPERTY,

ACCORDING TO

THE LAW OF BENGAL.

CALCUTTA :

1830.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

THE translation into English, by the celebrated Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, of the DAYABHAGA, a work on Succession, and of an extract from the MITAKSHARA, comprising so much of the latter as relates to Inheritance, has furnished the principal basis of the arguments used in the following pages. I have also referred occasionally to the valuable remarks of that eminently learned scholar, in his preface and notes added to the original work. In quoting the Institutes of Manu, I have had recourse to the translation of this code of Law by the most venerable Sir WILLIAM JONES, that no doubt may be entertained as to the exactness of the interpretation. Only one text of Vrihaspati, the Legislator, and one passage quoted in another part of the *Mitakshara*, which has not been translated by Mr. Colebrooke, have been unavoidably rendered by myself. I have, however, taken the precaution to cite the original Sanskrit, that the reader may satisfy himself of the accuracy of my translation.

ON

THE RIGHT OF HINDUS

OVER

ANCESTRAL PROPERTY.

INDIA, like other large empires, is divided into several extensive provinces, principally inhabited by Hindus and Mussulmans. The latter admit but a small degree of variety in their domestic and religious usages, while the Hindus of each province, particularly those of Bengal, are distinguished by peculiarities of dialect, habits, dress, and forms of worship; and notwithstanding they unanimously consider their ancient legislators as inspired writers, collectively revealing human duties, nevertheless there exist manifest discrepancies among them in the received precepts of civil law.

2. When we examine the language spoken in Bengal, we find it widely different from that of any part of the western provinces, (though both derived from the same origin); so that the inhabitants of the upper country require long residence to understand the dialect of Bengal; and although numbers of the natives of the upper provinces, residing in Bengal, in various occupations, have seemingly familiarized themselves to the Bengalees, yet the former are imperfectly understood, and distantly associated with by the latter. The language of Tellingana and other provinces of the Dukhun not being of Sanskrit origin. is still more strikingly different from the language of Bengal and the dialects of the upper provinces. The variety observable in their respective habits, and forms of dress and of worship, is by no means less striking than that of their respective languages, as must be sufficiently apparent in ordinary intercourse with these people.

3. As to the rules of civil law, similar differences have always existed. The Dayabhaga, a work by Jimutavahana, treating of inheritance, has been regarded by the natives of Bengal as of authority paramount to the rest of the digests of the sacrcd authorities: while the Mitakshara, by Vijnaneswara, is upheld, in like manner, throughout the upper provinces, and a great part of the Dukhun. The natives of Bengal and those of the upper provinces believe alike

in the sacred and authoritative character of the writings of Manu, and of the other legislating saints: but the former receive those precepts according to the interpretation given them by Jimutavahana, while the latter rely on the explanation of them by Vijnaneswara. The more modern author, Jimutavahana, has often found occasion to differ from the other in interpreting sacred passages according to his own views, most frequently supported by sound reasoning; and there have been thus created everlasting dissensions among their respective adherents, particularly with regard to the law of inheritance.*

4. An European reader will not be surprised at the differences I allude to, when he observes the discrepancies existing between the Greek, Armenian, Catholic, Protestant, and Baptist churches, who, though they all appeal to the same authority, materially differ from each other in many practical points, owing to the different interpretations given to passages of the Bible by the commentators they respectively follow.

5. For further elucidation I here quote a few remarks from the preface to the translation of the Dayabhaga, and of a part of the Mitakshara, by Mr. Colebrooke, well known in the literary world, which are as follows. "It (the present volume) comprehends the celebrated treatise of Jimutavahana on succession, which is constantly cited by the lawyers of *Bengal*, under the emphatic title of *Dayabhaga*, or 'inheritance'; and an extract from the still more celebrated Mitakshara, comprising so much of this work as relates to inheritance. The range of its authority and influence is far more extensive than that of Jimutavahana's treatise, for it is received in all the schools of Hindu law, from Benares to the Southern extremity of the peninsula of India, as the chief groundwork of the doctrines which they follow, and as an authority from which they rarely dissent." (p. 4.) "The Bengal school alone, having taken for its guide Jimutavahana's treatise, which is, on almost every disputed point, opposite in doctrine to the Mitakshara, has no deference for its authority." (p. 4.) "But (between the Dayabhaga and the abridgments of its doctrines) the preference appeared to be decidedly due to the treatise of Jimutavahana himself, as well because he was the founder of this school, being the author of the doctrine which it has adopted, as because the

* Of eighteeen Treatises on various branches of Hindu Law, written by Jimutavahana, that on Inheritance alone is now generally to be met with.

subjects which he discusses, are treated by him with eminent ability and great precision." (p. 5.) The following is a saying current among the learned of Bengal, confirming the opinion offered by Mr. Colebrooke:

व्यवस्था द्विविधा प्रोक्ता दायभागमतामता ।
दायभागविरुद्धा या मता न बुधसम्मता ॥

"Opinions are said to be of two kinds, one founded on the authority of the Dayabhaga and the other opposed to it; (but) what is opposed to the Dayabhaga is not approved of by the learned."

6. From a regard for the usages of the country, the practice of the British courts in Bengal, as far as relates to the law of inheritance, has been hitherto consistent with the principles laid down in the Dayabhaga, and judgments have accordingly been given on its authority in many most important cases, in which it differs materially from the Mitakshara. I notice a few important cases of frequent occurrence, which have been fully discussed and invariably decided by the judicial tribunals in Bengal, in conformity with the doctrines of Jimutavahana.

First. If a member of an undivided family dies, leaving no male issue, his widow shall not be entitled to her husband's share according to the Mitakshara: but according to the Dayabhaga, she shall inherit such undivided portion.*

Second. A childless widow, inheriting the property of her deceased husband, is authorized to dispose of it, according to the Mitakshara: but according to the Dayabhaga, she is not entitled to sell or give it away.†

* Mitakshara, Ch. II, Sec. i, Article 39. "Therefore it is a settled rule, that a wedded wife, being chaste, takes the whole estate of a man, who, being *separated from his co-heirs*, and *not subsequently reunited* with them, dies leaving no male issue."

Dayabhaga, Ch. XI, Sec. i, Art. 43, "But, on failure of heirs down to the son's grandson, the wife, being inferior in pretensions to sons and the rest, because she performs acts spiritually beneficial to her husband from the date of her widowhood, [and not, like them, from the moment of their birth,] *succeeds to the estate* in their default."

Ditto ditto, Art. 19. "Some reconcile the contradiction, by saying, that the preferable right of the brother supposes him either to be not separated or to be reunited; and the widow's right of succession is relative to the estate of one *who was separated from his co-heirs*, and *not reunited with them*. [Art, 20.) That is *contrary* to a passage of Vrihaspati."

† Mitakshara, Ch. II, Sec. xi, Art. 2. "That, which was given by the father, mother, by the husband, or by a brother; and that, which was presented [to the bride] by the maternal uncles and the rest [as paternal uncles, maternal aunts, &c.] at the time of the wedding, before the nuptial fire; and a gift on a second marriage, or gratuity on account of supersession, as will be subsequently explained, ('To a woman whose husband marries a second wife let him give an equal sum as a compensation for the supersession'.) And also property which she may have acquired *by inheritance*, purchase, partition, seizure, or finding, are denominated by Manu, and the rest, *woman's property*."

Dayabhaga, Ch. XI., Sec. i., Art. 56. "But the wife must *only* enjoy her husband's estate after his demise. She is not entitled to make a gift, mortgage, or sale of it."

Third. If a man dies, leaving one daughter having issue, and another without issue, the latter shall inherit the property* left by her father, according to the Mitakshara; while the former shall receive it, according to the Dayabhaga.

Fourth. If a man dies without issue or brothers, leaving a sister's son and a paternal uncle, the latter is entitled to the property, according to the Mitakshara; and the former, according to the Dayabhaga.†

Fifth. A man, having a share of undivided real property, is not authorized to make a sale or gift of it without the consent of the rest of his partners, according to the Mitakshara; but according to the Dayabhaga, he can dispose of it at his free will.‡

Sixth. A man in possession of ancestral real property, though not under any tenure limiting it to the successive generations of his family, is not authorized to dispose of it, by sale or gift, without the consent of his sons and grandsons, according to the Mitakshara;

* Mitakshara, Ch. II, Sec. ii., Art. 4. "If the competition be between an unprovided and an enriched daughter, *the unprovided one inherits*; but, on failure of such, the enriched one succeeds," &c. Ch, II. Sec. xi, Art. 13. "Unprovided are such as are destitute of wealth or without issue." Hence a provided or enriched one, is such as has riches or issue.

Dayabhaga, Ch. XI, Sec. ii, Art. 3. "Therefore, the doctrine should be respected, which Dikshita maintains, namely, that a daughter who *is mother of male issue*, or who is *likely to become so*, is *competent to inherit*, *not* one, who is a widow, or is barren, or fails in bearing male issue, or bearing none but daughters, or from some other cause."

† Mitakshara, Ch. II, Sec. v. (beginning with the phrase, "If there be not even brother's sons, &c.) Art. 4. "Here, on failure of the father's descendants [including father's son and grandsons], the heirs are successively the paternal grandmother, the paternal grandfather, *the uncles* and their *sons*."

Dayabhaga, Ch. XI, Sec. vi, Art. 8. "But, on failure of heirs of the father down to the great-grandson, it must be understood, that the succession devolves on *the father's daughter's* son [*in preference to the uncle*."]

‡ Mitakshara, Ch. I, Sec. i, Art. 30. "The following passage, 'separated kinsmen, as those who are unseparated, are equal in respect of immoveables, for one has not power over the whole, to make a gift, sale or mortgage,' must be thus interpreted: among *unseparated kinsmen, the consent of all is indispensably requisite*, because no one is fully empowered to make an alienation, since the estate is in common; but among separated kindred, the consent of all tends to the facility of the transaction, by obviating any future doubt, whether they be separate or united; it is not required on account of any want of sufficient power in the single owner, and a transaction is consequently valid even without the consent of separated kinsmen."

Dayabhaga, Ch. II, Sec. xxvii. "For *here* also [in the very instance of land held in common] *as in the case of other goods, there equally* exists a property consisting in *the power of disposal at pleasure*."

while, according to the Dayabhaga, he has the power to alienate the property at his free will.*

7. Numerous precedents in the decisions of the civil courts in Bengal, and confirmations on appeal by the King in council, clearly shew that the exposition of the law by the author of the Dayabhaga, as to the last mentioned point, so far from being regarded as a dead letter has been equally, as in other points, recognized and adopted by the judicial authorities both here and in England. The consequence has been, that in the transfer of immoveable property the natives of Bengal have hitherto firmly relied on those judicial decisions as confirming the ancient usages of the country, and that large sums of money have consequently been laid out in purchase of land without reference to any distinction between acquired and ancestral property.

8. Opinions have been advanced for some time past, in opposition to the rule laid down in the Dayabhaga, authorizing a father to make a sale or gift of ancestral property, without the consent of his sons and grandsons. But these adverse notions created little or no alarm ; since, however individual opinions may run, the general principles followed by every Government are entirely at variance with the practice

* Mitakshara, Ch. I, Sec. i, Art. 27. "Therefore, it is a settled point, that property, in the paternal or ancestral estate, is, by birth, (although) the father have independent power in the disposal of effects other than immoveables, for indispensable acts of duty, and for purposes prescribed by text of law, as gift through affection, support of the family, relief from distress, and so forth; but he is subject to the control of his sons and the rest, in regard to the immoveable estate, whether acquired by himself or *inherited from his father or other predecessor* ; since it is ordained, 'Though immoveables or bipeds have been acquired by a man himself, a gift or sale of them should not be made without convening all the sons. They who are born, and they who are yet unbegotten and they who are still in the womb, require the means of support : no gift or sale should therefore be made.' "

Ditto, Ch. I, Sec. v, Art. 10. "Consequently, the difference is this ; although he have a right by birth in his father's and in his grandfather's property, still since, he is dependent on his father, in regard to the paternal estate, and since the father has a predominant interest, as it was acquired by himself, the son must acquiesce in the father's disposal of his own acquired property ; but, since *both have indiscriminately a right in the grandfather's estate*, the son has a power of interdiction [if the father be dissipating the property.]"

Dayabhaga, Ch. II, Sec, xxviii. "But the texts of Vyasa, exhibiting a prohibition, are intended to show a moral offence, since the family is distressed by sale, gift, or other transfer, which argues a disposition in the person to make an ill use of his power as owner. *They are not meant to invalidate the sale or other transfer.*" Ditto, Sec. xxvi, and Sec. xlvi.

of groundlessly abrogating, by arbitrary decision, such civil laws of a conquered country as have been clearly and imperatively set forth in a most authoritative code, long adhered to by the natives, and repeatedly confirmed, for upwards of half a century, by the judicial officers of the conquerors. But the people are now struck with a mingled feeling of surprize and alarm, on being given to understand that the Supreme Law Authority in this country though not without dissent on the Bench, is resolved to introduce new maxims into the law of inheritance hitherto in force in the province of Bengal; and has, accordingly, in conformity with the doctrines found in the Mitakshara declared every disposition by a father of his ancestral real property, without the sanction of his sons and grandsons, to be null and void.

9. We are at a loss how to reconcile the introduction of this arbitrary change in the law of inheritance with the principles of justice, with reason, or with regard for the future prosperity of the country:—it appears inconsistent with the principles of justice; because a judge, although he is obliged to consult his own understanding, in interpreting the law in many dubious cases submitted to his decision, yet is required to observe strict adherence to the established law, where its language is clear. In every country, rules determining the rights of succession to, and alienation of property, first originated either in the conventional choice of the people, or in the discretion of the highest authority, secular or spiritual; and those rules have been subsequently established by the common usages of the country, and confirmed by judicial proceedings. The principles of the law as it exists in Bengal having been for ages familiar to the people, and alienations of landed property by sale, gift, mortgage, or succession having been for centuries conducted in reliance on the legality and perpetuity of the system, a sudden change in the most essential part of those rules cannot but be severely felt by the community at large; and alienations being thus subjected to legal contests, the courts will be filled with suitors, and ruin must triumph over the welfare of a vast proportion of those who have their chief interest in landed property.

10. Mr. Colebrooke justly observes, in his Preface to the translation of the Dayabhaga, that "The rules of succession to property being in their nature arbitrary, are in all systems of law merely conventional. Admitting even that the succession of the offspring to the

parent is so obvious as almost to present a natural and universal law, yet this very first rule is so variously modified by the usages of different nations, that its application at least must be acknowledged to be founded on consent rather than on reasoning. In the laws of one people the rights of primogeniture are established; in those of another the equal succession of all the male offspring prevails; while the rest allow the participation of the female with the male issue, some in equal, others in unequal proportions. Succession by right of representation, and the claim of descendants to inherit in the order of proximity, have been respectively established in various nations, according to the degree of favour with which they have viewed those opposite pretensions. Proceeding from lineal to collateral succession, the diversity of laws prevailing among different nations, is yet greater, and still more forcibly argues the arbitrariness of the rules." (page 1.)

11. We are at a loss how to reconcile this arbitrary change with reason; because, any being capable of reasoning would not, I think, countenance the investiture, in one person, of the power of legislation with the office of judge. In every civilized country, rules and codes are found proceeding from one authority, and their execution left to another. Experience shews that unchecked power often leads the best men wrong, and produces general mischief.

12. We are unable to reconcile this arbitrary change with regard for the future prosperity of the country; because the law now proposed, preventing a father from the disposal of ancestral property, without the consent of his son and grandson, would immediately, as I observed before, subject all past transfers of land to legal contest, and would at once render this large and fertile province a scene of confusion and misery. Besides, Bengal has been always remarkable for her riches, insomuch as to have been styled by her Muhammadan conquerors "Junnutoolbelad," or paradise of regions; during the British occupation of India especially, she has been manifoldly prosperous. Any one possessed of landed property, whether self-acquired or ancestral, has been able, under the long established law of the land, to procure easily, on the credit of that property, loans of money to lay out on the improvement of his estate, in trade or in manufactures, whereby he enriches himself and his family and benefits the country. Were the change which it is threatened to introduce into the law of inheritance to be sanctioned, and the privilege of disposing of ancestral property (though not entailed) without the consent of

heirs be denied to landholders, they being incapacitated from a free disposal of the property in their actual possession, would naturally lose the credit they at present enjoy, and be compelled to confine their concerns to the extent of their actual savings from their income; the consequence would be, that a great majority of them would unavoidably curtail their respective establishments, much more their luxuries, a circumstance which would virtually impede the progress of foreign and domestic commerce. Is there any good policy in reducing the natives of Bengal to that degree of poverty which has fallen upon a great part of the upper provinces, owing, in some measure, to the wretched restrictions laid down in the Mitakshara, their standard law of inheritance? Do Britons experience any inconvenience or disadvantage owing to the differences of legal institutions between England and Scotland, or between one county of England and another? What would Englishmen say, were the Court of King's Bench to adopt the law of Scotland, as the foundation of their decisions regarding legitimacy, or of Kent, in questions of inheritance? Every liberal politician will, I think, coincide with me, when I say, that in proportion as a dependent kingdom approximates to her guardian country in manners, in statutes, in religion, and in social and domestic usages, their reciprocal relation flourishes, and their mutual affection increases.

13. It is said that the change proposed has forced itself on the notice of the Bench upon the following premises:—

1st. Certain writings, such as the institutes of Manu and others, esteemed as sacred by Hindus, are the foundation of their law of inheritance. 2ndly. That Jimutavahana, the author of the Dayabhaga, is but a commentator on those writings. 3rdly. That from these circumstances, such part of the commentary by Jimutavahana as gives validity to a sale or gift by a father of his ancestral immoveables, without the consent of his son and grandson, being obviously at variance with sacred precepts found on the same subject, should be rejected, and all sales or gifts of the kind be annulled.

14. I agree in the first assertion, that certain writings received by Hindus as sacred, are the origin of the Hindu law of inheritance, but with this modification, that the writings supposed sacred are only, when consistent with sound reasoning, considered as imperative, as Manu plainly declares: "He *alone* comprehends the system of duties, religious and civil, who can reason, by rules of logic, agreeably

to the Veda, on the general heads of that system as revealed by the holy sages." Ch. xii, v. 106. Vrihaspati. "Let no one found conclusions on the mere words of Sastras : from investigations without reason, religious virtue is lost."* As to the second position, I first beg to ask, whether or not it be meant by Jimutavahana's being styled a *commentator* that he wrote commentaries upon all or any of those sacred institutes. The fact is, that no one of those sacred institutes bears his comment. Should it be meant that the author of the Dayabhaga was so far a commentator, that he culled passages from different sacred institutes, touching every particular subject, and examining their purport separately and collectively, and weighing the sense deducible from the context, has offered that opinion on the subject which appeared to agree best with the series of passages cited collectively, and that when he has found one passage apparently at variance with another, he has laid stress upon that which seemed the more reasonable and more conformable to the general tenor, giving the other an interpretation of a subordinate nature, I readily concur in giving him the title of a commentator, though the word expounder would be more applicable. By way of illustration, I give here an instance of what I have advanced, that the reader may readily determine the sense in which the author of the Dayabhaga should be considered as a commentator.

15. In laying down rules "on succession to the estate of one who leaves no male issue," this author first quotes (Ch. xi, page 158) the following text of Vrihaspati: "In scripture and in the code of law, as well as in popular practice, a wife is declared by the wise to be half the body of her husband, equally sharing the fruit of pure and impure acts. Of him, whose wife is not deceased, half the body survives : how then should another take his property, while half his person is alive ? Let the wife of a deceased man, who left no male issue, take his share notwithstanding kinsmen, a father, a mother, or uterine brother, be present," &c., &c. He next cites the text of Yajnavalkya, (p. 190) as follows :—"The wife and the daughters, also both parents, brothers likewise, and their sons, gentiles, cognates, a pupil, and a fellow student : on failure of the first among these, the next in order is indeed heir to the estate of one, who departed for

* केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्त्तव्योऽर्थनिर्णयः ।
युक्तिहीनविचारेण धर्म्महानिः प्रजायते ॥ बृहस्पतिः ॥

heaven leaving no male issue. This rule extends to all persons and classes." The author then quotes a text from the Institutes of Vishnu, ordaining that "the wealth of him who leaves no male issue, goes to his wife; on failure of her, it devolves on daughters; if there be none, it belongs to the mother," &c., &c. Having thus collected a series of passages from the Institutes of Vrihaspati, Yajnavalkya, and Vishnu, and examined and weighed the sense deducible from the context, the author offers his opinion on the subject. "By this text, [by the seven texts of Vrihaspati, and by the text of Yajnavalkya,] relating to the order of succession, the right of the widow, to succeed in the first instance, is declared." "Therefore, the widow's right must be affirmed to extend to the whole estate." (p. 161.)

16. The same author afterwards notices, in page 163, several texts of a seemingly contrary nature, but to which he does not hesitate to give a reconciling interpretation, without retracting or modifying his own decision. He quotes Sankha and Likhita, Paithinasi, and Yama, as declaring, "The wealth of a man who departs for heaven, leaving no male issue, goes to his brothers. If there be none, his father and mother take it; or his eldest wife, or a kinsman, a pupil, or a fellow student." Pursuing a train of long and able discussion, the author ventures to declare the subordinacy of the latter passage to the former, as the conclusion best supported by reason, and most conformable to the general tenor of the law. He begins saying, (p. 169,) "From the text of Vishnu and the rest, (Yajnavalkya and Vrihashpati,) it clearly appears, that the succession devolves on the widow, by failure of sons and other [male] descendants, and this is reasonable; for the estate of the deceased should go first to the son, grandson, and great grandson." He adds, in page 170, pointing out the ground on which the priority of a son's claim is founded, a ground which is applicable to the widow's case also, intimating the superiority of a widow's claim to that of a brother, a father, &c. "So Manu declares the right of inheritance to be founded on benefits conferred. 'By the eldest son, as soon as born, a man becomes the father of male issue, and is *exonerated from debt to his ancestor; such a son, therefore, is entitled to take the heritage.*'" The author next shews, that as the benefits conferred by a widow on her deceased husband, by observing a life of austerity, are inferior only to those procured to him by a son, grandson, and great grandson, her right to succession should be next to theirs in point of order,

(p. 173.) "But, on failure of heirs down to the son's grandson, the wife, being inferior in pretensions to sons and the rest, because she performs acts spiritually beneficial to her husband from the date of her widowhood, (and not, like them, from the moment of their birth,) succeeds to the estate in their default." He thus concludes: "Hence [since the wife's right of succession is founded on reason] the construction in the text of Sankha, &c., must be arranged by connexion of remote terms, in this manner: 'The wealth of a man, who departs for heaven, leaving no male issue, let his eldest [that is, his most excellent] wife take; or in her default, let the parents take it: on failure of them, it goes to the brothers.' The terms 'if there be none,' [that is, if there be no wife,] which occur in the middle of the text, are connected both with the preceding sentence 'it goes to his brothers,' and with the subsequent one, 'his father and mother take it.' For the text agrees with passages of Vishnu and Yajnavalkya, [which declare the wife's right,] and the reasonableness of this has been already shewn." (p. 174.)

17. It is, however, evident that the author of the Dayabhaga gives here an apparent preference to the authority of one party of the saints over that of the other, though both have equal claims upon his reverence. But admitting that a Hindu author, an expounder of their law, sin against some of the sacred writers, by withholding a blind submission to their authority, and likewise that the natives of the country have for ages adhered to the rules he has laid down, considering them reasonable, and calculated to promote their social interest, though seemingly at variance with some of the sacred anthors ; it is those holy personages alone that have a right to avenge themselves upon such expounder and his followers; but no individual of mere secular authority however high, can, I think, justly assume to himself the office of vindicating the sacred fathers, and punishing spiritual insubordination, by introducing into the existing law an overwhelming change in the attempt to restore obedience.

18. In this apparent heterodoxy, I may observe, Jimutavahana does not stand single. The author of the Mitakshara also has, in following, very properly, the established privilege of an expounder, reconciled, to reason, by a construction of his own, such sacred texts as appear to him, when taken literally, inconsistent with justice or good sense. Of this, numerous instances might easily be adduced,

but the principle is so invariably adopted by this class of writers, that the following may suffice for examples. The author of the Mitakshara first quotes (Ch. I, Sec. iii, Arts 3 and 4, pp. 263—265) the three following texts of Manu, allotting the best portion of the heritage to the eldest brother at the time of partition. "The portion deducted for the eldest is the twentieth part of the heritage, with the best of all the chattels; for the middlemost half of that; for the youngest, a quarter of it." "If a deduction be thus made let equal shares of the residue be alloted; but if there be no deduction, the shares must be distributed in this manner; let the eldest have a double share, and the next born a share and a half, and the younger sons each a share: thus is the law settled."* The author of the Mitakshara then offers his opinion in direct opposition to Manu, saying, "The author himself† has sanctioned an unequal distribution when a division is made during the father's life time. 'Let him either dismiss the eldest with the best share, &c.'‡ Hence an unequal partion is admissible in every period. How then is a restriction introduced, requiring that sons should divide only equal shares? (Art. 4.) The question is thus answered: 'True, this unequal partition is found in the sacred ordinances; but *it must not be practised*, because it is abhorred by the world, [for] it secures not celestial bliss';§ as the practice [of offering bulls] is shunned, on account of popular prejudice, notwithstanding the injunction, 'Offer to a venerable priest a bull or a large goat'; and as the slaying of a cow is for the same reason disused, notwithstanding the precept, 'Slay a barren cow as a victim consecrated to Mitra and Varuna.'"|| By adverting to the above exposition of the law, we find that the objection of heterodoxy, if urged against the authority of the Dayabhaga, is equally applicable to that of the Mitakshara in its full extent, and may be thus established. 1st. Certain writings, such as the institutes of Manu and of others, esteemed sacred by Hindus, are the foundation of the law of inheritance. 2ndly. Vijnaneswara (author of the Mitakshara) is but a commentator on those writings. 3rdly. Therefore, such part of the commentatry of Vijnaneswara

* Manu, Ch. ix, v. 112, v. 116 and 117.

† Yajnavalkya.

‡ Yajnavalkya.

§ A passage of Yajnavalkya, according to the quotation of Mitra Mishra in the Viramitrodaya, but ascribed to Manu in Balambhatta's commentary. It has not, however, been found either in Manu's or Yajnavalkya's Institutes."—(Mr. Colebrooke.)

|| Passage of the Veda.

as indiscriminately entitles all brothers to an equal share, being obviously at variance with the precepts of Manu found on the subject, should be rejected, and the best and the largest portion of the heritage be allotted to the eldest brother, by judicial authorities; according to the letter of the sacred text. Again, take the Mitakshara, Ch. I, Sec. 1, Art. 30, p. 257. "The following passage, 'Separated kinsmen, as those who are unseparated, are equal in respect of immoveables, for one has not power over the whole to make a gift, sale, or mortgage;' must be thus interpreted: 'Among unseparated kinsmen, the consent of all is indispensably requisite, because no one is fully empowered to make an alienation, since the estate is in common;' but among separated kindred, the consent of all tends to the facility of the transaction, by obviating any future doubt, whether they be separate or united: it is not required, on account of any want of sufficient power in the single owner, and *the transaction is* consequently *valid even without the consent of separated kinsmen.*" Ditto, Ch. I, Sec. 11, Art 28, p. 316. "'The legitimate son is the sole heir of his father's estate; but, for the sake of innocence, he should give a maintenance to the rest.' This text of Manu must be considered as applicable to a case, where the adopted sons (namely, the son given and the rest) are disobedient to the legitimate son and devoid of good qualities."

19. I now proceed to the consideration of the last point, as the ground on which the change proposed is alleged to be founded. To judge of its validity we should ascertain whether the interpretations given by the author of the Dayabhaga, to the sacred texts, touching the subject of free disposal by a father of his ancestral property, are obviously at variance with those very texts, or if they are conformable to sound reason and the general purport of the passages cited collectively on the same subject. With this view I shall here repeat, methodically, the series of passages quoted by the author of the Dayabhaga, relating to the above point, as well as his interpretation and elucidation of the same.

20. To shew the independent and exclusive right of a father in the property he possesses, (of course with the exception of estates entailed) the author first quotes the following text of Manu. After the (death of the) father and the mother, the brethren, being assembled, must divide equally the paternal estate: For *they have not power over* it, *while their parents live.* Ch. I, Sec. 14 (p. 8). He

next quotes Devala: "When the father is deceased, let the sons divide the father's wealth; for *sons have not ownership while the father is alive* and free from defect." Ch. I, Sec. 18 (p. 9.) After a long train of discussion, the author appeals to the above texts as the foundation of the law he has expounded, by saying, "Hence the text of Manu, and the rest (as Devala) must be taken as shewing, that sons have not a right of ownership in the wealth of the living parents, but in the estates of both when deceased." Ch. I Sec. 30, (pp. 13 and 14.)

21. To illustrate the position that the father is the sole and independent owner of the property in his possession, whether self-acquired or ancestral, the author thus proceeds: "A division of it does not take place without the father's choice; since Manu, Narada, Gotama, Baudhayana, Sankha, and Likhita, and others (in the following passages, 'they have not power over it;' 'they have not ownership while their father is alive and free from defect;' 'while he lives if he desire partition;' 'partition of heritage by consent of the father;' 'partition of the estate being authorized while the father is living,' &c.) declare without restriction, that sons *have not a right* to *any part* of the estate while the father is living, and that *partition awaits his choice*: for these texts, declaratory of *a want of power* and *requiring the father's consent*, must relate also to property *ancestral*, since the same authors *have not separately propounded a distinct period for the division of an estate inherited from an ancestor*." Ch. II, Sec. 8 (p. 25). The circumstance of the partition of estates being entirely dependent on the will of the father, and the son's being precluded from demanding partition while the father is alive, sufficiently prove that they have not any right in the estate during his lifetime; or else the sons, as having property in the estate jointly with the father, would have been permitted to demand partition. Does not common sense abhor the system of a son's being empowered to demand a division between himself and his father of the hereditary estate? Would not the birth of a son with this power, be considered in the light of a curse rather than a blessing as subjecting a father to the danger of having his peaceable possession of the property inherited from his own father or other ancestor disturbed?

22. The author afterwards reasons on those passages that are of seemingly contrary authority; first quoting the text of Yajnavalkya, as follows. "The ownership of father and son is the same in land

which was acquired by his father, or in a corrody, or in chattels." He adopts the explanation given to this text by the most learned, the ancient Udyota, affirming that it "properly signifies, as rightly explained by the learned Udyota, that, when one of two brothers, whose father is living, and who have not received allotments, dies leaving a son, and the other survives, and the father afterwards deceases, the text, declaratory of similar ownership, is intended to obviate the conclusion, that the surviving son alone obtains his estate, because he is next of kin. As the father has ownership in the grandfather's estate; so have his sons, if he be dead." Ch. II, Sec. 9, (25.) The author then points out, that such interpretation given to the text, as declares the claims of a grandson upon the estate of his grandfather equal to those of his father, while the father is living, is palpably objectionable; for, if sons had ownership during the life of their father, in their grandfather's estate, then should a division be made between two brothers, one of whom has male issue, and the other has none, the children of that one would participate, since (according to the opposite opinion) they have equally ownership." Ch. II, Sec. 11 (p. 26). He next quotes Vishnu: "When a father separates his sons from himself, his will regulates the division of his own acquired wealth. But in the estate inherited from the grandfather, the ownership of father and son is equal." Upon this text the author of the Dayabhaga justly remarks in the following terms. "This is very clear; *when* the father separates his sons from himself, he may, by his own choice, give them greater or less allotments, if the wealth were acquired by himself: but not so, if it were property inherited from the grandfather, because they have an equal right to it. The father has not in such case an unlimited discretion." Ch. II, Sec. 17 (p. 27). That is, *a father dividing his property among his sons, to separate them from himself during lifetime,* is not authorized to give them of his own caprice, greater or less allotments of his ancestral estate, as the phrase in the above text of Vishnu, "when a father separates his sons from himself," &c., prohibits the free disposal by a father of his ancestral property *only* on the occasion of allotments among his sons to allow them separate establishments. The author now conclusively states, that "Hence (since the text becomes pertinent, by taking it in the sense above stated, or because there is ownership restricted by law in respect of shares, and not an unlimited discretion), both opinions, that the mention of like ownership provides for an equal division

between father and son in the case of property ancestral, and that it establishes the son's right to require partition, ought to be rejected." Ch. II, Sec. 18 (p. 27).

23. The author, thirdly, quotes Yajnavalkya. "The father is master of the gems, pearls and corals, and of all (other moveable property), but neither the father, or the grandfather, is so of the *whole* immoveable estate;" and points out the sense conveyed by the term "the whole," found in the above passage, saying, "Since here also it is said the 'whole,' this prohibition forbids the gift or other alienation of the *whole*, because (immoveables and similar possessions are) means of supporting the family." (Ch. II, Sec. 23). That is, the father is likewise master of the ancestral estate, though not of the whole of it, implies that a father may freely dispose of a part of his ancestral estate, even without committing a moral offence. This passage of Yajnavalkya, cited by the opposite party, who deny to the father the power of free disposal of ancestral estates, runs, in a great measure, against them, since it disapproves a sale or gift by a father only of the whole of his ancestral landed property, while his sons are living, withholding their consent.

24. To justify the disposal by a father, under particular circumstances, even of the whole of his ancestral estate, without incurring a moral offence, the author adds, (Ch. II, Sec. 26.) "But if the family cannot be supported without selling the whole immoveable and other property, even the *whole* may be sold or otherwise disposed of as appears from the obvious sense of the passage, and because it is directed, that 'a man should *by all means* preserve himself;'" and because a sacred writer positively enjoins the maintenance of one's family by all means possible, and prefers it to every other duty. "His aged mother and father, dutiful wife, and son under age, should be maintained even by committing a hundred unworthy acts.* Thus directed Manu." *Vide* Mitakshara, Ch. II. Manu positively says: "A mother, a father, a wife, and son, shall not be forsaken; he, who forsakes either of them, unless guilty of a deadly sin, shall pay six hundred panas as a fine to the King." (Ch. VIII, *v.* 389).

25. He, fourthly, quotes two extraordinary texts of Vyasa, as prohibiting the disposal, by a single parcener, of his share in the

* वृद्धौच मातापितरौ साध्वी भार्य्या सुतः शिशुः ।
अप्यकार्य्यशतं कृत्वा भर्त्तव्या मनुरब्रवीत् ॥

immoveables, under the notion that each parcener has his property in the whole estate jointly possessed. These texts are as follow: "A single parcener may not, without consent of the rest, make a sale or gift of the whole immoveable estate, nor of what is common to the family." "Separated kinsmen, as those who are unseparated, are equal in respect of immoveables: for one has not power over the whole, to give, mortgage, or sell it." Upon which the author of the Dayabhaga remarks, Ch. II. Sec. 27: "It should not be alleged that by the texts of Vyasa one person has not power to make a sale or other transfer of such property. For here also (in the very instance of land held in common) as in the case of other goods, there equally exists a property consisting in the power of disposal at pleasure." That is, a partner has, in common with the rest, an undisputed property existing either in the whole of the moveables, and immoveables, or in an undivided portion of them; he, therefore, should not be, or cannot be, prevented from executing at his pleasure, a transfer of his right to another by a sale, gift, or mortgage of it.

26. In reply to the question, what might be the consequence of disregard to the prohibition conveyed by the above texts of Vyasa? the author says: "but the texts of Vyasa exhibiting a prohibition, are intended to shew a moral offence; since the family is distressed by a sale, gift or other transfer, which argues a disposition in the person to make an ill use of his power as owner. They are not meant to invalidate the sale or other transfer." (Ch. II, Sec. 28.) A partner is as completely a legal owner of his own share, (either divided or undivided) as a proprietor of an entire estate; and consequently a sale or gift executed by the former, of his own share, should, with reason, be considered equally valid, as a contract by the latter of his sole estate. Hence prohibition of such transfer being clearly opposed to common sense and ordinary usage, should be understood as only forbidding a dereliction of moral duty, committed by those who infringe it, and not as invalidating the transfer.

27. In adopting this mode of exposition of the law, the author of the Dayabhaga has pursued the course frequently inculcated by Manu and others; a few instances of which I beg to bring briefly to the consideration of the reader, for the full justification of this author. Manu, the first of all Hindu legislators, prohibits donation to an unworthy Brahman in the following terms—"Let no man, apprised of this law, present, even water to a priest, who acts like a cat, nor

to him who acts like a bittern, nor to him who is unlearned in the Veda." (Ch. IV, *v.* 192.) Let us suppose that in disregard to this prohibition a gift has been actually made to one of those priests; a question then naturally arises, whether this injunction of Manu's invalidates the gift, or whether such infringement of the law only renders the donor guilty of a moral offence. The same legislator, in continuation, thus answers; "Since property, though legally gained, if it be given to either of those three, becomes prejudicial in the next world both to the giver and receiver." (*v.* 193.) The same authority forbids marrying girls of certain descriptions, saying, "Let him not marry a girl with reddish hair, nor with any deformed limb, nor one troubled with habitual sickness, nor one either with no hair or with too much, nor one immoderately talkative; nor one with inflamed eyes." (Ch. III, *v.* 8.) Although this law has been very frequently disregarded, yet no voidance of such a marriage, where the ceremony has been actually and regularly performed, has ever taken place; it being understood that the above prohibition, not being supported by sound reason, only involves the bridegroom in the religious offence of disregard to a sacred precept. He again prohibits the acceptance of a gratuity, on giving a daughter in marriage naming every marriage of this description "Asura," as well as declaring an Asura marriage to be illegal; but daughters given in marriage on receiving a gratuity have been always considered as legal wives, though their fathers are regarded with contempt, as guilty of a deadly sin. The passages above alluded to are as follow: (Manu:) "But even a man of the servile class *ought not to receive a gratuity* when he gives his daughter in marriage; since a father, who takes a fee *on that occasion*, tacitly *sells* his daughter." (Ch. IX, *v.* 98.) "When the bridegroom, having given as much wealth as he can afford to the father and paternal kinsmen and to the damsel herself, takes her voluntarily as his bride; that marriage is named "Asura" (Ch. III, *v.* 31). "But in this code, three of the five last are held legal, and two illegal, the ceremonies of *Pisachas* and *Asuras* must never be performed." (Ch. III, *v.* 25.)

28. The author finally quotes the following text: "Though immoveables or bipeds have been acquired by a man himself, a gift or sale of them (*should*) not (*be made*) by him, unless convening all the sons"; and he proceeds affirming, "So likewise other text as this, must be interpreted in the same manner (as before). For the words

'should' and 'be made' must necessarily be understood." (Ch. II, Sec. 29.) That is, there is a verb wanting in the above phrase "a gift or a sale not by him," consequently "should" or "ought" and "be made" are necessarily to be inserted, and the phrase is thus read: "A gift or sale *should* not *be* or ought not to be made by him," expressing a prohibition of the free disposal by a father even of his self-acquired immoveables. This text also, says the author, cannot be intended to imply the invalidity of a gift or sale by a lawful owner; but it shews a moral offence by breach of such a prohibition: "Since the family is distressed by a sale, gift, or other transfer, which argues a disposition in the person to make an ill use of his power as owner." Moreover, as Manu, Devala, Gotama, Baudhayana, Sankha, and Likhita, and others represent a son as having no right to the property in possession of the father, in the plainest terms, as already quoted in para. 21, no son should be permitted to interfere with the free disposal by the father of the property he actually possesses. The author now concludes the subject with this positive decision. "Therefore, since it is denied that a gift or sale should be made, the precept is infringed by making one. But the gift or transfer is not null: for a fact cannot be altered by a hundred texts." (Ch. II, Sec. 30.)

29. In illustration of this principle it may be observed, that a man legally possessed of immoveable property (whether ancestral or self-acquired) has always been held responsible and punishable as owner, for acts occurring on his estate, of a tendency hurtful to the peace of his neighbours or injurious to the community at large. He even forfeits his estate, if found guilty of treason or similar crimes, though his sons and grandsons are living who have not connived at his guilt. In case of default on his part in the discharge of revenue payable to Government from the estate, he is subjected to the privation of that property by public sale under the authority of Government. He is, in fact, under these and many other circumstances, actually and virtually acknowledged to be the lawful and perfect owner of his estate; a sale or gift by him of his property must therefore stand valid or unquestionable. Sacred writings although they prohibit such a sale or gift as may distress the family, by limiting their means of subsistence, cannot alter the fact, nor do they nullify what has been effectually done. I have already pointed out in the 37th paragraph the sense in which prohibitions of a similar nature should be taken, according to the authority of Manu,

which the reader is requested not to lose sight of. Mr. Colebrooke judiciously quotes (page 32) the observation made by Raghunandana (the celebrated modern expounder of law in Bengal) on the above passage of the Dayabhaga, ("A fact cannot be altered by a hundred texts,") which is as follows: "If a Brahman be slain, the precept 'Slay not a Brahman' does not annul the murder: nor does it render the killing of a Brahman impossible. What then? It declares the sin." Admitting for a moment that this sacred text (quoted in the Mitakshara also) be interpreted conformably to its apparent language and spirit, it would he equally opposed to the argument of our adversaries, who allow a father to be possessed of power over his self-acquired property; since the text absolutely denies to the father an independent power even over his self-acquired immoveables, declaring, "Though *immoveables* and bipeds have been *acquired by a man himself*," &c., &c. In what a strange situation is the father placed if such be really the law! How thoroughly all power over his own possessions is taken away, and his credit reduced!

30. The author quotes also two passages from Narada, as confirming the course of reasoning which he has pursued, with regard to the independence claimable by each of all the co-heirs in a joint property. The passages above alluded to are thus read: "When there are many persons sprung from one man, who have duties apart and transactions apart, and are separate in business and character, if they be not accordant in affairs, should they give or sell their own shares, they do all that as they please; *for they are masters of their own wealth.*" (Ch. II, Sec. 31.)

31. After I had sent my manuscript to the Press, my attention was directed to an article in the "*Calcutta Quarterly Magazine*, No. VI, April—June, 1825," being a Review of Sir F. W. McNaghten's Considerations on Hindu Law. In this essay I find an opinion offered by the writer tending to recommend that any disposal by a father of his ancestral immoveables should be nullified, on the principle that we ought "to *make that invalid which was considered immoral.*" (p. 225.) I am surprised that this unqualified maxim should drop from the pen of the presumed reviewer, who, as a scholar, stands very high in my estimation, and from whose extensive knowledge more correct judgment might be expected. Let us, however, apply this principle to practice, to see how far, as a general rule, it may be safely adopted.

32. To marry an abandoned female, is an act of evil moral example: Are such unions to be therefore declared invalid, and the offspring of them rendered illegitimate?

To permit the sale of intoxicating drugs and spirits, so injurious to health, and even sometimes destructive of life, on the payment of duties publicly levied, is an act highly irreligious and immoral: Is the taxation to be, therefore, rendered invalid and payments stopped?

To divide spoils gained in a war commenced in ambition and carried on with cruelty, is an act immoral and irreligious: Is the partition therefore to be considered invalid, and the property to be replaced?

To give a daughter in marriage to an unworthy man, on account of his rank or fortune, or other such consideration, is a deed of mean and immoral example: Is the union to be therefore considered invalid, and their children illegitimate?

To destroy the life of a fellow-being in a duel, is not only immoral, but is reckoned by many as murder: Is not the practice tacitly admitted to be legal, by the manner in which it is overlooked in courts of justice?

33. There are of course acts lying on the border of immorality, or both immoral and irreligious; and these are consequently to be considered invalid: such as the contracting of debts by way of gambling, and the execution of a deed on the Sabbath day. The question then arises, how shall we draw a line of distinction between those immoral acts that should not be considered invalid, and those that should be regarded as null in the eye of the law? In answer to this, we must refer to the common law and the established usages of every country, as furnishing the distinctions admitted between the one class and the other. The reference suggested is, I think, the sole guide upon such questions; and pursuant to that maxim, I may be permitted to repeat, that according to the law and usages of of Bengal, though a father may be charged with breach of religious duty, by a sale or gift of ancestral property at his own discretion, he should not be subjected to the pain of finding his act nullified; nor the purchaser punished with forfeiture of his acquisition. However, when the author of the Review shall have succeeded in inducing British legislators to adopt his maxim, and declare that the validity of every act shall be determined by its consistence with morality, we may then listen to his suggestion, for applying the same rule to the Bengal Law of Inheritance.

34. The writer of this Review quotes (in p. 221) a passage from the Dayabhaga, (Ch. II, Sec. 76,) "Since the circumstance of the father being lord of all the wealth, is stated as a reason, and that cannot be in regard to the grandfather's estate, an unequal distribution, made by the father, is lawful only in the instance of his own acquired wealth." He then comments, saying, "Nothing can be more clear than Jimutavahana's assertion of this doctrine." But it would have been still more clear, if the writer had cited the latter part of the sentence obviously connected with the former; which is that, "Accordingly Vishnu says, 'When a father separates his sons from himself, his own will regulates the division of his own acquired wealth. But in the estate inherited from the grandfather, the ownership of father and son is equal.'" That is, a father is not absolute lord of his ancestral property, (as he is of his own acquired wealth,) *when occupied* in *separating his sons from himself* during his life. This is evident from the explanation given by the author of the Dayabhaga himself, of the above text of Vishnu, in Sec. 56, (Ch. II,) "The meaning of this passage is, 'In the case of his own acquired property, whatever he may choose to reserve, whether half or two shares, or three, all that is permitted to him by the law; but not so in the case of property ancestral;" as well as from the exposition by the same author of this very text of Vishnu, in sec. 17, (Ch. II,) already fully illustrated as applicable solely to the occasion of partition, (*vide* para. 22, p. 27.)

35. It would have been equally clear as desirable, because *conclusive*, if the writer of the article had also quoted the following passage of the Dayabhaga touching the same subject (Ch. II, Sec. 46). "By the reasoning thus set forth, if the elder brother have two shares of the father's estate, how should the highly venerable father being the natural parent of the brothers, and COMPETENT TO SELL, GIVE, OR ABANDON THE PROPERTY, and being the root of all connection with the *grandfather's estate*, be not entitled, in like circumstances, to a double portion of his own father's wealth?"

36. In expounding the following text of Yajnavalkya. "The father is master of the gems, pearls, and corals, and of all (other moveable property), but neither the father, nor the grandfather, is so of the whole immoveable estate"; the author of the Dayabhaga first observes, (Ch. II, Sec. 23,) "Since the grandfather is here mentioned, the text must relate to his effects." He then proceeds, saying,

"Since here also it is said 'the whole,' the prohibition forbids the gift or other alienation of the 'whole,'" &c.: and thus concludes the section (24): "For the insertion of the word 'whole' would be unmeaning (if the gift of even a small part were forbidden.)" The author of the Dayabhaga does not stop here; but he lays down the following rule in the succeeding section already quoted, (26.) "But if the family cannot be supported without selling the *whole immoveable* and other property, even the *whole* may be sold or otherwise disposed of: as appears from the obvious sense of the passage, and because it is directed, that 'a man should by all means preserve himself.'" Here Jimutavahana justifies, in the plainest terms, the sale and other disposal by a father of the *whole* of the estate *inherited from his own father* for the maintenance of his family or for self-preservation, without committing even a moral offence: but I regret that this simple position by Jimutavahana should not have been adverted to by the writer of the article while reviewing the subject.

37. To his declaration, that "Nothing can be more clear than Jimutavahana's assertion of this doctrine," the reviewer adds the following phrase: "And the doubt cast upon its expounders, Raghunandana, Sri Krishna Tarkalankara and Jagannatha, is wholly gratuitous. In fact, the latter is chiefly to blame for the distinction between illegal and invalid acts." It is, I think, requisite that I should notice here who these three expounders were, whom the writer charges with the invention of this doctrine; at what periods they lived; and how they stood and still stand in the estimation of the people of Bengal. To satisfy any one on these points, I have only to refer to the accounts given of them by Mr. Colebrooke, in his preface to the translation of the Dayabhaga. In speaking of Raghunandana, he says, "It bears the name of Raghunandana, the author of the Smriti-tatwa, and the greatest authority on Hindu Law in the province of Bengal." "The Daya-tatwa, or so much of the Smriti-tatwa as relates to inheritance, is the undoubted composition of Raghunandana; and in deference to the greatness of the author's name, and the estimation in which his works are held among the learned Hindus of Bengal, has been throughout diligently consulted and carefully compared with Jimutavahana's treatise, on which it is almost exclusively founded." (p. vii.) "Now Raghunandana's date is ascertained at about three hundred years from this time," &c. (p. xii.) Mr. Colebrooke thus introduces Sri Krishna

Tarkalankara : "The commentary of Sri Krishna Tarkalankara on the Dayabhaga of Jimutavahna, has been chiefly and preferably used. This is the most celebrated of the glosses on the text. Its authority has been long gaining ground in the schools of law throughout Bengal; and it has almost banished from them the other expositions of the Dayabhaga ; being ranked in general estimation, next to the treatises of Jimutavahana and of Raghunandana." (p. vi.) "The commentary of Maheswara is posterior to those of Chudamani and Achyuta, both of which are cited in it; and is probably anterior to Sri Krishna's or at least nearly of the same date." (p. vii.) In the note at foot he observes, "Great-grandsons of both these writers were living in 1806." Hence it may be inferred, that Sri Krishna Tarkalankara lived above a century from this time. Mr. Colebrooke takes brief notice of Jagannatha Tarkapanchanana, saying, "A very ample compilation on this subject is included in the Digest of Hindu Law, prepared by Jagannatha, under directions of Sir William Jones, &c." (p. ii) The last mentioned, Jagannatha, was universally acknowledged to be the first literary character of his day, and his authority has nearly as much weight as that of Raghunandana.

38. Granting for a moment that the doctrine of free disposal by a father of his ancestral property is opposed to the authority of Jimutavahana, but that this doctrine has been prevalent in Bengal for upwards of three centuries, in consequence of the erroneous exposition of Raghunandana, "*the greatest authority of Hindu law in the province of Bengal,*" by Sri Krishna Tarkalankara, the author of "*the most celebrated of the glosses of the text,*" and by the most learned Jagannatha ; yet it would, I presume, be generally considered as a most rash and injurious, as well as ill-advised, innovation, for any administrator of Hindu Law of the present day to set himself up as the corrector of successive expositions, admitted to have been received and acted upon as authoritative for a period extending to upwards of three centuries back.

39. In the foregoing pages my endeavour has been to shew that the province of Bengal, having its own peculiar language, manners and ceremonies, has long enjoyed also a distinct system of law. That the author of this system has greatly improved on the expositions followed in other provinces of India, and, therefore, well merits the preference accorded to his exposition by the people of Bengal. That the discrepancies existing amongst the several interpretations of legal

texts are not confined alone to the law of disposition of property by a father, but extend to other matters. That in following those expositions which best reconcile law with reason, the author of the Bengal system is warranted by the highest sacred authority, as well as by the example of the most revered of his predecessors, the author of the Mitakshara ; and that he has been eminently successful in his attempt at so doing, more particularly by unfettering property, and declaring the principle, that the alienator of an hereditary estate is only morally responsible for his acts, so far as they are unnecessary, and tend to deprive his family of the means of support. That he is borne out in the distinction he has drawn between moral precepts, a disregard to which is sinful, leaving the act valid and legal, and absolute injunctions, the acts in violation of which are null and void. If I have succeeded in this attempt, it follows that any decision founded on a different interpretation of the law, however widely that exposition may have been adopted in other provinces, is not merely retrograding in the social institution of the Hindu community of Bengal, mischievous in disturbing the validity of existing titles to property, and of contracts founded on the received interpretation of the law, but a violation of the charter of justice, by which the administration of the existing law of the people in such matters was secured to the inhabitants of this country.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS ON THE

HINDOO LAW OF INHERITANCE.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

HINDOO LAW OF INHERITANCE.

Extract from a Letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru of the 20th September, 1830, relating to the power of a Father over Ancestral property.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle.

WILL you do me the favour of inserting the following lines in a corner of your valuable paper, as the insertion of them will be the means of dispersing the darkness which the author of the Essay on the Rights of Hindu Law, has thrown on the minds of those who believe the accuracy of the work in question, as well as of reviving the memory of your judicial readers on the subject of right and wrong, as expounded by the Hindu Legislators.

At the perusal of the observations contained in the Essay, I regret to say that I found almost all of them are repugnant to the laws and customs of the country and community, for which I would venture to discuss on those points, though I am perfectly aware, that he, (the learned author,) through his critical powers, is competent to set aside the true sense of the law, and to insert his own; but I hope your judicial readers will easily perceive the repugnancy in comparing them with Messrs. Colebrooke and Macnaghten's publications of the Hindu Law.

With regard to the father's power in alienating the ancestral landed property, which is treated of by the learned author, I will say nothing more at present, than that it is discussed by Mr. Macnaghten in his Principles and Precedents of the Hindu law: but I wish to know, Mr. Editor, does it follow from the doctrine of *Jimutavahana*, cited by the learned author, that a father has power to alienate the whole of the ancestral landed estate, or is it only applicable to the case when alienations are made? If the former be

asserted, how can the doctrines* of *Jimutavahana, Sricrishna Tarcalancara, Raghunandana. Jagannath Tarcapanchanana,* and others, whose works are current in Bengal, be reconciled? But, on the other hand, if the latter supposition be proved to be correct, how can it be inferred, that, according to the *Dayabhaga*, the father has power to alienate the ancestral real property, as said by the learned author.

He, (the learned author,) exhibiting some ordinances regarding marriage, taxation, partition, and so forth, has made some hints on Sir F. W. Macnaghten's Considerations, of the Hindu Law, for his adverting that "*to make that invalid which was considered immoral.*" Mr. Editor, if according to the opinion ef the learned author, it be considered as a general rule, that whatsoever alienations are made, they cannot be nullified, then should we not without hesitation say, that a sale without ownership, (that is, a sale by an individual who has no title to that which he has disposed of,) is not invalid? If it be argued that a father, according to the doctrines of *Jimutavahana*, has an independent power over ancestral real property, and can dispose of the whole of it at his free will, then what is to become of this doctrine: "What is bailed for delivery, what is lent for use, a pledge, joint property, a deposit, a son, a wife, and the whole estate of a man who has issue living." *Narada.* "The prohibition of giving away is declared to be eightfold: a man shall not give joint property, nor his son, nor his wife, *without their assent in extreme necessity*, nor a pledge, nor all his wealth, *if he have issue living, &c.*" *Vrihaspati.* "A wife or a son, or the whole of a man's estate, shall not be given away or sold without the assent of the persons interested; he must keep them himself." *Catyayana*?

In conclusion, I beg the favour of your judicious readers to see how far the Hindu Law allows a father to alienate the patrimonial immoveables, and what are alienable.

Your most obediently,

A HINDOO.

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* "The prohibition is not against donation, or other transfer of a small part incompatible with the support of the family. But, if the family cannot be supported without selling the whole immoveable and other property, even the whole may be sold, or otherwise disposed of." "If there be no land or other permanent property, but only jewels or similar valuables, he is not authorised to expend the whole." "And as appears from the word 'whole' repeated in that text, the gift of all the precious stones, pearls, and the like, inherited from the grandfather, is not immoral, but a gift of the whole immoveable property is an offence."

No. II.

Reply to the above, published in the Hurkaru of the 24th September, 1830.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle.

SIR,

AN article in your journal of the 20th instant, uuder the signature of "A HINDOO," offering some remarks on an Essay lately published by me on Inheritance, having been brought to my notice, I beg to express the gratificaion it affords me to find that the subject excites the public attention due to its importance; for it is reasonable to hope that truth will be speedily elicited by fair and impartial enquiry, and the ruinous effects of error be consequently averted.

I have endeavoured to establish "the full control of Hindus over their ancestral property according to the law of Bengal." In support of this position, I ask permission to quote the unequivocal authority of Jimutavahana himself, the author of the Dayabhaga.

First. After citing the text of Manu in Ch. I., Sec. 14, the author offers his opinion (Sec. 15.) "The text is an answer to the question, why partition among sons is not authorised while their parents are living; namely, "because they have not ownership at that time." He denies them (Sec. 16,) even dependent right in the property in possession of the father. The author then reasons in Sec. 19—"Besides, if sons had property in their father's wealth, partition would be demandable even against his consent; and there *is no proof, that property is vested by birth alone*; nor is birth stated in the law as means of acquisition." He concludes the subject in Sec. 30, saying—"Hence the text of Manu and the rest (as Devala) must be taken as shewing, that sons have not a right of ownership in the wealth of the living parents, but in the estate of both when deceased."

The author of the Dayabhaga applies the same authorities, and the same reasoning to property, ancestral, in Ch. II, Sec. 8, quoting passages of Manu, Narada Gotama, Baudhayana, Sankha, and Likhita, &c., he affirms that these passages "declare without restriction, that *sons have not a right to any part of the estate while the father is living*, and that partition awaits his choice: For these texts declaratory of a *want of power*, and *requiring the father's consent, must relate also to property ancestral*; since the same authors have not separately propounded a distinct period for the division of an estate inherited from an ancestor."

Secondly. After thus establishing the exclusive and independent ownership of a father in the property self-acquired and ancestral, the author of the Dayabhaga defines, in the plainest language, what sort of power is attached to ownership. "For here also (in the very instance of land held in common) as in the case of other goods, there *equally exists a property consisting in the power of* DISPOSAL AT PLEASURE." (Sec. 27.) Again: "By the reasoning thus set forth, if the elder brother have two shares of the father's estate, how should the highly venerable father, being the natural parent of the brothers, and competent to sell, give, or abandon the property, and being the root of all connexion with the *grand-father's estate* be not entitled, in like circumstances, to a double portion of his own father's wealth?" (Sec. 46.)

Thirdly. To reconcile the power of free disposal by a father of property, whether self-acquired,* ancestral or held in common, with such moral precepts as prohibit such a disposal, through consideration towards the rest of the family; the author of the Dayabhaga abhorring the idea of invalidating a sale or gift actually completed by a lawful and independent owner of his own property, proceeds, saying, "But the texts of Vyasa exhibiting the prohibition, are intended to shew a moral offence; since the family is distressed by a sale or gift or other transfer, which argues a disposition in the person to make an ill use of his power as owner. *They are not meant to invalidate the sale or other transfer,*" (Sec. 28.†) He again repeats the same maxim with great explicitness in the succeeding Section, (30th,) conformably to the doctrines often inculcated by Manu himself, as noticed in my little Essay, (para. 28, pp. 34, 35.) "Therefore, since it is denied that a gift or sale should be made, the precept is infringed by making one. But the gift or transfer *is not null* for a fact cannot be altered by a hundred texts."

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* "Though immoveables or bipeds have been acquired by a man himself, a gift or sale of them should not be made by him, unless convening all the sons." Cited in the Dayabhaga, Ch. II, Sec. 29, p. 32, "and the whole estate of a man who has issue living," should not be disposed of. *Narada.* "A man shall not give joint property," &c. &c. *Vrihaspati.*

† So scriptural precepts and prohibitions are sometimes received as morally and legally binding such as Matthew, Ch. V. *v.* 32, prohibiting divorcement of a wife without infidelity on her part; and *v.* 34, prohibiting oaths of all kinds, obeyed by Quakers, both morally and legally: but in some instances they are received as inculcating only moral duty, such as *v.* 42, "From him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away;" and the very prohibition of oath is disregarded by Christians of other denominations, and their administration legally enforced, although some of the most eminent lawyers declare Christianity to be part and parcel of British Law.

For the reason stated by the author, in Section 28th, "since the family is distressed by a sale, gift, or other transfer," it is evident that a father or a partner subjects himself to a moral offence by the full disposal of all his property, provided his family be thereby involved in distress; but if the family consists of wealthy persons, and do not experience distress from such disposal, no moral offence can be charged to him; nor is he considered guilty of a breach even of moral duty, should he dispose of the whole property in his possession for the maintenance of the family or self-preservation, *ordained to be incumbent upon man*, as is obvivous from the following quotation. "But if the family cannot be supported without selling the whole immoveable and other property, even the whole may be sold, or otherwise disposed of, as appears from the obvious sense of the passage, and because it is directed that 'a man should by all means preserve himself.'" (Sec. 26.)

Fourthly. In his interpretation of such passages as apparently limit the power of a father with regard to his ancestral property, the author of the Dayabhaga treats them as applicable *only in the instance of a father's separating his sons from himself during life*, with allotments of the property, and *not to any other occasion;* and thus he *positively allows* to the *father* the *free disposal* of his *ancestral* property on all other occasions. *Vide* Dayabhaga, Ch. II, Secs. 15, 16, 19, &c. &c.

As a calm enquiry into the merits of a literary question need not call forth the least unfriendly feeling amongst those who happen to espouse opposite views of the subject, it seems to me desirable that we divest ourselves of disguise, and be fairly known to the public by our real names. I beg therefore to subscribe myself,

Your most obedient servant,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

Sept. 23rd, 1830.

No. III.

Extract from a Letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru of the 5th October, 1830, relating to the power of a Father over Ancestral Property.

THE learned author denied any limited power of the father over ancestral real property in his Essay, (page 11,) "a man in his possession of ancestral real property, though not under any tenure limiting it to the successive generations of his family, has the power to alienate the property at his free will;" but I am happy to find in his communication, that he, after some arguments partially admits it

in these words :—" In his interpretation of such passage as apparently limit the power of a father with regard to his ancestral property, the author of the Dayabhaga treats them as applicable only in the instance of a father's separating his sons from himself during life with allotments of the property, and not to any other occasion ; and thus he positively allows to the father the free disposal of his ancestral property on all other occasions." Hence I beg to enquire, is not the learned author's doctrine evident, that a father has not an unlimited power to make an unequal partition of the patrimonial landed estate with his sons ? If so, how should we admit, by parity of reason, that the author of the Dayabhaga "positively allows to the father free disposal of his ancestral property on all other occasions," as declared by the learned author ? But we should rather reconcile the doctrine of the Dayabhaga ("they are not meant to invalidate the sale or other transfer") by alleging that if a father infringe the law, and give or sell his patrimonial immoveables for religious purposes, the act cannot be nullified ; but if he disposes of it for civil affairs, the transfer is invalid.

Authorities :—" Even the king should not, in breach of law, give immoveable property for civil purposes, but he may give land or the like for religious uses ; a gift of land without the assent of sons and the rest, is not consonant to duty, therefore arbitrators may think it has the appearance of a contract not made ; consequently it is an established rule, according to Misra, that a gift of his whole estate by a man, who has issue living, is invalid, without the assent of the persons interested. But this supposes gifts for civil, not for religious cases, since it is recorded in Puranas and other works, that Harischandra and others gave their whole property for religious purposes. Be it anyhow in regard to the whole of a man's estate acquired by himself ; but the gift of what has descended from an ancestor, by a man who has a son living, is void, because he has not independent power over that property ; for Narada declares null a gift made by one who is not an independent owner, and the law quoted by Vachaspati, Bhattacharya, and Raghunandana, declares a father not to be independent." Jagannatha Tarcapanchanana.

But if it is argued, that in former times many kings have given their whole kingdoms to a son, assigning some alimony for their own male issue, and are not such gifts for civil purposes ? To this I humbly beg to reply, that a gift by a king for civil affairs is valid, provided he should not leave his family starving. Authorities :—Smriti : "All subjects are dependent ; the king alone is free." The last text is attributed to Vyasa by Jimutavahana and herein Raghunandana follows him. "What exceeds the food and clothing required

by the members of the family, who are entitled to maintenance, as above mentioned, may be given away, otherwise the family wanting food and clothing, in consequence of more being given, the donor's conduct is not virtuous." Jagannatha.

It becomes material to enquire, whether a man possessing his ancestral property, is competent to give away the whole of it by will in favour of a son, leaving other sons under maintenance, or is he under the control of his sons, and is the will null and void? Mr. Colebrooke observes, that "a last will and testament is unknown to the Hindu Law;" but it has been introduced in this country since the establishment of the British power, and we only admit its validity, wherein we see no discrepancies with the Hindu Law. The term "will" may, in some cases, be explained as the deed of partition, and in others as the deed of gift; but when the term signifies a deed of partition, we ought not to declare that it is valid, for the father has not an independent power to make an unequal partition of the patrimony, as is clearly proved by the learned author. If we define it as a deed of gift, then we must proceed to point out the law of the gift; the term "gift" means constituting the donee's property after annulling the previous right of the donor, and the English Law on the subject of the will and testament has a different interpretation. Therefore, "it appears" not "inconsistent with the principles of justice," for a judge to consult his own understanding, in a case of dubious point. Manu:—"Let him fully consider the nature of truth, the state of the case, and his own person; and next, the witnesses, the place, the mode, and the time, firmly adhering to all the rules of practice." Vrihaspati:—"A decision must not be made solely by having recourse to the letter of written codes; since, if no decision were made according to the reason of law, ('or according to immemorial usage; for the word *yucti* admits both senses,') there might be a failure of justice."

At all events it must be confessed, that the learned author has taken too much liberty with the Chief Justice to assert "that the supreme authority in this country is resolved to introduce new maxims into the Law of Inheritance, hitherto in force in the province of Bengal; and has accordingly, in conformity with the doctrines found in the Mitakshara declared every disposition by a father of his ancestral real property, without the sanction of his sons and grand-sons, to be null and void." By the late decision which the Chief Justice has passed in a case pending in the Supreme Court, and which has given rise to the Essay by the learned author, no new maxim has been introduced, and no custom of Bengal has been infringed.

In the concluding part of his communication, the learned author desires "that we should divest ourselves of disguise, and be fairly known to the public by our real names;" and with this view he subscribes his own name. I should have no objection to gratify this desire, had not I known that my name would be of no consequence to the public, and would add but little weight to the positions I have advanced. If, however, my assertions be correct, (and I leave them to be decided by your judicious readers), the end of my writing, which was to ascertain the truth of these important questions, is accomplished.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
October 1st, 1830. A HINDOO.

No. IV.

Reply to the above, published in the Hurkaru of the 13th October, 1830.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle.

SIR,

Another article on the Hindu Law of Inheritance, under the signature of "A HINDOO," having appeared in your Journal of the 5th Instant, I beg to offer a few remarks on the matters therein comprised.

Your learned correspondent has filled a large space with the illustration of his views as to the term "woman's property," a subject which is entirely foreign to the main point in question,* "the full control of Hindus over their ancestral property, according to the law of Bengal," and which may, therefore, be separately discussed, without distracting the attention of the reader, by mingling the one with the other : under this impression I deem it proper that these two different positions should be divided, and my present reply be confined to the subject at issue.

Your learned correspondent first states, that although in my Essay I ascribed to a father the power of free disposal of his ancestral property, yet in my reply, dated the 24th ultimo, I have partially admitted limitation by saying, that "in his interpretation of such passages as apparently limit the power of a father, with regard to his ancestral property, the author of Dayabhaga treats them as applicable only

* Therefore omitted as irrelevent, but afterwards answered separately.

in the instance of a father's separating his sons from himself, during life, with allotments of the property, and not to any other occasion." To rectify this misapprehension, I beg to refer the reader to my Essay para. 22, p. 29, where he will find a precisely corresponding statement in these terms : "As the phrase in the above text of Vishnu, 'when a father separates his sons from himself,' prohibits the free disposal, by a father, of his ancestral property, *only* on the occasion of allotments among his sons, to allow them separate establishment." Is it not evident that I have equally, in my Essay and in the Appendix, maintained the doctrine, that according to the Dayabhaga, a sale, gift, or other transfer by a father of his ancestral property, is legally valid ; and that while separating his sons from himself during life, a father should give them equal portions of the property derived from his ancestors ? So much for the charge of inconsistency.

In answer to the query advanced by your learned correspondent, "how should we admit, by parity of reason, that the author of the Dayabhaga positively allows to the father free disposal of his ancestral property on all other occasions," I beg to bring again to the recollection of the reader some of the passages of the Dayabhaga itself, Chap. II. Secs. 8, 27, and 46, (quoted by me in the Appendix, page 52, line 19,) manifestly permitting the free disposal by a father of his ancestral property.

Supported by the text of Vishnu, "when a father separates his sons, &c.," (Chap. II, Sec. 16,) the author of the Dayabhaga declares such sacred passages as seemingly limit the power of a father touching his ancestral estate, to be applicable only in the instance of a father's separating his sons from himself during life, aud not to any other occasion ; and thus excepts from the general rule this instance only, saying "or the meaning of the text (cited in Sec. 9) may be, as set forth by Dhareswara, a father, *occupied in giving allotment at his pleasure*, has equal ownership with sons in the paternal grandfather's estate. He is not privileged to make an unequal *distribution of it* at his choice, as he is in regard to his own acquired property." (Chap. II, Sec. 15.) The author of the Dayabhaga proceeds still further, and applies the above limitation of the power of a father over his ancestral property only to such a father as is designated by the appellation of "*issue of the soil*" in the following language :—"The text before cited (Sec. 9) declaratory of the equal ownership of father and son, must be explained as intending *a father who was* (Kshetriya) *issue of the soil or wife.*" That is, a son of two fathers, or begotten by appointment. Hence, according to the latter exception, the limitation of a father's power is applicable only to such a father as is called *issue of the soil*, now rarely to be found ; while, according to the former, the limitation

is applied only to the time of separation by a father of his sons from himself with allotments. This alternative decidedly proves, that in all other instances the Dayabhaga positively allows to the father the free disposal of his ancestral equally with his self-acquired property.

A sale or other transfer by the father, of the whole ancestral and self-acquired property, for the support of the family, for the performance of indispensable religious rites, as a part of domestic duty, or for self-preservation, is declared by the author of the Dayabhaga to be consistent with the sacred texts; hence, in such cases, he attaches no moral offence to the father for so doing, saying, "But if the family cannot be *supported* without selling the whole immoveable and other property, even the *whole* may be sold or otherwise disposed of; as appears *from the obvious sense of the passage*, (quoted in Ch. II, Sec. 22,) and because it is *directed* that a man should *by all means preserve himself*." But such sale or other transfer as occasions distress to the family and is consequently prohibited by the sacred texts inculcating moral duty, subjects the doer, according to the Dayabhaga, to the reproach of a moral offence, though the sale or transfer actually made by a lawful owner must stand vaild—"But the texts of Vyasa (cited in Sec. 27,) exhibiting a prohibition, are *intended to shew a moral offence* since the family is distressed by a sale, gift, or other transfer, which argues a disposition in the person to *make an ill use of his power as owner*. They are *not meant to invalidate the sale* or other transfer," (Sec. 28). Hence an attempt to reconcile the doctrine thus laid down in the Dayabhaga, with that recently proposed in opposition to the plainest language and the obvious purport of that work, is but an effort to upset the authority of the universally acknowledged law long prevailing throughout Bengal. As to the particulars of the precepts which should be considered as only morally binding, and those that are both legally and morally binding, I beg to refer the reader to my Essay, pages 29, 30, 31, par. 23, 24, 25, 26; and to the Appendix, No. II, note 2nd, page 53.

Under the head of "Authorities," (not specified,) your learned correspondent inserts the following passage: "*Even the king should not, in breach of law, give* immoveable property *for civil purposes*," &c. In the succeeding paragraph he conditionally admits a gift by a king, even for civil purposes, saying, that "a gift by a king *for civil affairs is valid*, provided he should *not leave his family starving*." Your learned correspondent immediately afterwards quotes: "All subjects are dependent, the king *alone is free*," in opposition to both the preceding assertions. I trust your learned correspondent does not mean, by the above text, to establish that all subjects have a dependent right in their lawful possessions, and that the king is privileged

to take or give them away at his pleasure. While ascertaining the real doctrine of the author of the Dayabhaga, as to the power of a father over ancestral property, your learned correspondent does not quote a single passage from that author, but he quotes Misra, who is well-known to have opposed the author of the Dayabhaga in this and other points.

Your learned correspondent finally quotes Jagannatha on the subject at issue in these terms : " What exceeds food and clothing required by the members of the family who are entitled to maintenance, as above-mentioned, may be given away ; otherwise the family wanting food and clothing, in consequence of more being given, the donor's conduct is not virtuous." Pray, Mr. Editor, does not Jagannatha exactly follow the author of the Dayabhaga, by maintaining the doctrine, that if the family is distressed by a gift, the donation thus performed attaches *moral offence to the donor?*

In the concluding part of his letter, your learned correspondent introduces the subject of a last Will or Testament. I hope I may be able to spare a few hours shortly for the consideration of this point: in the meantime,

I remain your most obedient servant,

October 12, 1830. RAMMOHUN ROY.

No. V.

Continuation of the above Reply, published in the "Bengal Hurkaru" of the 21st October, 1830.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle.

SIR,

Your learned correspondent, "A HINDOO" introduces the subject of a last Will and Testament in his letter which appeared in your journal of the 5th instant, questioning the validity of such instruments, on the authority of the following language of Mr. Colebrooke: "A last Will and Testament is *unknown to the Hindu Law*, but it has been introduced in this country *since the establishment of the British power*, and we only admit its validity wherein we see no discrepancies with the Hindoo Law." I much regret that Mr. Colebrooke, an eminent scholar, and diligent student of Hindu Law, while offering the above opinion, should have overlooked the very first part of the gloss on the Dayabhaga, by Sri Krishna, which he "chiefly and preferably used," and which, in the preface to his translation of that work, (page 6,) he characterises as "the most celebrated of the

glosses on the text." "Its authority has been long gaining ground in the schools of law throughout Bengal, and it has almost banished from them the other expositions of the Dayabhaga, being ranked, in general estimation, next after the treatises of Jimutavahana and of Raghunandana." The passage I allude to is to be found in that celebrated gloss, expounding the purport of Sec. 38, Ch. I. of the Dayabhaga.

Nor does this learned gentleman seem to have recollected his own translation of the same passage, which runs in these words: "But when he, for the sake of obviating disputes among his sons, determines their respective allotments, continuing, however, the exercise of power over them, that is not partition, for his property still subsists, since there has been no relinquishment of it on his part. Therefore the use of the term partition, in such an instance, is lax and indeterminate." That is, in this instance the father *does not separate his sons from himself with allotments*; he only declares what certain portion of his property each son is to enjoy immediately after the extinction of his ownership by death, civil or natural; such previously determined division, therefore, cannot in reality be styled *partition* during the life of the father, which implies separation, and consequently does not fall within that only case in which his privileges over ancestral property are restricted.

To shew the priority of Sri Krishna's era to the British conquest of India, I beg to refer to the Preface to the translation of the Dayabhaga, by Mr. Colebrooke, (page 7, and the note therein contained,) giving an account of the probable periods at which Sri Krishna and some other commentators of the Dayabhaga lived. They shew clearly that Sri Krishna, whose authority is esteemed next to that of Jimutavahana, existed and died before the *establishment of British power* in India. How then, Mr. Editor, could Sri Krishna declare the *law* on the point, if the practice of a father's prescribing the manner of distributing his property after his ownership should be extinct, was unknown at his time?

So the celebrated Radhamohan Vidyavachaspati, while treating of previously determined partition by a father, quotes the following passage:—"With regard to debts, ploughing, stipulation, *previous partition* of property, and other translations, whatever was determined by a father becomes incumbent upon his sons after his demise." This system of pre-determination of allotments has been in most frequent use in Bengal from time immemorial; insomuch, that few fathers, possessed both of prudence and of property, have omitted a practice so effectually calculated to obviate future contentions in their family. Aged persons of respectability can still be found to certify this fact.

Besides, historical works in Sanscrit manifestly shew the frequency of this practice among eminent princes and celebrated characters, some soon, others long before their retirement or death. I may, perhaps, on a future occasion, have sufficient command of time to prepare a list of conspicuous instances; but, for the present, I beg to refer the reader to the Ramayana and the Maha Bharata, works commonly read, and highly revered by the Hindu community at large.

Your learned correspondent observes that I have taken too much liberty with the Chief Justice, and that I was not correctly informed as to the particulars of the decision passed in the case pending in the Supreme Court, which gave rise to the late Essay by me, a charge which, I beg to declare, is without foundation, since neither in the Essay nor in the Appendix, can any expression, I venture to affirm, be found that borders on disrespect towards his Lordship; and to vindicate the information I have been furnished with, I may be permitted to appeal to every Barrister of the Court, who had an opportunity of being acquainted with the opinions expressed, and which I have endeavoured to combat.

I fully concur with your learned correspondent in the assertion, that "a Judge may consult his own understanding in a case of dubious point." I, at the same time, trust you learned correspondent will condescendingly agree with me, when I repeat that "a Judge is required to observe strict adherence to the established law, where its language is clear," like that of the Dayabhaga.

I remain, Mr. Editor,

Your most obedient servant,

October 20th, 1830. RAMMOHUN ROY.

Extract from a Letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru and in the Herald of 7th Nov. 1830, relating to the power of a father over Ancestral Property.

In his second communication the learned author, to establish his own doctrine, that a father, according to the Dayabhaga, has power to alienate the ancestral real property at his free will, referred the reader to the passages of the Dayabhaga, Chap. II, Secs. 8, 27, and 46, and those of his own Essay. The passages of the Dayabhaga, above referred to, do not manifestly admit the free disposal by a father of his ancestral property; for the first passage denotes only that the partition of ancestral property cannot take place while the father is living, without his consent and choice; the second does not disable a coparcener from alienating his own share of joint property; and the last enjoins that a father shall have two shares at a partition in his

lifetime. To prove this, I beg to refer your readers to the above passages themselves.

The learned author, in order to support his opinion, repeatedly quotes the passage of the *Dayabhaga*, Sec. 28, Chap. II. ("They are not meant to invalidate the sale or other transfer.") To refute this, I can at once say, that that passage does not enjoin, that a father has power to alienate his ancestral property, as declared by him, but it is meant to shew the validity of a sale, or like alienation by a coparcener of his own share, as is clearly evident from the following passages of *Sricrishna Tarcalancara*, the Commentator of the *Dayabhaga*.—"Since there is not a general property of the whole, a community of rights, consisting in there being numerous owners to the same thing, does not exist: and community signifies only the state of not being separated. But here it is the notion of the author of the *Dayabhaga*, who maintains a several right to a part vested in each person, that nothing prevents a donation or other transfer of the coparcener's own share, even before partition, since a common property is already vested in him." *Vide Dayabhaga*, page 32, Annotation 28.

The learned author, from a passage of *Sricrishna Tarcalancara*, commenting on Sec. 38. Chap. I. of the *Dayabhaga*, infers that the will is not foreign to the Hindu Law. To this, at present, I can only reiterate that it is unknown to the law in question, and the passage * itself confirms my observations, for it only exhibits the power of the father in determining the shares of his sons, and that determination is termed *Bhacta Vibhaga*, and it does not admit the father's unlimited power over ancestral real property.

As, however, the learned author observes, that a last will or testament is not foreign to the Hindu Law, I shall be greatly obliged by his shewing the corresponding *Sanscrit* term for *testament*, *testator*, *legacy*, *legatee*, and *executor*, in any of the Hindu Law works. When the learned author shall point out the above corresponding terms, I shall then endeavour to prove that his censures against those learned persons, the Honourable the Chief Justice and Mr. Colebrooke, are unjust, and void of reason. In the meantime, I beg to conclude, Mr. Editor, and remain,

Your obedient servant,

A HINDOO.

November 2, 1830.

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* "But when the father, for the sake of obviating disputes among his sons, determines their respective allotments, continuing, however, the exercise of power over them, that is not partition; for his property still subsists, since there has been no relinquishment of it on his part. Therefore, the use of the term partition, in such an instance, is lax and indeterminate."

NO. VII.

Reply to the above, published in the Hurkaru of the 15th November 1830.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle.

SIR,

Your learned correspondent, under the signature of "A HINDOO," has recurred to the subject of Inheritance, in his communication of the 2nd instant beginning by citing the passages of the Dayabhaga, (Chap. II, Secs. 8, 27, and 64,) quoted by me in my Appendix. He then proceeds to say, that "the passages of the Dayabhaga, above referred to, do not manifestly admit the free disposal by a father of his ancestral property; for the first passage denotes only that the partition of the ancestral property cannot take place while the father is living, without his consent and choice; the second does not disable a coparcener from alienating his own share of joint property, and the last enjoins that a father shall have two shares at a partition in his lifetime." I am, therefore, obliged to recite those passages severally, and leave the reader to judge.

In the first passage, (Chap. II, Sec. 8,) the author of the Dayabhaga, after quoting the texts of Manu and others, affirms that these authors "declare, without restriction, that sons *have not a right to any part of the estate* while the father is living, and that partition awaits his choice; for these texts, declaratory of *want of power*, and requiring the father's consent, MUST RELATE ALSO TO PROPERTY ANCESTRAL, since the same authors have not separately propounded a distinct period for the division of an estate inherited from an ancestor." I would now ask if the sons, as appears clearly by this passage, have no right to any part of the father's property ancestral or acquired, has not the father the sole right in that property? And is not this something more than a mere declaration, that "partition of ancestral property cannot take place while the father is living, without his consent and choice," as affirmed by your learned correspondent? The author of the Mitakshara is of the contrary opinion, that sons have a right to the ancestral property, even while the father is living; and *upon this ground* he denies the father's power of disposal of ancestral property without the consent of his sons, saying, "In such property, which was acquired *by the paternal grandfather*, through acceptance of gifts, or by conquest or other means, [as commerce, agriculture, or service,] *the ownership of father and son is notorious;* and THEREFORE, partition *does take place.* For, or because *the right is equal or alike;* THEREFORE, *partition is not restricted to be made by the father's choice; nor has he a double share.*" Mitakshara, Chap. I, Sec. 5, Art. 5.

The second passage quoted by me, and referred to by your learned correspondent, (Chap. II, Sec. 27,) is as follows: "For here also, [in the very instance of land held in common,] as in the case of other goods, there equally exists a *property consisting in the power of disposal at pleasure.*" I beg to submit whether this passage does only declare the validity of the disposal of land, held in common by a parcener, as noticed by your learned correspondent; or does it, as I contend, define ownership, with regard to land held in common, as equally with that in goods to consist in the power of disposal at pleasure?

I now proceed to the 3rd passage alluded to by your learned correspondent, (Chap. II, Sec. 46.) which runs thus; "By the reasoning thus set forth, if the elder brother have two shares of the father's estate, how should the highly venerable father, being the natural parent of the brothers, and *competent to sell*, give or *abandon* the property, and being the root of all connexion *with the grandfather's estate*, be not entitled, in like circumstances, to a double portion of his own father's wealth?" I may here again safely appeal to the reader, whether this passage merely "enjoins, that a father shall have two shares at a partition in his lifetime," as alleged by your learned correspondent; or whether it does not entitle a father to a double share of his ancestral property while separating his sons from himself, *on the ground that* he is possessed of the power "*to sell, give, or abandon the property*, and is the root of all connexion with the *grandfather's estate*?"

His next remarks apply to the Section 27, Chap. II, containing the following texts of Vyasa, ("A single parcener may not, without consent of the rest, make a sale or gift of the whole immoveable estate, nor of what is common to the family:" "separated kinsmen, as those who are unseparated, are equal in respect of immoveables: for one has not power over the whole to give, mortgage, or sell it,") and also, to the Section 28th, quoted by me, ("But the texts of Vyasa, exhibiting a prohibition, are intended to show a moral offence, since the family is distressed by a sale, gift, or other transfer, which argues a disposition in the person to make an ill use of his power as owner. They are not meant to invalidate the sale or other transfer.") With reference to these quotations, your learned correspondent observes, "I can at once say that that passage does not enjoin, that a father has power to alienate his ancestral property; but it is meant to shew the validity of a sale or like alienation by a parcener of his own share."

I first beg to be permitted to bring to the notice of your learned correspondent the terms "kinsmen," "separated" or "unseparated," whom the latter texts of Vyasa, quoted above, prohibit from disposing of immoveables at their free will; and then to ask, whether this text (equally with that preceding it, forbidding a parcener from disposing

of property held in common,) is not represented by the author of the Dayabhaga (in Sec. 28,) as "shewing a moral offence" in disregard to the prohibition, and "not meaning to invalidate the sale or other transfer ?" The term "kinsmen" is well explained in Dr. Wilson's Dictionary, enumerating a father, grandfather, great-grand-father, &c. among kinsmen. Hence, a father, according to the Dayabhaga, may dispose of immoveables, subjecting himself, in certain cases, to the blame of moral offence, in like manner as a parcener may dispose of his undivided share. Your learned correspondent may now be pleased to say candidly, how far his conclusion, that the above passage (28) only shews "the validity of a sale or like alienation by a coparcener of his own share," is accurate ?

As to the quotation from Sri Krishna, by your learned correspondent, it relates to the doctrine maintained by the author of the Dayabhaga, that a several right to a part is vested in each parcener, and that each has not property in the whole; and thus Sri Krishna justifies a sale or gift by a partner of his share, without at all limiting the power of a father over ancestral property.

I quoted in my last communication, a passage from the commentary of Sri Krishna, and another from that of the late Radhamohan, shewing that the practice of making a will was known to the Hindu Law, without any attempt, on my part, to prove by inference from this separate and distinct subject of enquiry, a father's unrestricted power over ancestral property.—I may, therefore, be permitted to observe, that your learned correspondent might have dispensed with the assertion, that the passage "does not admit the father's unlimited power over ancestral property." It was not cited as so doing.

Your learned correspondent admits that the passage of Sri Krishna "exhibits the power of the father, in determining the shares of his sons, and that determination is termed 'Bhakta Vibhaga,"' or partition in a loose sense; since the father still continues the exercise of power over those predetermined allotments. But he wishes me to point out the corresponding Sanskrit terms for testament, testator, &c., used in English, in connection with a last will. In reply, I beg to observe, that since the will is termed Bhakta Vibhaga, or *partition*, in a loose sense, the Sanskrit terms relating to the Will must bear the names compounded with "partition," such as "Bhaga Lekha" a will, "Vibhaktá" a testator, "Vibhakta" legacy, "Bhagi" legatee, "Niyogakrit" executor, and so forth, all in a loose sense, but in common use. I remain in haste,

Your most obedient servant,

November 13, 1830. RAMMOHUN ROY,

P. S.—You may, perhaps, hear from me again before quitting the River.

No. VIII.

Published in the Bengal Hurkaru of the 23rd Nov. 1830.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle.

SIR,

I DID, or rather could, not until yesterday, read with attention that part of a letter which appeared in your journal of the 5th ultimo, under the signature of "a Hindoo," which relates to the subject of "*Stridhan*," or woman's property. Your learned correspondent enquires "whether the publication of the Essay (by me) is intended only to shew the discrepancies betwixt the Mitakshara and Dayabhaga, or to point out the laws current in Bengal and Benares?" Your learned correspondent then adds, "If the former supposition be correct, I can recommend the learned author to say as he pleases; but, on the other hand, if the latter be just and proper, then I beg to refer to the doctrines of Balam Bhatta, Mitra Misra, Camalakara, and other Western writers and commentators." In reply to the query, I beg leave to state that the Essay in question was written expressly with a view to shew discrepancies between the doctrines maintained by the *Dayabhaga* and those inculcated in the *Mitakshara*, and for the satisfaction of your learned correspondent, I quote the language of the Essay on this very subject. "Judgments have accordingly been given on its (*Dayabhaga's*) authority, in many most important cases, in which it differs materially from the Mitakshara," (page 8, par. 6.) Now, your learned correspondent can have no objection to the assertion I made as to the differences existing between the Dayabhaga and the Mitakshara, with regard to "woman's property," as he has in one of the alternatives "recommended" me "to say" as "I please."

I fully agree with your learned correspondent as to the encroachments gradually made by the modern Hindu Law expounders, on the rights of females, laying stress upon shallow reasoning and unconnected passages—a fact which I noticed in a pamphlet published by me in 1822, in these terms, "To compare the laws of female inheritance, which they (the ancients) enacted, and which afforded that sex the opportunity of the enjoyment of life, with that which moderns and our contemporaries have gradually introduced and established, to their complete privation, directly or indirectly, of most of those objects that render life agreeable."

I shall be most happy to make an attempt, on a future occasion, to illustrate this subject. In the meantime,

I remain, your very obedient servant,

RAMMOHUN ROY.

Kedgeree, Nov. 19, 1830.

PETITIONS

AGAINST THE

PRESS REGULATION.

CALCUTTA:

1823.

MEMORIAL TO THE SUPREME COURT.*

To the Honourable Sir Francis Magnaghten,

Sole Acting Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

My Lord,

In consequence of the late Rule and Ordinance passed by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, regarding the Publication of Periodical Works, your Memorialists consider themselves called upon with due submission, to represent to you their feelings and sentiments on the subject.

Your Memorialists beg leave, in the first place, to bring to the notice of your Lordship, various proofs given by the Natives of this country of their unshaken loyalty to, and unlimited confidence in the British Government of India, which may remove from your mind any apprehension of the Government being brought into hatred and

* "The eminently learned Dr. Bryce, the head minister of the new Scotch Church, having accepted the situation of Clerk of the Stationary belonging to the Honourable Company, Mr. Buckingham, the editor of the [*Calcutta*] *Journal* observed directly as well as indirectly that it was unbecoming of the character of the minister to accept a situation like this; upon which the Governor-General, in consideration of his disrespectful expression, passed an order that Mr. Buckingham should leave India for England within the period of two months from the date of the receipt of this order, and that after the expiration of that period he is not allowed to remain a single day in India."—*Mirat-al-Akhbar*.

"The *Journal* was suppressed, and at the close of 1823, Mr. Arnot, Mr. Buckingham's assistant editor, was arrested and put on board a home-going ship. The notice expelling Mr. Buckingham was followed up, suddenly and without notice, on March 14th, by a rigorous Press Ordinance from the Acting Governor-General in Council. * * *. The Ordinance prescribed that henceforth no one should publish a newspaper or other periodical without having obtained a license from the Governor-General in Council, signed by the Chief Secretary. Before this regulation could come into force, the law required it to be fixed up in the Supreme Court for twenty days, and then if not disallowed, registered. It was accordingly entered on March 15th. On the 17th, Council moved the Court to allow parties feeling themselves aggrieved by the new regulation to be heard. Sir Francis Macnaghten, the Sole Acting Judge, fixed the 31st for the hearing of objections, but suggested that in the meanwhile the objectors would do well to state their plea in a memorial to Government. Foremost among these objectors was Rammohun Roy. He and his friends set about promoting the suggested petition,......... Another memorial of the

contempt, or of the peace, harmony, and good order of society in this country, being liable to be interrupted and destroyed, as implied in the preamble of the above Rule and Ordinance.

First. Your Lordship is well aware, that the Natives of Calcutta and its vicinity, have voluntarily entrusted Government with millions of their wealth, without indicating the least suspicion of its stability and good faith, and reposing in the sanguine hope that their property being so secured, their interests will be as permanent as the British Power itself; while on the contrary, their fathers were invariably compelled to conceal their treasures in the bowels of the earth, in order to preserve them from the insatiable rapacity of their oppressive Rulers.

Secondly. Placing entire reliance on the promises made by the British Government at the time of the Perpetual Settlement of the landed property in this part of India, in 1793, the Landholders have since, by constantly improving their estates, been able to increase their produce, in general very considerabiy;* whereas, prior to that period, and under former Governments, their forefathers were obliged to lay waste the greater part of their estates, in order to make them appear of inferior value, that they might not excite the cupidity of Government, and thus cause their rents to be increased or themselves to be dispossessed of their lands,—a pernicious practice which often incapacitated the landholders from discharging even their stipulated revenue to Government, and reduced their families to poverty.

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same tenour was hastily drawn up next day, signed by Rammohun and five other distinguished native gentlemen, and by counsel submitted to the Supreme Court. This memorial was attributed by its opponents to an English Author, but was really, as was generally acknowledged later, the work of Rammohun. It may be regarded as the Areopagitica of Indian History. Alike in diction and in argument, it forms a noble landmark in the progress of English culture in the East. * * * *. On this memorial being read, its prayer was supported by the speeches of Counsel, Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Turton. But Sir Francis Macnaghten gave his decision in favour of the Press Ordinance. * * * There was but one resource left to the defenders of a free Press, and of that resource Rammohun did not hesitate to avail himself. He and his co-adjutors appealed to the King in Council. The Appeal is one of the noblest pieces of English to which Rammohun put his hand. Its stately periods and not less stately thought recall the eloquence of the great orators of a century ago. In a language and style for ever associated with the glorious vindication of liberty, it invokes against the arbitrary exercise of Bristish power the principles and traditions which are distinctive of British history."—*The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* by Miss Collet.

* Generally, it is said, two or three fold—REPORTER.

Thirdly. During the last wars which the British Government were obliged to undertake against neighbouring Powers, it is well known, that the great body of Natives of wealth and respectability, as well as the Landholders of consequence, offered up regular prayers to the objects of their worship for the success of the British arms from a deep conviction that under the sway of that nation, their improvement, both mental and social, would be promoted, and their lives, religion, and property be secured. Actuated by such feelings, even in those critical times, which are the best test of the loyalty of the subject, they voluntarily came forward with a large portion of their property to enable the British Government to carry into effect the measures necessary for its own defence, considering the cause of the British as their own, and firmly believing that on its success, their own happiness and prosperity depended.

Fourthly. It is manifest as the light of day, that the general subjects of observation and the constant and the familiar topic of discourse among the Hindu community of Bengal, are the literary and political improvements which are continually going on in the state of the country under the present system of Government, and a comparison between their present auspicious prospects and their hopeless condition under their former Rulers.

Under these circumstances, your Lordship cannot fail to be impressed with a full conviction, that whoever charges the Natives of this country with disloyalty, or insinuates aught to the prejudice of their fidelity and attachment to the British Government, must either be totally ignorant of the affairs of this country and the feelings and sentiments of its inhabitants, as above stated, or, on the contrary, be desirous of misrepresenting the people and misleading the Government, both here and in England, for unworthy purposes of his own.

Your Memorialists must confess, that these feelings of loyalty and attachment, of which the most unequivocal proofs stand on record, have been produced by the wisdom and liberality displayed by the British Government in the means adopted for the gradual improvement of their social and domestic condition, by the establishment of Colleges, Schools, and other beneficial institutions in this city, among which the creation of a British Court of Judicature for the more effectual administration of Justice, deserves to be gratefully remembered.

A proof of the Natives of India being more and more attached to the British Rule in proportion as they experience from it the blessings of just and liberal treatment, is, that the Inhabitants of Calcutta, who enjoy in many respects very superior privileges to those of their fellow-subjects in other parts of the country, are known to be in like measure more warmly devoted to the existing Government; nor is it at all wonderful they should in loyalty be not at all inferior to British-born Subjects, since they feel assured of the possession of the same civil and religious liberty, which is enjoyed in England, without being subjected to such heavy taxation as presses upon the people there.

Hence the population of Calcutta, as well as the value of land in this City, have rapidly increased of late years, notwithstanding the high rents of houses and the dearness of all the necessaries of life compared with other parts of the country, as well as the Inhabitants being subjected to additional taxes, and also liable to the heavy costs necessarily incurred in case of suits before the Supreme Court.

Your Lordship may have learned from the works of the Christian Missionaries, and also from other sources, that ever since the art of printing has become generally known among the Natives of Calcutta, numerous Publications have been circulated in the Bengalee Language, which by introducing free discussion among the Natives and inducing them to reflect and inquire after knowledge, have already served greatly to improve their minds and ameliorate their condition. This desirable object has been chiefly promoted by the establishment of four Native Newspapers, two in the Bengalee and two in the Persian Language, published for the purpose of communicating to those residing in the interior of the country, accounts of whatever occurs worthy of notice at the Presidency or in the country, and also the interesting and valuable intelligence of what is passing in England and in other parts of the world, conveyed through the English Newspapers or other channels.

Your Memorialists are unable to discover any disturbance of the peace, harmony, and good order of society, that has arisen from the English Press, the influence of which must necessarily be confined to that part of the community who understand the language thoroughly; but they are quite confident, that the publications in the Native Languages, whether in the shape of a Newspaper

or any other work, have none of them been calculated to bring the Government of the country into hatred and contempt, and that they have not proved, as far as can be ascertained by the strictest inquiry, in the slightest degree injurious; which has very lately been acknowledged in one of the most respectable English Missionary works. So far from obtruding upon Government groundless representations, Native Authors and Editors have always restrained themselves from publishing even such facts respecting the judicial proceedings in the Interior of the country as they thought were likely at first view to be obnoxious to Government.

While your Memorialists were indulging the hope that Government, from a conviction of the manifold advantages of being put in possession of full and impartial information regarding what is passing in all parts of the Country, would encourage the establishment of Newspapers in the cities and districts under the special patronage and protection of Government, that they might furnish the Supreme Authorities in Calcutta with an accurate account of local occurrences and reports of Judicial proceedings,—they have the misfortune to observe, that on the contrary, his Excellency the Governor-General in Council has lately promulgated a Rule and Ordinance imposing severe restraints on the Press and prohibiting all Periodical Publications even at the Presidency and in the Native Languages, unless sanctioned by a License from Government, which is to be revocable at pleasure whenever it shall appear to Government that a publication has contained anything of an unsuitable character.

Those Natives who are in more favourable circumstances and of respectable character, have such an invincible prejudice against making a voluntary affidavit, or undergoing the solemnities of an oath, that they will never think of establishing a publication which can only be supported by a series of oaths and affidavits, abhorrent to their feelings and derogatory to their reputation amongst their countrymen.

After this Rule and Ordinance shall have been carried into execution, your Memorialists are therefore extremely sorry to observe, that a complete stop will be put to the diffusion of knowledge and the consequent mental improvement now going on, either by translations into the popular dialect of this country from the learned languages of the East, or by the circulation of literary intelligence drawn from foreign publications. And the same cause will also prevent those

Natives who are better versed in the laws and customs of the British Nation, from communicating to their fellow-subjects a knowledge of the admirable system of Government established by the British, and the peculiar excellencies of the means they have adopted for the strict and impartial administration of justice. Another evil of equal importance in the eyes of a just Ruler, is, that it will also preclude the Natives from making the Government readily acquainted with the errors and injustice that may be committed by its executive officers in the various parts of this extensive country; and it will also preclude the Natives from communicating frankly and honestly to their Gracious Sovereign in England and his Council, the real condition of his Majesty's faithful subjects in this distant part of his dominions and the treatment they experience from the local Government: since such information cannot in future be conveyed to England, as it has heretofore been, either by the translations from the Native publications inserted in the English Newspapers printed here and sent to Europe, or by the English publications which the Natives themselves had in contemplation to establish, before this Rule and Ordinance was proposed.

After this sudden deprivation of one of the most precious of their rights, which has been freely allowed them since the Establishment of the British Power, a right which they are not, and cannot be charged with having ever abused, the inhabitants of Calcutta would be no onger justified in boasting, that they are fortunately placed by Providence under the protection of the whole British Nation, or that the King of England and his Lords and Commons are their Legislators, and that they are secured in the enjoyment of the same civil and religious privileges that every Briton is entitled to in England.

Your Memorialists are persuaded that the British Government is not disposed to adopt the political maxim so often acted upon by Asiatic Princes, that the more a people are kept in darkness, their Rulers will derive the greater advantages from them; since, by reference to History, it is found that this was but a short-sighted policy which did not ultimately answer the purpose of its authors. On the contrary, it rather proved disadvantageous to them; for we find that as often as an ignorant people, when an opportunity offered, have revolted against their Rulers, all sorts of barbarous excesses and cruelties have been the consequeuce; whereas a people naturally disposed to peace and ease, when placed under a good Government

from which they experience just and liberal treatment, must become the more attached to it, in proportion as they become enlightened and the great body of the people are taught to appreciate the value of the blessings they enjoy under its Rule.

Every good Ruler, who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature, and reverences the Eternal Governor of the world, must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire; and therefore he will be anxious to afford every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the unrestrained Liberty of Publication, is the only effectual means that can be employed. And should it ever be abused, the established Law of the Land is very properly armed with sufficient powers to punish those who may be found guilty of misrepresenting the conduct or character of Government, which are effectually guarded by the same Laws to which individuals must look for protection of their reputation and good name.

Your memorialists conclude by humbly entreating your Lordship to take this Memorial into your gracious consideration; and that you will be pleased by not registering the above Rule and Ordinance, to permit the Natives of this country to continue in possession of the civil rights and privileges which they and their fathers have so long enjoyed under the auspices of the British nation, whose kindness and confidence, they are not aware of having done anything, to forfeit.

Chunder Coomar Tagore,
Dwarka Nauth Tagore,
Rammohun Roy,
Hurchunder Ghose,
Gowree Churn Bonnergee,
Prossunno Coomar Tagore.

APPEAL TO THE KING IN COUNCIL.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please your Majesty.

We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, Natives of India and inhabitants of Calcutta, being placed by Providence under the sovereign care and protection of the august head of the British nation, look up to your Majesty as the guardian of our lives, property, and religion, and when our rights are invaded and our prayers disregarded by the subordinate authorities, we beg leave to carry our complaints before your Majesty's throne, which is happily established in mercy and justice, amidst a generous people celebrated throughout the earth as the enemies of tyranny, and distinguished under your royal auspices, as the successful defenders of Europe from Continental usurpation.

2nd. We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, now come before you under the most painful circumstances, the local executive authorities having suddenly assumed the power of legislation in matters of the highest moment, and abolished legal privileges of long standing, without the least pretence that we have ever abused them, and made an invasion on our civil rights such as is unprecedented in the History of British Rule in Bengal, by a measure which either indicates a total disregard of the civil rights and privileges of your Majesty's faithful subjects, or an intention to encourage a cruel and unfounded suspicion of our attachment to the existing Government.

3rd. The greater part of Hindustan having been for several centuries subject to Muhammadan Rule, the civil and religious rights of its original inhabitants were constantly trampled upon, and from the habitual oppression of the conquerors, a great body of their subjects in the southern Peninsula (Dukhin), afterwards called Marhattahs, and another body in the western parts now styled Sikhs, were at last driven to revolt; and when the Mussulman power became feeble, they ultimately succeeded in establishing their independence; but the Natives of Bengal wanting vigor of body, and adverse to active exertion, remained during the whole period of the Muhammadan

conquest, faithful to the existing Government, although their property was often plundered, their religion insulted, and their blood wantonly shed. Divine Providence at last, in its abundant mercy, stirred up the English nation to break the yoke of those tyrants, aud to receive the oppressed Natives of Bengal under its protection. Having made Calcutta the capital of their dominions, the English distinguished this city by such peculiar marks of favour, as a free people would be expected to bestow, in establishing an English Court of Judicature, and granting to all within its jurisdiction, the same civil rights as every Briton enjoys in his native country ; thus putting the Natives of India in possession of such privileges as their forefathers never expected to attain, even under Hindu Rulers. Considering these things and bearing in mind also the solicitude for the welfare of this country, uniformly expressed by the Honourable East India Company, under whose immediate control we are placed, and also by the Supreme Councils of the British nation, your dutiful subjects consequently have not viewed the English as a body of conquerors, but rather as deliverers, and look up to your Majesty not only as a Ruler, but also as a father and protector.

4th. Since the establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Calcutta till the present time, a period that has been distinguished by every variety of circumstances, the country sometimes reposing in the bosom of profound peace, at others shaken with the din of arms—the local Government of Bengal, although composed from time to time, of men of every shade of character and opinion, never attempted of its own will and pleasure to take away any of the rights which your Majesty's royal ancestors with the consent of their Councils, had been graciously pleased to confer on your faithful subjects. Under the cheering influence of equitable and indulgent treatment, and stimulated by the example of a people famed for their wisdom and liberality, the Natives of India, with the means of amelioration set before them, have been gradually advancing in social and intellectual improvement. In their conduct and in their writings, whether periodical or otherwise, they have never failed to manifest all becoming respect to a Government fraught with such blessings ; of which their own publications and the judgment passed upon them by the works of their contemporaries, are the best proofs. Your faithful subjects beg leave in support of this statement to submit two extracts from English works very lately published, one by a Native of

India, and the other by English Missionaries; the first is from a work published on the 30th of January last, by Rammohun Roy, entitled "a Final Appeal to the Christian Public," which may serve as a specimen of the sentiments expressed by the Natives of India towards the Government.

"I now conclude my Essay in offering up thanks to the Supreme Disposer of the universe, for having unexpectedly delivered this country, from the long continued tyranny of its former Rulers, and placed it under the Government of the English, a nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves, in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends."—Pages 378, 379.

5th The second extract is from a periodical work published at the Danish settlement of Serampore, by a body of English Missionaries, who are known to be generally the best qualified and the most careful observers of the foreign countries in which Europeans have settled. This work, entitled the "FRIEND OF INDIA," treating of the Native Newspapers published in Bengal, thus observes: "How necessary a step this (the establishment of a Native Press) was for the amelioration of the condition of the Natives, no person can be ignorant who has traced the effects of the Press in other countries. The Natives themselves soon availed themselves of this privilege; no less than four Weekly Newspapers in the Native language have now been established, and there are hopes, that these efforts will contribute essentially to arouse the Native mind from its long lethargy of death; and while it excites them to inquire into what is going forward in a world, of which Asia forms so important a portion, urge them to ascertain their own situation respecting that eternal world, which really communicates all the vigour and interest now so visible in Europeans. *Nor has this liberty been abused by them in the least degree*; yet these vehicles of intelligence have begun to be called for, from the very extremites of British India, and the talents of the Natives themselves, have not unfrequently been exerted in the production of Essays, that would have done credit to our own countrymen."—(*Friend of India*, quarterly series, No. VII, published in December, 1822).

6th. An English gentleman, of the name of Buckingham, who for some years published a Newspaper in this place, entitled the "CALCUTTA JOURNAL," having incurred the displeasure of the local

Government, was ordered to leave this country, and soon afterwards, the Hon'ble John Adam, the Governor-General in Council, suddenly without any previous intimation of his intentions, passed a Rule and Ordinance, on the 14th of March, thus taking away the liberty of the Press, which your Majesty's faithful subjects had so long and so happily enjoyed, and substituting his own will and pleasure for the Laws of England, by which it had hitherto been governed. (This Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation is annexed: *vide* Paper annexed No. 1.)*

7th. It being necessary according to the system established for the Government of this country that the above Regulation should receive the approbation of the Supreme Court by being registered there, after having been fixed up for 20 days on the walls of the Court-room, before it could become Law on the following Monday, (the 17th of March,) Mr. Fergusson, Barrister, moved the Court to allow parties who might feel themselves aggrieved by the New Regulation, to be heard against it by their Counsel before the sanction of the Court should establish it as Law, and the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaghten, the sole acting Judge, expressed his willingness to hear in this manner, all that could be urged against it, and appointed Monday the 31st of the same month of March, for Counsel to be heard. His Lordship also kindly suggested, that in the meantime, he thought it would be advisable to present a Memorial to Government, praying for the withdrawal of the said Rule and Ordinance. These observations from the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaghten, inspired your Majesty's faithful subjects at this Presidency, with a confident hope, that his Lordship disapproved of the Rule and Ordinance, and would use his influence with Government to second the prayer of the Memorial he recommended to be presented, or that at least in virtue of the authority vested in him for the purpose of protecting your faithful subjects against illegal and oppressive acts, he would prevent the proposed Rule from passing into Law.

8th. Your faithful subjects agreeable to a suggestion of this nature, proceeding from such a source, employed the few days intervening, in preparing a Memorial to Government, containing a respectful representation of the reasons which existed against the proposed Rule and Ordinance being passed into Law; but in prepar-

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* These annexed papers have not been published as unneessary.—Ed.

ing this Memorial in both the English and Bengalee Languages, and discussing the alterations suggested by the different individuals who wished to give it their support and signature, so much time was necessarily consumed, that it was not ready to be sent into circulation for signature until the 30th of March ; consequently only fifteen Natives of respectability had time to read it over and affix their signature before the following day on which it was to be discussed in the Supreme Court and finally sanctioned or rejected. Besides that this number was considered insufficient, it was then too late for Government to act upon this Memorial, so as to supersede the discussions and decision that were to take place in the Court, and a few individuals, therefore, of those who concurred in it, hastily prepared another Memorial of the same tenor in the morning of that day, addressed to the Supreme Court itself, demonstrating our unshaken attachment to the British Government, and praying the Court to withhold its sanction from a Regulation which would deprive us of an invaluable privilege, firmly secured to us by the Laws of the Land, which we had so long enjoyed and could not be charged with ever having abused. (Annexed paper No. 2.) And although from these circumstances, the Memorial had still fewer signatures, your Majesty's faithful subjects reposed in the hope, that in appealing to a British Court of Law they might rely more on the justice of their cause, than the number or weight of names, especially, since it is well-known, that there are many under the immediate influence of Government, who would not express an opinion against the acts of those in power at the time, although it were to secure the salvation of all their countrymen.

9th. This Memorial being, by the order of the Judge read by the Registrar of the Court, Mr. Fergusson, (who besides his professional skill and eminence as an English Lawyer, has acquired by his long practice at the Calcutta Bar, a very intimate acquaintance with the state of this Country) in virtue of the permission granted him, entered into an argument, shewing the Rule and Ordinance to be both illegal and inexpedient. (The grounds on which he opposed it are given at length, annexed paper No. 3.)

10th. These and other conclusive arguments, urged by Mr. Fergusson, and also by Mr. Turton, both eminently skilled in the Laws of England, powerfully strengthened the hopes previously created by the observations that formerly fell from the Bench, that

the learned Judge would enter his protest against such a direct violation of the Laws, and uncalled for invasion of the rights of your faithful subjects.

11th. Notwithstanding, we observed with astonishment and regret, that his Lordship, in giving his decision, paid no regard whatever to the above Memorial, not alluding to it in the most distant manner, nor to the argument it contained; and his Lordship further disclosed, that at the time he expressed a desire to hear every objection that could be urged, and recommended a Memorial to Government against it, from which your faithful subjects unanimously hoped that the mind of the Judge was undecided, and rather unfavourable to the Rule, his Lordship had previously pledged himself by promise to Government to give it his sanction. (Annexed paper No. 4, containing the speech made by Sir Francis Macnaghten the Judge, who presided on the occasion).

12th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects cannot account for the inconsistency manifested by Sir F. Macnaghten in two different points with regard to the sanctioning of this Regulation. In the first place, according to his Lordship's own statement from the Bench, he refused not only once, but twice, to see the Regulation before it passed in Council, probably because his Lordship thought it improper for him to give it his approbation until it came before him in the regular manner; but he afterwards, when application was made to him a third time, not only consented to read it, but with some alterations agreed to give it his sanction, a change of conduct for which no reason was assigned by his Lordship. Again, when application was made to his Lordship to hear the objections that might be urged against it, before giving it his Judicial approval, his Lordship withheld from the knowledge of the public, not only that he had already so pledged himself; but even that he had previously seen the Regulation, and expressed himself ready to hear all that could be said respecting it, in the same manner as if his mind had been unfettered by any promise, and perfectly open to conviction. Consequently, some of your Majesty's faithful subjects prepared a Memorial and retained Counsel against the new Regulation, and had afterwards the mortification to find, that their representations were treated with contemptuous neglect, and that the arguments of the most able Lawyers could be of no avail.

13th. Your Majesty in Parliament has been graciously pleased to make it a part of the Law of this Country, that after a Regulation has

passed the Council, it must be fixed up for twenty days in the Supreme Court, before it can be registered, so as to receive the full force of Law, an interval which allows the Judge time for deliberation and to hear from others all the objections that may exist to the proposed measure, and might have the effect of preventing the establishment of injudicious and inexpedient or unjust and oppressive acts; but if, as in this case, the Judges enter into previous compact with the Local Government, and thus preclude the possibility of any effectual representation from your faithful subjects, who have no intimation of what is meditated till it be finally resolved upon, the salutary effect of twenty days' delay is lost, and your faithful subjects will be in constant apprehension, that the most valuable and sacred of their rights may, as in this instance, be suddenly snatched from them at a moment's warning, before they know that such a measure is in contemplation, or have time to represent the evils which it is calculated to inflict upon them.

14th. In pursuance of the Regulation passed as above described, the Government issued an official order in the "GOVERNMENT GAZETTE" of the 5th of April, commanding the attention of Editors of Newspapers, or other periodical works, to certain restrictions therein contained, prohibiting all matters which it might consider as coming under the following heads:

(1st). Defamatory or contumelious reflections against the King, or any of the Members of the Royal Family.

(2nd). Observations or statements touching the character, constitution, measures or orders of the Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England, connected with the Government of India, or the character, constitution, measures, or orders of the Indian Governments, impugning the motives and designs of such authorities or Governments, or in any way tending to bring them into hatred or contempt, to excite resistance to their orders, and to weaken their authority.

(3rd.) Observations or statements of the above description, relative to, allied, or Friendly Native Powers, their Ministers, or Representatives.

(4th). Defamatory or contumelious remarks or offensive insinuations levelled against the Governor-General, the Governors or Commanders-in-Chief, the Members of Council, or the Judges of His Majesty's Courts at any of the Presidencies, or the Bishop of Calcutta,

and publications of any description, tending to expose them to hatred, obloquy or contempt, also libellous or abusive reflections and insinuations against the Public Officers of Government.

(5th.) Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended official interference with their religious opinions and observances, and irritating and insulting remarks on their peculiar usages and modes of thinking on religious subjects.

(6th.) The republication from English, or other papers, of passages coming under the foregoing heads.

(7th.) Defamatory publications tending to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society.

(8th.) Anonymous appeals to the Public, relative to grievances of professional or official nature, alleged to have been sustained by public officers in the service of His Majesty or the Honourable Company.

This Copy of the Restrictions will be authenticated by the annexed Copy (No. 5).

15th. The above Restrictions, as they are capable of being interpreted, will in fact afford Government and all its Functionaries from the highest to the lowest, complete immunity from censure or exposure respecting anything done by them in their official capacity, however desirable it might be for the interest of the Country, and also that of this Houourable Company, that the public conduct of such public men should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It can scarcely be doubted that the real object of these Restrictions is, to afford all the Functionaries of Government complete security against their conduct being made the subject of observation, though it is associated with a number of other restraints totally uncalled for, but well calculated to soothe the supreme authorities in England and win their assent to the main object of the Rule—the suppression of public remark on the conduct of the public Officers of Government in India.

16th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects could have surely no inducement in this distant quarter of the world to make contumelious and injurious reflections on your Majesty or any of the members of your Majesty's illustrious family, or to circulate them among people to whom your Majesty's name is scarcely known, and to the greatest part of whom, even the fame of your greatness and power

has not reached; but to those few Natives who are possessed of sufficient information to understand the political situation of England, the English Newspapers and Books which are constantly brought to this country in great abundance, are equally intelligible with the periodical publications printed in Calcutta.

17th. Neither can your Majesty's faithful subjects have any wish to make remarks on the proceedings of the Court of Directors, of whose beneficent intentions they are well convinced, but that the Honourable Body who have so often manifested their earnest desire to ameliorate the condition of their Indian dependants, must be naturally anxious to be made exactly acquainted with the manner in which their wishes are carried into execution, and the operation and effect of the acts passed relative to this country.

18th. Whoever shall maliciously publish what has a tendency to bring the Government into hatred and contempt, or excite resistance to its orders, or weaken their authority, may be punished by Law as guilty of treason or sedition; and surely in a country enjoying profound peace externally and internally, and where seditious and treasonable publications are unknown, it could not be necessary for Government to throw aside of a sudden, the Laws which for anything that has appeared, were fully sufficient, and arm itself with new and extraordinary powers at a time when that Government is more secure than at any former period.

19th. It may surely be left for British Judges and Juries to determine whether the mention made of the proceedings of Government, be malevolent, seditious and dangerous to the State, so as to render a writer or publisher culpable and amenable to punishment; but if the mere mention of the conduct of Government without misrepresentation or malice on the part of the writer, bring it into hatred and contempt, such conduct will never receive the countenance or protection of your Majesty by the sanction of a Law to prevent its exposure to public observation, and the discovery of that dissatisfaction it may have occasioned, which would afford the higher authorities an opportunity of removing them.

20th. After a body of English Missionaries have been labouring for about twenty-five years by preaching and distributing publications in the native languages in all parts of Bengal, to bring the prevailing system of religion into disrepute, no alarm whatever prevails, because your Majesty's faithful subjects possess the power of defending

their Religion by the same means that are employed against it, and many of them have exercised the freedom of the Press to combat the writings of English missionaries, and think no other protection necessary to the maintenance of their faith. While the Teachers of Christianity use only reason and persuation to propagate their Religion, your Majesty's faithful subjects are content to defend theirs by the same weapons, convinced that true Religion needs not the aid of the sword or of legal penalties for its protection. While your Majesty's faithful subjects perceived that Government shewed no displeasure, and claimed no arbitrary power of preventing the publication of what was written in defence of the prevailing religion of the country, it was impossible to entertain any such suspicion as that intimated in the 5th article, viz., that Government would interfere with the established faith of the natives of this country. Nevertheless, if any person with a malicious and seditious design were to circulate an unfounded rumour that Government meant so to interfere with our religious privileges, he would be severely punished by law: but if the Government really intended to adopt measures to change the religion of the country, your Majesty's faithful subjects would be absolutely prohibited by the present Restrictions from intimating the appalling intelligence to their countrymen: and although they have every reason to hope that the English nation will never abandon that religious toleration which has distinguished their progress in the East, it is impossible to forsee to what purposes of religious oppression such a Law might at some future time be applied.

21st. The office of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta not calling him to preach Christianity in that part of the town inhabited by the natives, or to circulate Pamphlets among them against the established Religion of the Country, but being of a nature totally distinct, and not at all interfering with the religious opinion of the native population, they could never dream of vilifying and defaming his character or office.

22nd. The Judges of the Supreme Court in Calcutta and of the English Courts of Judicature at the other Presidencies, enjoy, in virtue of their office, the power of protecting their characters and official conduct from defamation and abuse: since such would be either a contempt of the Court, liable to summary punishment, or punishable by those Laws enacted against libel. It is therefore hard to be conceived, that they stand in need of still further protection, unless it should be wished thereby to create an idea of their infallibi-

lity, which however is incompatible with the freedom allowed to Barristers, of delivering their sentiments beforehand on the justice or injustice of the opinions the Judges may pronounce, and in case of appeal, of controverting the justice and equity of their decision. The only object such a restriction is calculated to attain, must therefore be defeated, unless it be meant thereby to prevent the publication of the pleadings which as they take place in an English Court of Judicature are by Law public, and ought to be accessible to all.

23rd. The seventh restriction prohibiting defamatory publications tending to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of Society, is equally unnecessary, since the British Legislature has already provided a punishment for such offences by the Laws enacted against libel.

24th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects will not offer any more particular remarks on the superfluous Restrictions introduced to accompany those more important ones which are the principal object of Government, and will conclude with this general observation, that they are unnecessary, either because the offences prohibited are imaginary and improbable, or because they are already provided for by the Laws of the Land, and either the Government does not intend to put them in force at all, or it is anxious to interrupt the regular course of justice, abolish the right of Trial by Jury and, by taking the Law into its own hands, to combine the Legislative and Judicial power, which is destructive of all Civil Liberty.

25th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects have heard that, Your Majesty constantly submits to the greatest freedom of remark among your British-born subjects without losing any part of the homage and respect due to your exalted character and station, and that the conduct of your Ministers is constantly the topic of discussion, without destroying the dignity and power of the Government. While such is the case in a country where it is said above nine-tenths of the Inhabitants read newspapers, and are therefore liable to be led by the opinions circulated through the Press, its capability of bringing a Government into hatred and contempt must be far less in a country where the great mass of the population do not read at all, and have the greatest reverence for men in power, of whom they can only judge by what they feel, and are not to be moved by what is written, but by what is done, where consequently Government can only be brought into hatred and contempt by its own acts.

26th. The Marquis of Hastings, who had associated for the greater part of his life, with Kings and Princes, entertained no apprehension that the salutary control of public scrunity which he commended, would bring him or his Indian administration into hatred and contempt; and in effect, instead of such being the result, the greater the freedom he allowed to the European conductors of the Press, only rendered his name the most honored and revered in this part of the world, because it was universally believed, that his conduct proceeded from a consciousness of rectitude which feared no investigation.

27th. But your faithful subjects might forbear urging further arguments on this subject to your Majesty, who with your actions open to observation, possess the love, the esteem, and the respect of mankind, in a degree which none of the despotic Monarchs of Europe or Asia can ever attain, whose subjects are prohibited from examining and expressing their opinions regarding their conduct.

28th. Asia unfortunately affords few instances of Princes who have submitted their actions to the judgment of their subjects, but those who have done so, instead of falling into hatred and contempt, were the more loved and respected, while they lived, and their memory is still cherished by posterity; whereas more despotic Monarchs, pursued by hatred in their life time, could with difficutly escape the attempts of the rebel or the assassin, and their names are either detested or forgotten.

29th. The idea of the possession of absolute power and perfection, is evidently not necessary to the stability of the British Government of India, since your Majesty's faithful subjects are accustomed to see private individuals citing the Government before the Supreme Court, where the justice of their acts is fearlessly impugned, and after the necessary evidence being produced and due investigation made, judgment not unfrequently given against the Government, the judge not feeling himself restrained from passing just sentence by any fear of the Government being thereby brought into contempt. And your Majesty's faithful subjects only pray, that it may be permitted by means of the Press or by some other means equally effectual, to bring forward evidence regarding the acts of Government which affect the general interest of the community, that they also may be investigated and reversed, when those who have the power of doing so, become convinced that they are improper or injurious.

30th. A Government conscious of rectitude of intention, cannot be afraid of public scrutiny by means of the Press, since this instrument can be equally well employed as a weapon of defence, and a Government possessed of immense patronage, is more especially secure, since the greater part of the learning and talent in the country being already enlisted in the service, its actions, if they have any shadow of Justice, are sure of being ably and successfully defended.

31st. Men in power hostile to the Liberty of the Press, which is a disagreeable check upon their conduct, when unable to discover any real evil arising from its existence, have attempted to make the world imagine, that it might, in some possible contingency, afford the means of combination against the Government, but not to mention that extraordinary emergencies would warrant measures which in ordinary times are totally unjustifiable, your Majesty is well aware, that a Free Press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world, because, while men can easily represent the grievances arising from the conduct of the local authorities to the supreme Government, and thus get them redressed, the grounds of discontent that excite revolution are removed ; whereas, where no freedom of the Press existed, and grievances consequently remained unrepresented and unredressed, innumerable revolutions have taken place in all parts of the globe, or if prevented by the armed force of the Government, the people continued ready for insurrection.

32nd. The servants of the Honourable Company are necessarily firmly attached to that system from which they derive their consequence and power, and on which their hopes of higher honours and still greater emoluments depend ; and if it be possible to imagine, that these strong considerations are not sufficient to preserve subordination among them, the power of suspension and ruin which hangs over their heads for any deviation from duty, is certainly sufficient to secure that object.

33rd. After the British Government has existed for so many years, it has acquired a certain standard character in the minds of the natives of India, from the many excellent men who have from time to time held the reins of power, and the principles by which they have been guided. Whatever opinion, therefore, may be entertained of the individuals composing it at a particular period, while the source of power remains the same, your Majesty's faithful subjects cannot of a sudden lose confidence in the virtue of the

stream, since although it may for a period be tainted with corruption, yet in the natural course of events it must soon resume its accustomed character. Should individuals abuse the power entrusted to them, public resentment cannot be transferred from the delinquents to the Government itself, while there is a prospect of remedy from the higher authorities; and should the highest in this country turn a deaf ear to all complaint, by forbidding grievances to be even mentioned, the spirit of loyalty is still kept alive by the hope of redress from the authorities in England; thus the attachment of the Natives of India, to the British Government must be as permanent as their confidence in the honour and Justice of the British nation, which is their last Court of Appeal next to Heaven. But if they be prevented from making their real condition known in England, deprived of this hope of redress, they will consider the most peculiar excellence of the British Government of India, as done away.

34th. If these conclusions drawn from the particular circumstances of this country, be met with such an argument as that a colony or distant dependency can never safely be entrusted with the Liberty of the Press, and that therefore Natives of Bengal cannot be allowed to exercise the privileges they have so long enjoyed, this would be in other words to tell them, that they are condemned to perpetual oppression and degradation, from which they can have no hope of being raised during the existence of the British Power.

35th. The British nation has never yet descended to avow a principle so foreign to their character, and if they could for a moment entertain the idea of preserving their power by keeping their colonies in ignorance, the prohibition of periodical publications is not enough, but printing of all kinds, education, and every other means of diffusing knowledge should be equally discouraged and put down. For it must be the distant consequences of the diffusion of knowledge that are dreaded by those (if there be any such) who are really apprehensive for the stability of Government, since it is well known to all in the least acquainted with this country, that although every effort were made by periodical as well as other publications, a great number of years must elapse before any considerable change can be made in the existing habits and opinions of the Natives of India, so firmly are they wedded to established custom. Should apprehensions so unworthy of the English nation prevail, then unlike the ancient Romans who extended their knowledge and civilization with their

conquests, ignorance and degradation must mark the extent of British Power. Yet surely even this affords no hope of perpetual rule, since notwithstanding the tyranny and oppression of Gengis Khan and Tamerlane, their empire was not so lasting as that of the Romans, who to the proud title of conquerors, added the more glorious one of Enlighteners of the World. And of the two most renowned and powerful monarchs among the Moghuls, Akbar was celebrated for his clemency, for his encouragement of learning, and for granting civil and religious liberty to his subjects, and Aurungzebe, for his cruelty and intolerance, yet the former reigned happy, extended his power and his dominions, and his memory is still adored, whereas the other, though endowed with equal abilities and possessed of equal power and enterprize, met with many reverses and misfortunes during his lifetime, and his name is now held in abhorrence.

36th. It is well known that despotic Governments naturally desire the suppression of any freedom of expression which might tend to expose their acts to the obloquy which ever attends the exercise of tyranny or oppression, and the argument they constantly resort to, is, that the spread of knowledge is dangerous to the existence of all legitimate authority, since, as a people become enlightened, they will discover that by a unity of effort, the many may easily shake off the yoke of the few, and thus become emancipated from the restraints of power altogether, forgetting the lesson derived from history, that in countries which have made the smallest advances in civilization, anarchy and revolution are most prevalent—while on the other hand, in nations the most enlightened, any revolt against governments which have guarded inviolate the rights of the governed, is most rare, and that the resistence of a people advanced in knowledge, has ever been —not against the existence,—but against the abuses of the Governing power. Canada, during the late war with America, afforded a memorable instance of the truth of this argument. The enlightened inhabitants of that colony, finding that their rights and privileges had been secured to them, their complaints listened to, and their grievances redressed by the British government, resisted every attempt of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance to it. In fact, it may be fearlessly averred, that the more enlightened a people become, the less likely are they to revolt against the governing power, as long as it is exercised with justice tempered with mercy, and the rights and privileges of the governed are held sacred from any invasion.

37th. If your Majesty's faithful subjects could conceive for a moment, that the British nation actuated solely by interested policy, considered India merely as a valuable property, and would regard nothing but the best means of securing its possession and turning it to advantage, even then, it would be of importance to ascertain whether this property be well taken care of by their servants, on the same principle that good masters are not indifferent about the treatment of their slaves.

38th. While therefore the existene of a free Press is equally necessary for the sake of the Governors and the governed, it is possible a national feeling may lead the British people to suppose, that in two points, the peculiar situation of this country requires a modification of the laws enacted for the control of the Press in England. First, that for the sake of greater security and to preserve the union existing between England and this country, it might be necessary to enact a penalty to be inflicted on such persons as might endeavour to excite hatred in the minds of the Natives of India against the English nation. Secondly, that a penalty should be inflicted on such as might seditiously attempt to excite hostilities with neighbouring or friendly states. Although your Majesty's faithful subjects are not aware that anything has yet occurred to call for the precautions thus anticipated, yet should such or any other limitations of the liberty of the Press be deemed necessary, they are perfectly willing to submit to additional penalties to be legally inflicted. But they must humbly enter their protest against the injustice of robbing them of their long standing privileges, by the introduction of numerous arbitrary restrictions, totally uncalled for by the circumstances of the country—and whatever may be their intention, calculated to suppress truth, protect abuses—and encourage oppression.

39th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects now beg leave to call your Majesty's attention to some peculiarly injurious consequences of the new laws that have thus been suddenly introduced in the manner above described. First, the above Rule and Ordinance has deprived your Majesty's faithful subjects of the liberty of the Press, which they had enjoyed for so many years since the establishment of the British Rule. Secondly, your Majesty's faithful subjects are deprived of the protection of your Majesty and the high council of the British nation, who have hitherto exclusively exercised the legislative power in this part of your Majesty's dominions.

40th. If upon representations being made by the local authorities in the country, your Majesty after due investigation had been pleased with the advice of the high council of the realm to order the abolition of the liberty of the Press in India, your Majesty's faithful subjects from the feeling of respect and loyalty due to the supreme legislative power, would have patiently submitted, since although they would in that case, still have lost one of their most precious privileges, yet their claim to the superintendence and protection of the highest legislative authority, in whom your faithful subjects have unbounded confidence, would still have remained unshaken; but were this Rule and Ordinance of the local Government to be held valid, and thus remain as a precedent for similar proceedings in future, your faithful subjects would find their hope of protection from the Supreme Government, cut off, and all their civil and religious rights placed entirely at the mercy of such individuals as may be sent from England to assume the executive authority in this country, or rise into power through the routine of office, and who from long officiating in an inferior station, may have contracted prejudices against individuals or classes of men, which ought not to find shelter in the breast of the Legislator.

41st. As it never has been imagined, or surmised in this country, that the Government was in any immediate danger from the operation of the native Press, it cannot be pretended, that the public safety required strong measures to be instantly adopted, and that consequently there was not sufficient time to make a representation to the authorities in England, and wait for their decision, or that it was incumbent on the highest Judicial authority in India, to sanction an act so repugnant to the laws of England, which he has sworn to maintain inviolate.

42nd. If as your Majesty's faithful subjects have been informed, this Government were dissatisfied with the conduct of the English newspaper, called the "Calcutta Journal," the banishment of the Editor of that paper, and the power of punishing those left by him to manage his concern, should they also give offence, might have satisfied the Government; but at any rate yonr Majesty's faithful subjects, who are natives of this country, against whom there is not the shadow of a charge, are at a loss to understand the nature of that justice which punishes them, for the fault imputed to others. Yet notwithstanding what the local authorities of this country have

done, your faithful subjects feel confident, that your Majesty will not suffer it to be believed throughout your Indiau territories, that it is British justice to punish millions for the fault imputed to one individual.

43rd. The abolition of this most precious of their privileges, is the more appalling to your Majesty's faithful subjects, because it is a violent infringement of their civil and religious rights, which under the British Government, they hoped would be always secure. Your Majesty is aware, that under their former Muhammadan Rulers, the natives of this country enjoyed every political privilege in common with Mussulmans, being eligible to the higest offices in the state, entrusted with the command of armies and the government of provinces and often chosen as advisers to their Prince, without disqualification or degrading distinction on account of their religion or the place of their birth. They used to receive free grants of land exempted from any payments of revenue, and besides the highest salaries allowed under the Government, they enjoyed free of charge, large tracts of country attached to certain offices of trust and dignity, while natives of learning and talent were rewarded with numerous situations of honour and emolument. Although under the British Rule, the natives of India, have entirely lost this political consequence, your Majesty's faithful subjects were consoled by the more secure enjoyment of those civil and religious rights which had been so often violated by the rapacity and intolerance of the Mussalmans; and notwithstanding the loss of political rank and power, they considered themselves much happier in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty than were their ancestors; but if these rights that remain are allowed to be unceremoniously invaded, the most valuable of them being placed at the mercy of one or two individuals, the basis on which they have founded their hopes of comfort and happiness under the British Power, will be destroyed.

44th. Your Majesty has been pleased to place this part of your dominions under the immediate control of the Court of Directors, and this Honourable Body have committed the entire management of this country (Calcutta excepted) to a number of gentlemen styled Civil Servants, usually under the superintendence of a Governor-General. These gentlemen who are entrusted with the whole administration, consist of three classes; First, subordinate local officers, such as Judges of Districts, Magistrates, Collectors and commercial

agents; Secondly, officers superior to them as Judges of Circuit, and Members of different Revenue and Commercial Boards, &c. Thirdly, those who fill the highest and most important offices, as Judges of the Sudder Dewany Adalut, Secretaries to Government, the Members of the Supreme Council, and sometimes a Civil Servant may rise to the highest office, of Governor General of India. In former times, native fathers were anxious to educate their children according to the usages of those days, in order to qualify them for such offices under government as they might reasonably hope to obtain; and young men had the most powerful motives for sedulously cultivating their minds, in the laudable ambition of rising by their merits to an honourable rank in society; whereas, under the present system, so trifling are the rewards held out to native talent, that hardly any stimulus to intellectual improvement remains; yet, your Majesty's faithful subjects felt confident, that notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the natives of India would not sink into absolute mental lethargy while allowed to aspire to distinction in the world of letters, and to exercise the liberty of the Press for their moral and intellectual improvement, which are far more valuable than the acquisition of riches or any other temporal advantages under arbitrary power.

45th. Those gentlemen propose and enact laws for the Government of the extensive territory under their control, and also administer these laws; collect revenue of all sorts, and superintend manufactories carried on in behalf of the state; and they have introduced according to their judgment, certain judicial, commercial, and revenue systems, to which it may be supposed they are partial, as being their own, and therefore support them with their whole influence and abilities as of the most efficient and salutary character. It is also the established custom of these gentlemen to transmit official reports from time to time, to the Court of Directors, to make them acquainted with the mode in which the country is governed, and the happiness enjoyed by the people of this vast empire, from the manner in which the laws are administered.

46th. Granting that those gentlemen were almost infallible in their judgment and their systems nearly perfect; yet your Majesty's faithful subjects may be allowed to presume, that the paternal anxiety which the Court of Directors have often expressed for the welfare of the many millions dependent upon them in a country situated at the

distance of several thousand miles, would suggest to them the propriety of establishing some other means besides, to ascertain whether the systems introduced in their Indian possessions, prove so beneficial to the natives of this country, as their authors might fondly suppose or would have others believe, and whether the Rules and Regulations which may appear excellent in their eyes, are strictly put in practice.

47th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects are aware of no means by which impartial information on these subjects can be obtained by the Court of Directors or other authorities in England, except in one of the two following modes: either, first, by the existence of a Free Press in this country and the Establishment of Newspapers in the different Districts under the special partronage of the Court of Directors and subject to the control of law only, or secondly by the appointment of a commission composed of gentlemen of intelligence and respectability, totally unconnected with the Governing Body in this country, which may from time to time, investigate on the spot, the condition of your Majesty's faithful subjects, and judge with their own eyes regarding the operation of the systems of law and jurisprudence under which they live.

48th. But the immense labour required for surveying a country of such extent, and the great expense that would be necessary to induce men of such reputation and ability as manifestly to qualify them for the important task, to undertake a work of such difficulty, which must be frequently repeated, present great, if not insuperable obstacles to the introduction or efficacy of the latter mode of proceeding by commission; from which your Majesty's faithful subjects therefore, do not entertain any sanguine expectations; unless yonr Majesty influenced by humane considerations for the welfare of your subjects, were graciously pleased to enjoin its adoption from a conviction of its expediency whatever might be the expense attending it.

49th. The publication of truth and the natunal expression of men's sentiments through the medium of the Press, entail no burden on the State, and should it appear to your Majesty and the enlightened men placed about your throne, that this precious privilege which is so essential to the well-being of your faithful subjects, could not safely be entrusted to the Natives of India, although they have given such unquestionable proofs of their loyalty and attachment, subject only to the restraints wisely imposed upon the Press by the laws of England, your faithful subjects entreat on behalf of their

countrymen, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant it, subject to such severer restraints and heavier penalties as may be deemed necessary; but legal restraints, not those of arbitrary power—and penalties to be inflicted after trial and conviction according to the forms of the Laws of England,—not at the will and pleasure of one or two individuals without investigation or without hearing any defence or going through any of the forms prescribed by law, to ensure the equitable administration of justice.

50th. Notwithstanding the despotic power of the Mogul Princes who formerly ruled over this country, and that their conduct was often cruel and arbitrary, yet the wise and virtuous among them, always employed two intelligencers at the residence of their Nawabs or Lord Lieutenants, *Akhbar-navees*, or news-writer who published an account of whatever happened, and a *Khoofea-navees*, or confidential correspondent, who sent a private and particular account of every occurrence worthy of notice; and although these Lord Lieutenants were often particular friends or near relations to the Prince, he did not trust entirely to themselves for a faithful and impartial report of their administration, and degraded them when they appeared to deserve it, either for their own faults or for their negligence in not checking the delinquencies of their subordinate officers; which shews that even the Mogul Princes, although their form of Government admitted of nothing better, were convinced, that in a country so rich and so replete with temptations, a restraint of some kind was absolutely necessary, to prevent the abuses that are so liable to flow from the possession of power.

51st. The country still abounds in wealth, and its inhabitants are still addicted to the same corrupt means of compassing their ends, to which from having long lived under arbitrary Government, they have become naturally habituated; and if its present Rulers have brought with them purer principles from the land of their birth which may better withstand the influence of long residence amid the numerous temptations to which they are exposed;—on the other hand, from the seat of the Supreme Government being placed at an immense distance and the channel of communication entirely in their own hands, they are left more at liberty to follow their own interests, and looking forward to the quiet and secure enjoyment of their wealth in their native land, they may care little for the character they leave behind them in a remote country, among a people for whose opinion they

have no regard. Your Majesty's faithful subjects, therefore, humbly presume, that the existence of a restraint of some kind, is absolutely necessary to preserve your faithful subjects from the abuses of uncontrolled power.

52nd. That your Majesty may be convinced, that your faithful subjects do not allude merely to possible abuses, or point out only theoretical defects in established systems, they beg leave to call your Majesty's attention to the observations contained in a Number of a most respectable Baptist Missionary work, the accuracy of which, although it has now been two years* in circulation, in all parts of India, not one of the numerous civil servants of the Honourable Company, has ventured to dispute nor have the flagrant abuses it points out, been remedied.

53rd. It might be urged on the other hand, that persons who feel aggrieved, may transmit representations to the Court of Directors, and thus obtain redress ; but the natives of this country are generally ignorant of this mode of proceeding ; and with neither friends in England nor knowledge of the country, they could entertain no hope of success, since they know that the transmission of their representations, depends in point of time, upon the pleasure of the local Government, which will probably, in order to counteract their influence, accompany them with observations, the nature of which would be totally unknown to the complainants,—discouragements which in fact have operated as complete preventives, so that no instance of such a representation from the Natives of Bengal, has ever been known.

54th. In conclusion, your Majesty's faithful subjects humbly beseech your Majesty, first, to cause the Rule and Ordinance and Regulation before mentioned, which has been registered by the Judge of your Majesty's Court, to be rescinded ; and prohibit any authority in this country, from assuming the legislative power, or prerogatives of your Majesty and the High Council of the Realm, to narrow the privileges and destroy the rights of your Majesty's faithful subjects, who claim your protection, and are willing to submit to such laws, as your Majesty with the advice of your Council, shall be graciously pleased to enact.

Secondly, your Majesty's faithful subjects humbly pray, that your Majesty will be pleased to confirm to them the privilege, they have so

*No IV. Quarterly series of the Friend of India, published in December, 1821.

long enjoyed, of expressing their sentiments through the medium of the Press, subject to such legal restraints as may be thought necessary or that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to appoint a commission of intelligent and independent Gentlemen, to inquire into the real condition of the millions Providence has placed under your high protection.

55th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects from the distance of almost half the globe, appeal to your Majesty's heart by the sympathy which forms a paternal tie between you and the lowest of your subjects, not to overlook their condition; they appeal to you by the honour of that great nation which under your Royal auspices has obtained the glorious title of Liberator of Europe, not to permit the possibility of millions of your subjects being wantonly trampled on and oppressed; they lastly appeal to you by the glory of your Crown on which the eyes of the world are fixed, not to consign the natives of India, to perpetual oppression and degradation.

A LETTER

ON

ENGLISH EDUCATION.

CALCUTTA:

1823.

A LETTER ON ENGLISH EDUCATION.*

To His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Amherst,
Governor-General in Council.

My Lord,

Humbly reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present rulers of India, coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people whose language, literature, manners, customs, and ideas, are almost entirely new and strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with their real circumstances as the natives of the country are themselves. We should therefore be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty to ourselves and afford our rulers just grounds of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions of importance like the present, to supply them with such accurate information as might enable them to devise and adopt measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus second by our local knowledge and experience their declared benevolent intentions for its improvement.

The establishment of a new Sanscrit School in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to improve the natives of India by education,—a blessing for which they must ever be grateful, and every well-wisher of the human race must be desirous that the efforts

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* "The British Government was known to be appropriating funds for the promotion of Indian education; and the kind of promotion most desirable was the subject of eager discussion. Should the Government seek simply to develop and deepen the education already in vogue in India? Or should it boldly endeavour to introduce the innovations of European science and European culture? The "Orientalists" clamoured for the exclusive pursuit of Oriental studies. They were hotly opposed by the "Anglicists," chief among whom was Rammohun Roy. The Government seemed inclined to yield to the Orientalist view and announced the intention of establishing a Sanskrit College in Calcutta. This step drove Rammohun, undaunted by the scant courtesy which his former appeals to the British authorities had received, to address a *Letter on English Education* to Lord Amherst, the new Governor-General."—*The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, by Miss Collet.

made to promote it, should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow in the most useful channels.

When this seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talent and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge, thus promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude, we already offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened nations of the West with the glorious ambition of planting in Asia the arts and sciences of Modern Europe.

We find that the Government are establishing a Sanscrit school under Hindu Pandits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since then produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

The Sanscrit language, so difficult that almost a life time is necessary for its acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check to the diffusion of knowledge, and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil, is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. But if it were thought necessary to perpetuate this language for the sake of the portion of valuable information it contains, this might be much more easily accomplished by other means than the establishment of a new Sanscrit College ; for there have been always and are now numerous professors of Sanscrit in the different parts of the country engaged in teaching this language, as well as the other branches of literature which are to be the

object of the new seminary. Therefore their more diligent cultivation, if desirable, would be effectually promoted, by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to their most eminent professors, who have already undertaken on their own account to teach them, and would by such rewards be stimulated to still greater exertion.

From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India was intended by the Government in England for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed, since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen years of the most valuable period of their lives, in acquiring the niceties of Vyakaran or Sanskrit Grammar, for instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following: *khada*, signifying to eat, *khadati* he or she or it eats, query, whether does *khadati* taken as a whole convey the meaning he, she or it eats, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinctions of the words, as if in the English language it were asked how much meaning is there in the *eat* and how much in the *s*, and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by these two portions of it distinctly or by them taken jointly?

Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following which are the themes suggested by the Vedanta,—in what manner is the soul absorbed in the Deity? What relation does it bear to the Divine Essence? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe, that all visible things have no real existence, that as father brother, &c., have no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better.

Again, no essential benefit can be derived by the student of the *Mimansa* from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless by pronouncing certain passages of the Vedanta and what is the real nature and operative influence of passsages of the Vedas, &c.

The student of the Nyaya Sastra cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned from it into how many ideal classes the objects in the universe are divided and what speculative relation, the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, &c.

In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterized, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanscrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe and providing a College furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus.

In presenting this subject to your Lordship, I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen, and also to that enlightened sovereign and legislature which have extended their benevolent care to this distant land, actuated by a desire to improve the inhabitants, and therefore humbly trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus expressing my sentiments to your Lordship.

I have the honour, &c.,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

APPENDIX.

ADDRESS TO LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.*

To THE RIGHT HON. LORD WILLIAM CAVENDISH BENTINCK, &c.

MY LORD,

With hearts filled with the deepest gratitude, and impressed with the utmost reverence, we, the undersigned native inhabitants of Calcutta and its vicinity, beg to be permitted to approach your Lordship, to offer personally our humble but warmest acknowledgements for the invaluable protection which your Lordship's government has recently afforded to the lives of the Hindoo female part of your subjects, and for your humane and successful exertions in rescuing us for ever, from the gross stigma hitherto attached to our character as wilful murderers of females, and zealous promoters of the practice of suicide.

Excessive jealousy of their female connections, operating on the breasts of Hindu princes, rendered those despots regardless of the common bonds of society, and of their incumbent duty as protectors of the weaker sex, insomuch that with a view to prevent every possibility of their widows forming subsequent attachments, they availed themselves of their arbitrary power, and under the cloak of religion, introduced the practice of burning widows alive under the first impressions of sorrow or despair, immediately after the demise of their husbands. The system of female destruction, being admirably

*After the abolition of the practice of Suttee, on January 14th, 1830, " 'a numerous and respectable body of petitioners,' consisting of 800 inhabitants of Calcutta, laid before him their prayer for the abandonment of the prohibition. * * * * Counter-demonstrations were speedily forthcoming. Two days afterwards two addresses were presented to the Governor-General in support of his Anti-Suttee policy. * * * The other was signed by 300 native inhabitants of the same city and presented by Rammohun Roy and several of his well-known comrades." *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* by Miss Collet.

Of this address Raja Rammohun Roy is the reputed and probable author.—ED.

suited to the selfish and servile disposition of the populace, has been eagerly followed by them, in defiance of the most sacred authorities, such as the *Upanishads* or the principal parts of the *Vedas*, and the *Bhagavad Gita*, as well as of the direct commandment of Manu, the first and the greatest of all the legislators, conveyed in the following words: 'Let a widow continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing austere duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure,' &c. (Ch. 5, v. 158.)

While in fact fulfilling the suggestions of their jealousy they pretended to justify this hideous practice by quoting some passage from authorities of evidently inferior weight, sanctioning the wilful ascent of a widow on the flaming pile of her husband, as if they were offering such female sacrifices in obedience to the dictates of the Sastras and not from the influence of jealousy. It is, however, very fortunate that the British government under whose protection the lives of both the males and females of India have been happily placed by Providence, has, after diligent inquiry, ascertained that even those inferior authorities, permitting wilful ascent by a widow to the flaming pile, have been practically set aside, and that, in gross violation of their language and spirit, the relatives of widows have, in the burning of those infatuated females, almost invariably used to fasten them down on the pile, and heap over them large quantities of wood and other materials adequate to the prevention of their escape—an outrage on humanity which has been frequently perpetrated under the indirect sanction of native officers, undeservedly employed for the security of life and preservation of peace and tranquillity.

In many instances, in which the vigilance of the magistrate has deterred the native officers of police from indulging their own inclination, widows have either made their escape from the pile after being partially burnt, or retracted their resolution to burn when brought to the awful task, to the mortifying disappointment of the instigators: while in some instances the resolution to die has been retracted, on pointing out to the widows the impropriety of their intended undertaking, and on promising them safety and maintenance during life, notwithstanding the severe reproaches liable thereby to be heaped on them by their relatives and friends.

In consideration of circumstances so disgraceful in themselves, and so incompatible with the principles of British rule, your Lordship

in Council, fully impressed with the duties required of you by justice and humanity, has deemed it incumbent on you, for the honour of the British name, to come to the resolution, that the lives of your female Hindoo subjects should be henceforth more efficiently protected; that the heinous sin of cruelty to females may no longer be committed, and that the most ancient and purest system of Hindoo religion should not any longer be set at nought by the Hindoos themselves. The magistrates, in consequence, are, we understand, positively ordered to execute the resolution of government by all possible means.

We are, my Lord, reluctantly restrained by the consideration of the nature of your exalted situation, from indicating aur inward feelings by presenting any valuable offering as commonly adopted on such occasions; but we should consider ourselves highly guilty of insincerity and ingratitude, if we remained negligently silent when urgently called upon by our feelings and conscience to express publicly the gratitude we feel for the everlasting obligation you have graciously conferred on the Hindoo community at large. We, however, are at a loss to find language sufficiently indicative even of a small portion of the sentiments we are desirous of expressing on the occasion; we must therefore conclude this address with entreating that your Lordship will condescendingly accept our most grateful acknowledgments for this act of benevolence towards us, and will pardon the silence of those who, though equally partaking of the blessing bestowed by your Lordship, have through ignorance or prejudice omitted to join us in this common cause.

ANTI-SUTTEE PETITION.*

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Natives of India.

Sheweth,

That a practice has prevailed throughout India, particularly in Bengal, of burning those widows on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands, who could be induced to offer themselves as voluntary sacrifices.

That this barbarous and inhuman practice has been happily abolished by the Government of the Right Honourable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, who has thus conferred an inestimable benefit on the native population of India.

That the regulation prohibiting the practice has been received with gratitude by many, while the majority of the native population have remained passive and acquiescent, although nearly a twelvemonth has elapsed since the abolition took place.

That, as a proof of your Honourable House of the feeling entertained on the subject by a numerous portion of the native community, the subjoined address was presented to the Governor-General in Council expressive of their thanks for his benevolent interference.

[Here was recited the address presented by the Inhabitants of Calcutta to Lord William Bentinck, in January, 1830.]

That your petitioners have, however, learned that a number of natives, professing to be attached to the ancient practice, have prepared a petition to your Honourable House, soliciting the re-establishment of the rite of burning their widows ; and therefore to prevent your Honourable House from supposing that their sentiments are those of the whole native population, your petitioners respectfully

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* This petition was presented in opposition to the appeal of the advocates of Suttee to the authorities in England in favour of the practice. It is generally known to be, and is probably the production of Raja Rammohun Roy.—Ed.

present themselves to the notice of your Honourable House, and pray that the Regulation of the local government may be confirmed and enforced.

That your petitioners cannot permit themselves to suppose that such a practice, abhorrent to all the feelings of nature, the obligations of society, and the principles of good government, will receive the sanction of your Honourable House, much less that, having been abolished, the British name and character will be dishonoured by its re-establishment.

That your petitioners confidently rely on receiving from your Honourable House a full and final confirmation of the Act of the Governor-General in Council abolishing the rite of widow-burning.

And your petitioners will ever pray.



DEATH-MASK OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY IN THE POSSESSION

THE

PRECEPTS OF JESUS

THE

GUIDE TO PEACE AND HAPPINESS;

EXTRACTED FROM

THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT,

ASCRIBED TO THE FOUR EVANGELISTS.

WITH

TRANSLATIONS INTO SUNGSCRIT AND BENGALEE.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS, CIRCULAR ROAD.

1820.

INTRODUCTION.

A conviction in the mind of its total ignorance of the nature and of the specific attributes of the Godhead, and a sense of doubt respecting the real essence of the soul, give rise to feelings of great dissatisfaction with our limited powers, as well as with all human acquirements which fail to inform us on these interesting points. On the other hand, a notion of the existence of a supreme superintending power, the Author and Preserver of this harmonious system, who has organized and who regulates such an infinity of celestial and terrestrial objects, and a due estimation of that law which teaches that man should do unto others as he would wish to be done by, reconcile us to human nature, and tend to render our existence agreeable to ourselves and profitable to the rest of mankind. The former of these sources of satisfaction, *viz.*, a belief in God, prevails generally; being derived either from tradition and instruction, or from an attentive survey of the wonderful skill and contrivance displayed in the works of nature. The latter, although it is partially taught also in every system of religion with which I am acquainted, is principally inculcated by Christianity. This essential characteristic of the Christian religion I was for a long time unable to distinguish as such, amidst the various doctrines I found insisted upon in the writings of Christian authors, and in the conversation of those teachers of Christianity with whom I have had the honour of holding communication. Amongst these opinions, the most prevalent seems to be, that no one is justly entitled to the appellation of Christian who does not believe in the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, as well as in the divine nature of God, the Father of all created beings. Many allow a much greater latitude to the term Christian, and consider it as comprehending all who acknowledge the Bible to contain the revealed will of God, however they may differ from others in their interpretations of particular passages of Scripture; whilst some require from him who claims the title of Christian, only an adherence to the doctrines of Christ, as taught by himself, without insisting on implicit confidence in those of

the Apostles, as being, except when speaking from inspiration, like other men, liable to mistake and error. That they were so, is obvious from the several instances of differences of opinion amongst the Apostles recorded in the Acts and Epistles.*

Voluminous works, written by learned men of particular sects for the purpose of establishing the truth, consistency, rationality, and priority of their own peculiar doctrines, contain such variety of arguments, that I cannot hope to be able to adduce here any new reasonings of sufficient novely and force to attract the notice of my readers. Besides, in matters of religion particularly men in general, through prejudice and partiality to the opinions which they once form, pay little or no attention to opposite sentiments (however reasonable they may be) and often turn a deaf ear to what is most consistent with the laws of nature, and conformable to the dictates of human reason and divine revelation. At the same time, to those who are not biased by prejudice, and who are, by the grace of God, open to conviction, a simple enumeration and statement of the respective tenets of different sects may be a sufficient guide to direct their inquiries in ascertaining which of them is most consistent with the sacred traditions, and most acceptable to common sense. For these reasons, I decline entering into any discussion on those points, and confine my attention at present to the task of laying before my fellow-creatures the words of Christ, with a translation from the English into Sanscrit, and the language of Bengal. I feel persuaded that by separating from the other matters contained in the New Testament, the moral precepts found in that book, these will be more likely to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions and degrees of understanding. For, historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of free-thinkers and anti-christians, especially miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the native of Asia,† and consequently would be apt, at best, to carry little weight with them. On the contrary, moral doctrines, tending evidently to the maintenance of the peace and harmony of mankind at large, are beyond the reach of metaphysical

*Vide Acts, ch. xi. 2, 3, ch. xv. 2, 7; I Corinthians, ch. i. 12; Galatians, ch. ii. 11, 12, 13.

† Agasti is famed for having swallowed the ocean, when it had given him offence, and having restored it by urinary evacuation: at his command, also, the Vindhya range of mountains prostrated itself, and so remains. *(Wilson's Dictionary.)*

perversion, and intelligible alike to the learned and to the unlearned. This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of God, who has equally subjected all living creatures, without distinction of caste, rank or wealth, to change, disappointment, pain and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over nature, and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to themselves, and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form.

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THE

PRECEPTS OF JESUS,

THE

GUIDE TO PEACE AND HAPPINESS.

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*"And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him: and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying, Blessed *are* the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed *are* they that mourn: for they shall be comforted. Blessed *are* the meek: for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed *are* they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled. Blessed *are* the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed *are* the pure in heart: for they shall see God. Blessed *are* the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed *are* they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when *men* shall revile you, and persecute *you*, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceedingly glad: for great *is* your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men. Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from

* Matthew, chap. v.

the law, till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whoseover shall do and teach *them*, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed *the righteousness* of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill be in danger of the judgment: but I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, go thy way: first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. Agree with thine adversary quickly whilst thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast *it* from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not *that* thy whole body should be cast into hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast *it* from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not *that* thy whole body should be cast into hell. It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement: But I say unto you That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may

be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more *than others*? do not even the publicans so? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

* Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father, which is in heaven. Therefore, when thou doest *thine* alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth: that thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee openly.

And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites *are*: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and, when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen *do*: for they think, that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him. After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name: Thy kingdom come: Thy will be done in earth, as *it is* in heaven: give us this day our daily bread: and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors: and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen. For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

Moreover, when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But

* Matthew, chap. vi.

thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father who is in secret; and thy Father, who seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!

No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon. Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: and yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the oven, *shall he* not much more *clothe* you, O ye of little faith? Therefore take no thought, saying What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Where withal shall we be clothed? (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek:) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you. Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day *is* the evil thereof.

* Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. And why beholdest thou the mote that

* Matthew, chap. vii.

is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam *is* in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye. Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet and turn again and rend you. Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him? Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.

Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide *is* the gate, and broad *is* the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit, neither *can* a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them. Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me ye that work iniquity.

Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and

doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it. And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine: for he taught them as *one* having authority, and not as the scribes.

* And it came to pass, as Jesus sat at meat in the house, behold, many publicans and sinners came and sat down with him and his disciples. And when the Pharisees saw *it*, they said unto his disciples, Why eateth your Master with publicans and sinners? But when Jesus heard *that*, he said unto them, They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. But go ye and learn what *that* meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice: for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. Then came to him the disciples of John, saying, Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not? And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast. No man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment, for that which is put in to fill it up taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse. Neither do men put new wine into old bottles: else the bottles break, and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish: but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved.

† Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. But beware of men: for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues; and ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you. And the brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child: and the children shall rise up against *their* parents, and cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all *men* for my name's sake: but he that endureth to the end shall be saved. But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another: for verily I say unto you, Ye

* Matthew, chap. ix, 10. † Matthew, chap. x, 16.

shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more *shall they call* them of his household? Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known. What I tell you in darkness, *that* speak ye in light: and what ye hear in the ear, *that* preach ye upon the house-tops. And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows. Whosoever, therefore, shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven. Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes *shall* be they of his own household. He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it. He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me. He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold *water* only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward.

* At that time Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even, so father: for so it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered

* Matthew, chap. xi, 25.

unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and *he* to whomsoever the Son will reveal *him*. Come unto me, all *ye* that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke *is* easy, and my burden is light.

* At that time Jesus went on the sabbath day through the corn; and his disciples were an hungered, and began to pluck the ears of corn, and to eat. But when the Pharisees saw *it*, they said unto him, Behold, thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do upon the sabbath day. But he said unto them, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungered, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shew-bread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests? Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the sabbath days, the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and are blameless? But I say unto you, That in this place is *one* greater than the temple. But if ye had known what *this* meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath day.

And when he was departed thence, he went into their synagogue: and, Behold, there was a man which had *his* hand withered. And they asked him, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath days? that they might accuse him. And he said unto them, What man shall there be among you, that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift *it* out? How much then is a man better than a sheep? Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the sabbath days. Then saith he to the man, stretch forth thine hand. And he stretched *it* forth; and it was restored whole, like as the other.

† He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad. Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy *against* the *Holy* Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the *Holy* Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the *world* to come. Either make the tree good, and his

* Matthew, chap. xii. † Matthew, chap. xii., 30.

fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt: for the tree is known by *his* fruit. O generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. A good man, out of good the treasure of the heart, bringeth forth good things; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things: But I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.

While he yet talked to the people, behold *his* mother and his brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him. Then one said unto him, Behold, thy mother and brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee. But he answered and said unto him that told him, Who is my mother? and who are my brethren? And he stretched forth his hand toward his disciples, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.

*The same day went Jesus out of the house, and sat by the sea-side. And great multitudes were gathered together unto him, so that he went into a ship, and sat; and the whole multitude stood on the shore. And he spake many things unto them in parables, saying, Behold, a sower went forth to sow; and when he sowed, some *seeds* fell by the way side, and the fowls came and devoured them up: some fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth: and forthwith they sprung up, because they had no deepness of earth; and when the sun was up, they were scorched; and because they had no root, they withered away: and some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprung up, and choked them: but other fell into good ground, and brought forth fruit, some an hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold. Who hath ears to hear, let him hear. And the disciples came, and said unto him, Why speakest thou unto them in parables; He answered and said unto them, Because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given. For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath. Therefore speak I to them in parables: because they seeing, see not; and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand. And in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias,

* Matthew, chap. xiii.

which saith, By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive: for this people's heart is waxed gross, and *their* ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with *their* eyes, and hear with *their* ears, and should understand with *their* heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them. But blessed *are* your eyes, for they see: and your ears, for they hear. For verily I say unto you, That many prophets and righteous *men* have desired to see *those things* which ye see, and have not seen *them*; and to hear *those things* which ye hear, and have not heard *them*. Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower. When any one heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth *it* not, then cometh the wicked *one*, and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart. This is he which received seed by the wayside. But he that received the seed into stony places, the same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it; yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while; for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended. He also that received seed among the thorns is he that heareth the word; and the care of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and he becometh unfruitful. But he that received seed into the ground is he that heareth the word, and understandeth *it*; which also beareth fruit, and bringeth forth, some an hundredfold, some sixty, some thirty. Another parable put he forth unto them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field: but while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way. But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also. So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares? He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn. Another parable put he forth unto them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took, and sowed in his field: which indeed is the least of all

seeds; but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Another parable spake he unto them: The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened. All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables; and without a parable spake he not unto them: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world. Then Jesus sent the multitude away, and went into the house: and his disciples came unto him, saying, Declare unto us the parable of the tares of the field. He answered and said unto them, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man; the field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked *one*: the enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire; so shall it be in the end of this world. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; and shall cast them unto a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.

* Then came to Jesus scribes and Pharisees, which were of Jerusalem, saying, Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? for they wash not their hands when they eat bread. But he answered and said unto them, Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition? For God commanded, saying, Honour thy Father and mother: and, He that curseth father or mother let him die the death. But ye say, Whosoever shall say to *his* father or *his* mother, *It is* a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; and honour not his father or his mother, *he shall be free.* Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition. *Ye* hypocrites! well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with *their* lips; but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching *for* doctrines the commandments of men. And he called the multitude, and said

* **Matthew, chap. xv.**

unto them, Hear, and understand: not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man. Then came his disciples, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended after they heard this saying? But he answered and said, Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up. Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind: and if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch. Then answered Peter and said unto him, Declare unto us this parable. And Jesus said, Are ye also yet without understanding? Do not ye yet understand, that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught? But those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart; and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies: these are *the things* which defile a man; but to eat with unwashen hands defileth not a man.

* And when his disciples were come to the other side, they had forgotten to take bread. Then Jesus said unto them, Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the Sadducees. And they reasoned among themselves, saying, *It is* because we have taken no bread. *Which* when Jesus perceived, he said unto them, O ye of little faith, why reason ye among yourselves, because ye have brought no bread? How is it that ye do not understand that I spake *it* not to you concerning bread, that ye should beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees? Then understood they how that he bade *them* not beware of the leaven of bread, but of the doctrine of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.

When Jesus came into the coasts of Cæsarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am? And they said, Some *say that thou art* John the Baptist; some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed *it* unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou

* Matthew, chap. xvi, 5.

shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Then charged he his disciples, that they should tell no man that he was Jesus the Christ. From that time forth began Jesus to shew unto his disciples, how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day. Then Peter took him, and began to rebuke him, saying, Be it far from thee, Lord: this shall not be unto thee. But he turned, and said unto Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art an offence unto me, for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any *man* will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me: for whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it. For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works. Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.

* At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus saying, Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven? And Jesus called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven. And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me. But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and *that* he were drowned in the depth of the sea.

Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh! Wherefore, if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off, and cast *them* from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast *it* from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having

* Matthew, chap. xviii.

two eyes to be cast into hell-fire. Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven. For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost. How think ye? If a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine and goeth into the mountains, and seeketh that which is gone astray? And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that *sheep*, than of the ninety and nine which went not astray. Even so, it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish. Moreover if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear *thee, then* take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, That if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

Then came Peter to him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times; but Until seventy times seven. Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king, which would take account of his servants. And when he had begum to reckon, one was brought unto him which owed him ten thousand talents. But forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife, and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made. The servant therefore fell down, and worshipped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. Then the lord of that servant was moved with compassion, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt. But the same servant went out, and found one of his fellow-servants which owed him an hundred pence; and he laid hands on him, and took *him* by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest. And his fellow-servant

fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And he would not; but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt. So when his fellow-servants saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done. Then his lord, after that he had called him, said unto him, O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desiredst me: shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had pity on thee? And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him. So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses.

* The Pharisees also came unto him, tempting him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause? And he answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, that He which made *them* at the beginning, made them male and female; and said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain, shall be one flesh? Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. They say unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away? He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so. And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except *it be* for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery. His disciples say unto him, If the case of the man be so with *his* wife, it is not good to marry. But he said unto them, All *men* cannot receive this saying, save *they* to whom it is given. For there are some eunuchs which were so born from *their* mother's womb; and there are some eunuchs which were made eunuchs of men; and there be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive *it*, let him receive *it*.

Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should put *his* hands on them, and pray: and the disciples rebuked them. But Jesus said, Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven. And he laid *his* hands on

* Matthew, chap. xix., 3.

them, and departed thence. And, behold, one came and said unto him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life? And he said unto him, Why callest thou me good? *there* is none good but one, *that is*, God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. He saith unto him, Which? Jesus said, Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Honour *thy* father and *thy* mother: and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. The young man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my youth up: what lack I yet? Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go *and* sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come *and* follow me. But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. When his disciples heard *it*, they were exceedingly amazed, saying, Who then can be saved? But Jesus beheld *them*, and said unto them, With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible. Then answered Peter and said unto him, Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee; what shall we have therefore? And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life. But many *that are* first shall be last; and the last *shall be* first.

* For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man *that is* an householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard. And when he had agreed with the labourers for a penny a day, he sent them into his vineyard. And he went out about the third hour, and saw others standing idle in the market place, and said unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right, I will give you. And they went their way. Again he went out about the sixth and ninth hour, and did likewise. And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing idle, and saith unto them, Why

* Matthew, chap. xx.

stand ye here all the day idle? They say unto him, Because no man hath hired us. He said unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard; and whatsoever is right *that* shall ye receive. So when even was come, the lord of the vineyard saith unto his steward, Call the labourers, and give them *their* hire, beginning from the last unto the first. And when they came that *were hired* about the eleventh hour, they received every man a penny. But when the first came, they supposed that they should have received more; and they likewise received every man a penny. And when they had received *it*, they murmured against the goodman of the house, saying, These last have wrought *but* one hour, and thou hast made them equal unto us, which have borne the burden and heat of the day. But he answered one of them, and said, Friend, I do thee no wrong: didst not thou agree with me for a penny? Take *that* thine *is*, and go thy way: I will give unto this last, even as unto thee. Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Is thine eye evil, because I am good? So the last shall be first, and the first last: for many be called, but few chosen.

Then came to him the mother of Zebedee's children with her sons, worshipping *him*, and desiring a certain thing of him. And he said unto her, What wilt thou? She saith unto him, Grant that these my two sons may sit, the one on thy right hand, and the other on the left, in thy kingdom. But Jesus answered and said, Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? They say unto him, We are able. And he saith unto them, Ye shall drink indeed of my cup, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with: but to sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not mine to give, but *it shall be given to them* for whom it is prepared of my Father. And when the ten heard *it*, they were moved with indignation against the brethren. But Jesus called them *unto him*, and said, Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant: even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

* And when he was come into the temple, the chief priests and the elders of the people came unto him as he was teaching, and said,

* Matthew, chap. xxi. 23.

By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority! And Jesus answered and said unto them, I also will ask you one thing which if ye tell me, I in likewise will tell you by what authority I do these things. The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men? And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say from heaven; he will say unto us, why did ye not then believe him? But if we shall say, of men; we fear the people; for all hold John as a prophet. And they answered Jesus, and said, We cannot tell. And he said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things. But what think ye? A *certain* man had two sons; and he came to the first, and said, son, go work to-day in my vineyard. He answered, and said, I will not: but afterward he repented, and went. And he came to the second, and said likwise. And he answered and said, I *go* sir: and went not. Whether of the twain did the will of *his* father? They say unto him, The first. Jesus saith unto them, Verly I say unto you, That the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. For John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not: but the publicans and the harlots believed him: and ye when ye had seen *it*, repented not afterward, that ye might believe him. Hear another parable: There was a certain householder, which planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a winepress in it, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country: and when the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen, that they might receive the fruits of it. And the husbandmen took his servants, and beat one, and killed another, and stoned another. Again he sent other servants more than the first: and they did unto them likewise. But last of all he sent unto them his son, saying, They will reverence my son. But when the husbandmen saw the son, they said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance. And they caught him, and cast *him* out of the vineyard, and slew *him*. When therefore the lord of the vineyard cometh, what will he do unto those husbandmen? They say unto him, He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out *his* vineyard unto other husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their seasons. Jesus saith unto them, Did ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the Lord's doing, and it is

marvellous in our eyes? Therefore say I unto you, the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. And whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.

* The kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king which made a marriage for his son, and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding: and they would not come. Again, he sent forth other servants, saying, Tell them which are bidden, Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and *my* fatlings *are* killed, and all things *are* ready: come unto the marriage. But they made light of *it*, and went their ways, one to his farm, another to his merchandise: And the remnant took his servants, and entreated *them* spitefully, and slew *them*. But when the king heard *thereof*, he was wroth: and he sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned up their city. Then saith he to his servants, The wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy. Go ye therefore into the highways, and as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage. So those servants went out into the highways, and gathered together all as many as they found, both bad and good: and the wedding was furnished with guests. And when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding garment: and he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding garment? And he was speechless. Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast *him* into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are called, but few *are* chosen.

Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in *his* talk. And they sent out unto him their disciples with the Herodians, saying, Master we know, that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any *man*; for thou regardest not the person of men. Tell us therefore what thinkest thou; Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar, or not? But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, *ye* hypocrites? Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he saith unto them, Whose *is* this image and superscription? They say unto him, Cæsar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things

* Matthew, chap. xxii, 2.

that are God's. When they had heard *these words*, they marvelled and left him, and went their way.

The same day came to him the Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection, and asked him, saying, Master, Moses said, If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. Now there were with us seven brethren : and the first, when he had married a wife, deceased, and, having no issue, left his wife unto his brother : likewise the second also, and the third, unto the seventh. And last of all, the woman died also. Therefore in the resurrection whose wife shall she be of seven? for they all had her. Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven. But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Issac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living. And when the multitude heard *this*, they were astonished at his doctrine.

But when the Pharisees had heard that he had put the Sadducees to silence, they were gathered together. Then one of them, *which was* a lawyer, asked *him a question*, tempting him, and saying, Master, which *is* the great commandment in the law? Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

While the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them, saying, What think ye of Christ? whose son is he? They say unto him, *The son* of David. He saith unto them, How then, doth David in spirit call him Lord? saying, the Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool? If David then call him Lord, how is he his son? And no man was able to answer him a word ; neither durst any *man*, from that day forth, ask him any more *questions*.

* Then spake Jesus to the multitude, and to his disciples, saying The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat : all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, *that* observe and do ; but do not ye after

* Matthew, chap, xxiii.

their works: for they say, and do not. For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay *them* on men's shoulders; but they *themselves* will not move them with one of their fingers. But all their works they do for to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments, and love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi. But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, *even* Christ; and all ye are brethren. And call no *man* your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, *even* Christ. But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant. And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted. But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in *yourselves*, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayer: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves. Woe unto you, *ye* blind guides! which say, Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he is a debtor. *Ye* fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold? And, Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the gift that is upon it, he is guilty. *Ye* fools and blind: for whether *is* greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifieth the gift? Whoso therefore shall swear by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all things thereon. And whoso shall swear by the temple, sweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein. And he that shall swear by heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier *matters* of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. *Ye* blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. *Thou*

blind Pharisee, cleanse first that *which is* within the cup and the platter, that the outside of them may be clean also. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead *men's* bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. *Ye* serpents, *ye* generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and *some* of them ye shall kill and crucify; and *some* of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute *them* from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharia's son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple aud the altar. Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, *thou* that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens uuder *her* wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed *is* he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

* Watch therefore; for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come. But know this, that if the good man of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken up. Therefore be ye also ready: for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh. Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season? Blessed *is* that servant, whom his lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing. Verily I say unto you, That he shall make him ruler over all his goods. But and if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to smite *his* fellow-servants, and to eat and

* Matthew, chap. xxiv., 42.

drink with the drunken; the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for *him*, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint *him* his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

* Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom. And five of them were wise, and five *were* foolish. They that *were* foolish took their lamps, and took no oil with them: but the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps. While the bridegroom tarried they all slumbered and slept. And at midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out. But the wise answered, saying, *Not so*; lest there be not enough for us and you: but go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves. And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage: and the door was shut. Afterward came also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not. Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh. For *the kingdom of heaven is* as a man travelling into a far country, *who* called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods. And unto one he gave five talents, another two, and to another one; to every man according to his several ability; and straightway took his journey. Then he that had received the five talents went and traded with the same, and made *them* other five talents. And likewise he that *had received* two, he also gained other two. But he that had received one, went and digged in the earth, and hid his lord's money. After a long time the lord of those servants cometh, and reckoneth with them. And so he that had received five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents; Behold, I have gained beside them five talents more. His lord said unto him, Well done, *thou* good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord. He also that had received two talents came and said, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me two talents: behold, I have gained two other talents beside them. His lord said unto him, Well done, good

* Matthew, chap. xxv.

and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord. Then he which had received the one talent came and said, Lord, I knew thee that thou art an hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown, and gathering where thou hast not strawed: and I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth: lo *there* thou hast *that is* thine. His Lord answered and said unto him, *Thou* wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I have not strawed; thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the exchangers, and *then* at my coming I should have received mine own with usury. Take therefore the talent from him, and give *it* unto him which hath ten talents. For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath. And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth *his* sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed *thee*? or thirsty, and gave *thee* drink? When saw we thee a stranger, and took *thee* in? or naked, and clothed *thee*? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done *it* unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done *it* unto me. Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they also answer him, saying Lord, when saw we thee an hung-

ered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did *it* not to one of the least of these, ye did *it* not to me. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal.

* And it came to pass, that, as Jesus sat at meat in his house, many publicans and sinners sat also together with Jesus and his disciples: for there were many, and they followed him. And when the scribes and Pharisees saw him eat with publicans and sinners, they said unto his disciples, How is it that he eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners? When Jesus heard *it*, he saith unto them, They that are whole have no need of the Physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. And the disciples of John and of the Pharisees used to fast: and they come and say unto him, Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not? And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bride-chamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them, they cannot fast. But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall they fast in those days. No man also seweth a piece of new cloth on an old garment: else the new piece that filled it up taketh away from the old, and the rent is made worse. And no man putteth new wine into old bottles: else the new wine doth burst the bottles and the wine is spilled, and the bottles will be marred: but new wine must be put into new bottles.

And it came to pass, that he went through the corn fields on the sabbath day; his disciples began, as they went, to pluck the ears of corn. And the Pharisees said unto him, Behold, why do they on the sabbath day that which is not lawful? And he said unto them, Have ye never read what David did, when he had need, and was an hungered, he, and they that were with him? How he went into the house of God in the days of Abiathar the high priest, and did eat the shewbread. which is not lawful to eat but for the priests, and gave also to them which were with him? And he said unto them, The sabbath was made for man and not man for the sabbath: therefore the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath.

† There came then his brethren and his mother, and, standing without, sent unto him, calling him. And the multitude sat about

* Mark, chap ii., 15.

† Mark, chap. iii, 31.

him; and they said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee. And he answered them, saying, Who is my mother, or my brethren? And he looked round about on them which sat about him, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother.

* And he taught them many things by parables, and said unto them in his doctrine, Hearken; Behold, there went out a sower to sow; and it came to pass, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of the air came and devoured it up. And some fell on stony ground, where it had not much earth; and immediately it sprang up, because it had no depth of earth: but when the sun was up, it was scorched; and because it had no root, it withered away. And some fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up, and choked it, and it yielded no fruit. And other fell on good ground, and did yield fruit that sprang up and increased; and brought forth, some thirty, and some sixty, and some an hundred. And he said unto them, He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. And when he was alone, they that were about him with the twelve, asked of him the parable. And he said unto them, Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all *these* things are done in parables: that seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and *their* sins should be forgiven them. And he said unto them, Know ye not this parable? and how then will ye know all parables? The sower soweth the word. And these are they by the way side, where the word is sown. But when they have heard, Satan cometh immediately, and taketh away the word that was sown in their hearts. And these are they likewise which are sown on stony ground; who, when they have heard the word, immediately receive it with gladness; and have no root in themselves, and so endure but for a time: afterward, when affliction or persecution ariseth for the word's sake, immediately they are offended. And these are they which are sown among thorns; such as hear the word, and the cares of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, and the lust of other things entering in, choke the word, and it becometh unfruitful. And these are they which are sown on good ground; such as hear the word, and receive *it*, and

* **Mark, chap. iv, 2.**

bring forth fruit, some thirtyfold, some sixty, and some an hundred. And he said unto them, Is a candle brought to be put under a bushel, or under a bed? and not to be set on a candle-stick? For there is nothing hid, which shall not be manifested; neither was anything kept secret, but that it should come abroad. If any man have ears to hear, let him hear. And he said unto them, Take heed what he hear: with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you: and unto you that hear shall more be given. For he that hath, to him shall be given: and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath. And he said, So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how; for the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. But when the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come, And he said Whereunto shall we liken the kingdom of God! or with what comparison shall we compare it! *It is* like a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown in the earth, is less than all the seeds that be in the earth: but when it is sown, it groweth up, and becometh greater than all herbs, and shooteth out great branches; so that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it.

[*] Then the Pharisees and scribes asked him, Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unwashen hands? He answered and said unto them, Well hath Esaias prophesied of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people honoureth me with *their* lips, but their heart is far from me. Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching *for* doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, *as* the washing of pots and cups: and many other such like things ye do. And he said unto them, Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition. For Moses said, Honour thy Father and thy Mother; and, Whoso curseth father or mother, let him die the death: but ye say, If a man shall say to his father or mother, *It is* Corban, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; *he shall be free.* And ye suffer him no more to do aught for his father or his mother: making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which ye have

[*] Mark, chap. vii, 5.

delivered : and many such like things do ye. And when he called all the people *unto him*, he said unto them, Hearken unto me every one *of you*, and understand : there is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him : but the things which come out of him, these are they that defile the man. If any man have ears to hear, let him hear. And when he was entered into the house from the people, his disciples asked him concerning the parable. And he saith unto them, Are ye so without understanding also ? Do ye not perceive, that whatsoever thing from without entereth into the man, it cannot defile him ; because it entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, and goeth out into the draught, purging all meats ? And he said, That which cometh out of the man, that defileth the man. For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness : all these evil things come from within, and defile the man.

* And when he had called the people *unto him* with his disciples also, he said unto them, Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it ; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it. For what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ? Or what shall man give in exchange for his soul ? Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation ; of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

† And he came to Capernaum : and being in the house, he asked them, What was it that ye disputed among yourselves by the way ? But they held their peace : for by the way they had disputed among themselves, who *should be* the greatest. And he sat down and called the twelve, and saith unto them, If any man desire to be first, *the same* shall be last of all, and servant of all. And he took a child, and set him in the midst of them : and when he had taken him into his arms, he said unto them, Whosoever shall receive one of such children in my name, receiveth me : and whosoever shall receive me, receiveth not me, but him that sent me.

And John answered him, saying, Master we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us : and we forbad him,

* Mark, chap. viii, 34. † Mark, chap. ix, 33.

because he followeth not us. But Jesus said, Forbid him not : for there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me. For he that is not against us is on our part. For whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward. And whosoever shall offend one of *these* little ones, that believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea. And if thy hand offend thee, cut it off : it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched : where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. And if thy foot offend thee, cut it off : it is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to be cast into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched : where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out : it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire : where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. Salt *is* good ; but if the salt have lost his saltness, wherewith will ye season it ? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.

* And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them : and *his* disciples rebuked those that brought *them*. But when Jesus saw *it*, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not : for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, put *his* hands upon them, and blessed them.

And when he was gone forth into the way, there came one running, and kneeled to him, and asked him, Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life ? And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good ? *there is* none good but one, *that is* God. Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother. And he answered and said unto him, Master, all these have I observed from my youth. Then Jesus beholding him, loved him and said unto him, One thing thou lackest : go thy way,

* Mark, chap. x, 13.

sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, take up the cross, and follow me. And he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved: for he had great possessions. And Jesus looked round about, and saith unto his disciples, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! And the disciples were astonished at his words. But, Jesus answereth again, and saith unto them, Children how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, then for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. And they were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves, Who then can be saved? And Jesus looking upon them saith, With men *it is* impossible, but not with God: for with God all things are possible. Then Peter began to say unto him, Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee. And Jesus answered and said, Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake, and the gospel's, but he shall receive an hundredfold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, children and lands, with persecutions: and in the world to come eternal life. But many *that are* first shall be last; and the last first.

* And James and John, the sons of Zebedee, come unto him, saying, Master, we would that thou shouldest do for us whatsoever we shall desire. And he said unto them, What would ye that I should do for you? They said unto him, Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand, in thy glory. But Jesus said unto them, Ye know not what ye ask: can ye drink of the cup that I drink of? and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? And they said unto him, We can. And Jesus said unto them, Ye shall indeed drink of the cup that I drink of: and with the baptism that I am baptized withal, shall ye be batpized: but to sit on my right hand and on my left hand is not mine to give; but *it shall be given to them* for whom it is prepared. And when the ten heard *it* they began to be much displeased with James and John. But Jesus called them *to him*, and saith unto them, Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them. But so shall it not be among you: but whosoever will be

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* Mark, chap. x, 35.

great among you, shall be your minister, and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all. For even the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

* Therefore I say unto you, What things soever ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive *them*, and ye shall have *them*. And when ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any: that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses. But if ye do not forgive neither will your Father which is in Heaven forgive your trespasses.

† And they send unto him certain of the Pharisees and of the Herodians, to catch him in *his* words. And when they were come, they say unto him, Master, we know that thou art true, and carest for no man; for thou regardest not the person of men, but teachest the way of God in truth: Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or not? shall we give, or shall we not give? But he, knowing their hypocrisy, said unto them, Why tempt ye me? bring me a penny, that may I see *it*. And they brought *it*. And he saith unto them, Whose *is* this image and superscription? And they said unto him, Cæsar's. And Jesus answering said unto them, Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's. And they marvelled at him. Then came unto him the Sadducees, which say there is no resurrection; and they asked him, saying, Master, Moses wrote unto us, If a man's brother die, and leave *his* wife *behind him*, and leave no children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. Now there were seven brethren: and the first took a wife and, dying left no seed. And the second took her, and died; neither left he any seed: and the third likewise. And the seven had her, and left no seed: last of all the woman died also. In the resurrection therefore, when they shall rise, whose wife shall she be of them? for the seven had her to wife. And Jesus answering said unto them, Do ye not therefore err, because ye know not the scriptures, neither the power of God? For when they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels which are in heaven. And as touching the dead, that they rise: have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I *am* the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac. and the God of Jacob? He is not

* Mark, chap. xi, 24 † Mark, chap. xii, 13

the God of the dead, but the God of the living: ye therefore do greatly err. And one of the scribes came, and having heard them reasoning together, and perceiving that he had answered them well, asked him, Which is the first commandment of all? And Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments *is*, Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this *is* the first commandment. And the second *is* like, *namely* this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these. And the scribe said unto him, Well, Master, thou hast said the truth: for there is one God; and there is none other but he; and to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love *his* neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices. And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, Thou art not far from the kingdom of God. And no man after that durst ask him *any question*.

* And Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into the treasury: and many that were rich cast in much. And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing. And he called *unto him* his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, That this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast into the treasury; for all *they* did cast in of their abundance, but she of her want did cast in all that she had, *even* all her living.

† And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias. And when he had opened the book, he found the place where it was written, The Spirit of the Lord *is* upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. And he closed the book, and he gave *it* again to the minister, and sat down. And the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on him. And he began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears. And all bare him witness, and

* Mark, chap. xii, 41. † Luke, chap. iv, 16.

wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth. And they said, Is not this Joseph's son? And he said unto them, Ye will surely say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in thy country. And he said, Verily I saw unto you, No prophet is accepted in his own country. But I tell you of a truth, many widows were in Israel in the days of Elias, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout all the land; but unto none of them was Elias sent, save unto Sarepta, a *city* of Sidon, unto a woman *that was* a widow. And many lepers were in Israel in the time of Eliseus the prophet; and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian.

* But their scribes and Pharisees murmured against his disciples, saying, Why do ye eat and drink with publicans and sinners? And Jesus answering said unto them, They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick. I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. And he spake also a parable unto them; No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old; if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was *taken* out of the new agreeth not with the old. And no man putteth new wine into old bottles; else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish. But new wine must be put into new bottles; and both are preserved. No man also having drunk old wine straightway desireth new: for he saith, The old is better.

† And it came to pass, on the second sabbath after the first, that he went through the corn fields; and his disciples plucked the ears of corn, and did eat, rubbing *them* in *their* hands. And certain of the Pharisees said unto them, Why do ye that which is not lawful to do on the sabbath days? And Jesus answering them said, Have ye not read so much as this, what David did, when himself was an hungred, and they which were with him; how he went into the house of God, and did take and eat the shew-bread, and gave also to them that were with him; which it is not lawful to eat, but for the priests alone? And he said unto them, That the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath.

And it came to pass also on another sabbath, that he entered into the synagogue and taught: and there was a man whose right hand was withered. And the scribes and Pharisees watched him, whether

* Luke, chap. v, 30. † Luke, ch. vi, 1.

he would heal on the sabbath day; that they might find an accusation against him. But he knew their thoughts, and said to the man which had the withered hand, Rise up, and stand forth in the midst. And he arose and stood forth. Then said Jesus unto them, I will ask one thing; Is it lawful on the sabbath days to do good, or to do evil? to save life, or to destroy *it*?

* And he lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said, Blessed *be ye* poor: for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed *are ye* that hunger now: for ye shall be filled. Blessed *are ye* that weep now: for ye shall laugh. Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you *from their company*, and shall reproach *you*, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake. Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy: for behold your reward *is* great in heaven: for in the like manner did their fathers unto the prophets. But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you that are full! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep. Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets. But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you; bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you. And unto him that smiteth thee on the *one* cheek offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloke forbid not *to take thy* coat also. Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask *them* not again. And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise. For if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? for sinners also love those that love them. And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye? for sinners also do even the same. And if ye lend *to them* of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again. But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest: for he is kind unto he unthankful and *to* the evil. Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful. Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven: give, and it shall be given unto you: good measure, pressed down and shaken together, and running over, shall men give

* Luke, chap. vi, 20.

into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again. And he spake a parable unto them, Can the blind lead the blind? shall they not both fall into the ditch? The disciple is not above his master: but every one that is perfect shall be as his master. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Either how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou thyself beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite! cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye. For a good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit; neither doth a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. For every tree is known by *its* own fruit: for of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes. A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and an evil man of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil: for of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh. And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say? Whosoever cometh to me, and heareth my saying, and doeth them, I will shew you to whom he is like: he is like a man which built an house, and digged deep, and laid the foundation on a rock; and when the flood arose, the stream beat vehemently upon that house, and could not shake it; for it was founded upon a rock. But he that heareth, and doeth not, is like a man that without a foundation built an house upon the earth; against which the stream did beat vehemently, and immediately it fell; and the ruin of that house was great.

* And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he went into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat. And behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that *Jesus* sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment, and stood at his feet behind *him* weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe *them* with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed *them* with the ointment. Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw *it*, he spake within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman *this is* that toucheth him; for she is a sinner. And Jesus answering

* Luke, chap. vii, 36.

said unto him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. And he saith, Master, say on. There was a certain creditor which had two debtors: the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty; and when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both. Tell me therefore, which of them will love him most? Simon answered and said, I suppose that *he*, to whom he forgave most. And he said unto him, Thou hast rightly judged. And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet: but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped *them* with the hairs of her head. Thou gavest me no kiss: but this woman, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou didst not anoint; but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment. Wherefore I say unto thee, Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, *the same* loveth little. And he said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven. And they that sat at meat with him began to say within themselves, Who is this that forgiveth sins also? And he said to the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.

* And when much people were gathered together, and were come to him out of every city, he spake by a parable: A sower went out to sow his seed: and as he sowed, some fell by the way side; and it was trodden down, and the fowls of the air devoured it. And some fell upon a rock; and all soon as it was sprung up, it withered away, because it lacked moisture. And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprang up with it and chocked it. And other fell on good ground, and sprang up, and bare fruit an hundredfold. And when he had said these things, he cried, he that hath ears to hear, let him hear. And his disciples asked him, saying, What might this parable be? And he said, Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God: but to others in parables; that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand. Now the parable is this: The seed is the word of God. Those by the way side are they that hear; then cometh the devil and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved. They on the rock *are they*, which, when they hear, receive the word with joy; and these have no root, which for a while believe, and in time of temptation fall away. And that which fell among thorns are they, which

* Luke, chap. viii, 4.

when they have heard, go forth, and are chocked with cares and riches and pleasures of *this* life, and bring no fruit to perfection. But that on the good ground are they, which in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, keep *it*, and bring forth fruit, with patience. No man, when he hath lighted a candle, covereth it with a vessel, or putteth *it* under a bed; but setteth *it* on a candlestick, that they which enter in may see the light. For nothing is secret, that shall not be made manifest; neither *any thing* hid, that shall not be known and come abroad. Take heed therefore how ye hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given aud whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have.

Then came to him *his* mother and his brethren, and could not come at him for the press. And it was told him *by certain*, which said, Thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to see thee. And he answered and said unto them, My mother and my brethren are these which hear the word of God, and do it.

* Then there arose a reasoning among them, which of them should be greatest. And Jesus, perceiving the thought of their heart, took a child, and set him by him, and said unto them, Whosoever shall receive this child, in my name, receiveth me: and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me: for he that is least among you all, the same shall be great. And John answered and said, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we forbad him, because he followeth not with us. And Jesus said unto him, Forbid *him* not: for he that is not against us is for us.

And it came to pass, when the time was come that he should be received up, he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem, and sent messengers before his face: and they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him, and they did not receive him, because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem, And when his disciples James and John saw *this*, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did? but he turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save *them*. And they went to another village.

And it came to pass, that, as they went in the way, a certain *man* said unto him, Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. And

* Luke, chap. ix, 46.

Jesus said unto him, Foxes have holes, and birds of the air *have* nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay *his* head. And he said unto another, Follow me. But he said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father. Jesus said unto him let the dead bury their dead: but go thou and preach the kingdom of God. And another also said, Lord, I will follow thee; but let me first go bid them farewell which are at home at my house. And Jesus said unto him, No man having put his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.

[*] After these things the Lord appointed other seventy also, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself would come. Therefore said he unto them, The harvest truly *is* great, but the labourers *are* few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest. Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves. Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes: and salute no man by the way. And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace *be* to this house. And if the Son of peace be there, your peace rest upon it: if not, it shall turn to you again. And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house. And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you: and heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you, But into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go your ways out into the streets of the same, and say, Even the very dust of your city, which cleaveth on us, we do wipe off against you: notwithstanding, be ye sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you. But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city. Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgment, than for you. And thou Capernaum, which art exalted to heaven, shall be thrust down to hell. He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth *him* that sent me.

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[*] Luke, chap. x, 1

* And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? He said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou? And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself. And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live. But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour? And Jesus answering said, A certain *man* went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded *him*, and departed, leaving *him* half dead. And by chance there came down a certain priest that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on *him*, and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion *on him*, and went to him and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave *them* to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again I will repay thee. Which now of these three thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the theives? And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

† Now it came to pass, as they went, that he entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha, received him into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word. But Martha was cumbered about much serving, and came to him, and said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? bid her therefore that she help me. And Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things: but one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

‡ And it came to pass, that, as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples. And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy

* Luke, chap. x, 25. † Luke, chap. x, 38. ‡ Luke, chap. xi, 1.

name : Thy kingdom come : Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth. Give us day by day our daily bread : and forgive us our sins ; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us : and lead us not into temptation ; but deliver us from evil. And he said unto them, Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves ; for a friend of mine in his journey is come to me, and I have nothing to set before him ? And he from within shall answer and say, Trouble me not : the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed ; I cannot rise and give thee. I say unto you, Though he will not rise and give him because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity he will rise and give him as many as he needeth. And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you ; seek and ye shall find ; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh receiveth ; and he that seeketh findeth ; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone ? or if *he ask* a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent ? or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion ? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall *your* heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him ?

* And it came to pass, as he spake these things, a certain woman of the company lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed *is* the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked. But he said, Yea, rather blessed *are* they that hear the word of God, and keep it.

† No man, when he hath lighted a candle, putteth *it* in a secret place, neither under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that they which come in may see the light. The light of the body is the eye : therefore when thine eye is single, thy whole body also is full of light ; but when *thine eye* is evil, thy body also is full of darkness. Take heed therefore that the light which is in thee be not darkness. If thy whole body therefore *be* full of light, having no part dark, the whole shall be full of light, as when the bright shining of a candle doth give thee light.

And as he spake, a certain Pharisee besought him to dine with him : and he went in, and sat down to meat. And when the Pharisee saw *it*, he marvelled that he had not first washed before dinner.

* Luke, chap. xi, 27.

† Luke, chap. xi, 33.

And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter; but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness. *Ye* fools, did not he that made that which is without, make that which is within also? But rather give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you. But woe unto you, Pharisees for ye tithe mint and rue and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment and the love of God: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye love the uppermost seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are as graves which appear not, and the men that walk over *them* are not aware *of them.* Then answered one of the lawyers, and said unto him, Master thus saying, thou reproachest us also. And he said, Woe unto you also, *ye* lawyers! For ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers. Woe unto you! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and your fathers killed them. Truly ye bear witness that ye allow the deeds of your fathers: for they indeed killed them, and ye build their sepulchres. Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets and apostles, and *some* of them they shall slay and persecute: that the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple: verily I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation. Woe unto you, lawyers! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in, ye hindered.

* In the meantime when there were gathered together an innumerable multitude of people, insomuch that they trode one upon another, be began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy. For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; neither hid, that shall not be known. Therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets, shall be proclaimed upon the house-tops. And I say unto you my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you

* Luke, chap. xii, 1.

whom ye shall fear: fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, fear him. Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings? and not one of them is forgotten before God: but even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore: ye are of more value than many sparrows. Also I say unto you, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God: but he that denieth me before men shall be denied before the angels of God. And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven. And when they bring you unto the synagogues, and *unto* magistrates, and powers, take ye no thought how or what thing ye shall answer or what ye shall say: for the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say. And one of the company said unto him, Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me. And he said unto him, Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you? And he said unto them, Take heed, and beware of covetousness: for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. And he spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully: and he thought within himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have no room where to bestow my fruits? And he said, This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, *and* be merry. But God said unto him, *Thou* fool! this night thy soul shall be required of thee: then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided? So *is* he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God. And he said unto his disciples, Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat; neither for the body, what ye shall put on. The life is more than meat, and the body *is more* than raiment. Consider the ravens: for they neither sow nor reap; which neither have storehouse nor barn; and God feedeth them. How much more are ye better than the fowls? And which of you with taking thought can add to his stature one cubit? If ye then be not able to do that thing which is least, why take ye thought for the rest? Consider the lilies, how they grow: they toil not, they spin not; and yet I say unto you, That Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of

these. If then God so clothe the grass, which is to-day in the field, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, how much more *will he clothe* you, O ye of little faith? And seek not ye what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, neither be ye of doubtful mind. For all these things do the nations of the world seek after: and your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. But rather seek ye the kingdom of God; and all these things shall be added unto you. Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom. Sell that ye have, and give alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. Let your loins be girded about, and *your* lights burning; and ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding; that when he cometh and knocketh, they may open unto him immediately. Blessed *are* those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, That he shall gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them. And if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find *them* so, blessed are those servants. And this know, that, if the good man of the house had known what hour the thief would come he would have watched, and not have suffered his house to be broken through. Be ye therefore ready also: for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not. Then Peter said unto him, Lord, speakest thou this parable unto us, or even to all? And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom *his* lord shall make ruler over his household, to give *them their* portion of meat in due season? Blessed *is* that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find *so* doing. Of a truth I say unto you, that he will make him ruler over all that he hath. But and if that servant say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat the men-servants and maidens. and to eat and drink, and to be drunken; the lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for *him*, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his portion with the unbelievers. And that servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not *himself*, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many *stripes*. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few *stripes*. For unto whomsoever much is given, of

him shall be much required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more. I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished! Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division: for from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother; the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And he said also to the people, When ye see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower: and so it is. And when *ye see* the south wind blow, ye say, There will be heat; and it cometh to pass. *Ye* hypocrites! ye can discern the face of the sky and of the earth; but how is it that ye do not discern this time? Yea, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right? When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate, *as thou art* in the way, give diligence that thou mayest be delivered from him; lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and the officer cast thee into prison. I tell thee, thou shalt not depart thence, till thou hast paid the very last mite.

*There were present at that season some that told him of the Galilæans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. And Jesus answering said unto them, Suppose ye that these Galilæans were sinners above all the Galilæans, because they suffered such things? I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish. Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you Nay: but, except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish. He spake also this parable: A certain *man* had a fig tree planted in his vineyard; and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none. Then said he unto the dresser of his vineyard, Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig tree, and find none: cut it down: why cumbereth it the ground? And he answering said unto him, Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung *it*: and if it bear fruit, *well*: and if not, *then* after that thou shalt cut it down.

* Luke, chap. xiii, 1.

*And the ruler of the synagogue answered with indignation, because that Jesus had healed on the sabbath day, and said unto the people, There are six days in which men ought to work: in them therefore come and be healed, and not on the sabbath day. T e Lord then answered him, and said, *Thou* hypocrite! doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall and lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, to be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day? And when he had said these things, all his adversaries were ashamed: and all the people rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by him.

Then said he, Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and whereunto shall I resemble it? It is like a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and cast into his garden ? and it grew, and waxed a great tree; and the fowls of the air lodged in the branches of it. And again he said, Whereunto shall I liken the kingdom of God? It is like leaven, which a woman took and hid, in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.

Then said one unto him, Lord, are there few that be saved? And he said unto them, Strive to enter in at the strait gate: for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in and shall not be able. When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without, and to knock at the door, saying, Lord, Lord, open unto us; and he shall answer and say unto you, I know you not whence ye are: then shall ye begin to say, We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets. But he shall say, I tell you, I know you not whence ye are: depart from me, all *ye* workers of iniquity. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you *yourselves* thrust out. And they shall come from the east and *from* the west, and from the north, and *from* the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God. And, behold, there are last which shall be first, and there are first which shall be last.

The same day there came certain of the Pharisees saying unto him, Get thee out, and depart hence: for Herod will kill thee. And he said unto them, Go ye, and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out

* Luke, chap xiii, 14.

devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected. Nevertheless I must walk to-day, and to-morrow, and the day following: for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee ; how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen *doth gather* her brood under *her* wings and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate : and verily I say unto you, Ye shall not see me, until *the time* come when ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

*And it came to pass, as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath day that they watched him. And, Behold, there was a certain man before him which had the dropsy And Jesus answering spake unto the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day ? And they held their peace. And he took him, and healed him, and let him go ; and answered them, saying, Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the sabbath day ?. And they could not answer him again to these things. And he put forth a parable to those which were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief rooms ; saying unto them, When thou art bidden of any *man* to wedding, sit not down in the highest room ; lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him ; and he that bade thee and him come and say to thee, Give this man place ; and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room. But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room ; that when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee. For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased ; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. Then said he also to him that bade him, When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor *thy* rich neighbours; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just. And when one of them that sat at meat with him heard these things, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of

* Luke, chap. xiv., 1.

God. Then said he unto him, A certain man made a great supper, and bade many: and sent his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come; for all things are now ready. And they all with one *consent* began to make excuse. The first said unto him, I have bought a piece of ground, and I must needs go and see it: I pray thee have me excused. And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them: I pray thee have me excused. And another said, I have married a wife and therefore I cannot come, So that servant came, and shewed his lord these things. Then the master of the house being angry said to his servant, Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind. And the servant said, Lord it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room. And the lord, said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel *them* to come in, that my house may be filled. For I say unto you, That none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper.

And there went great multitudes with him: and he turned, and said unto them, If any *man* come to me and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple, And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple. For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost, whether he have *sufficient* to finish *it*? Lest haply, after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish it, all that behold *it* begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build, and was not able to finish. Or what king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand? Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and desireth conditions of peace. So likewise, whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. Salt *is* good: but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is neither fit for the land, nor yet for the dunghill; *but* men cast it out. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

*Then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him. And the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, This man

* Luke, chap. xv, 1.

receiveth sinners and eateth with them. And he spake this parable unto them, saying, What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it? And when he hath found *it*, he layeth *it* on his shoulders, rejoicing. And when he cometh home, he calleth together, *his* friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost. I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance. Either what woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find *it*? And when she hath found *it*, she calleth *her* friends and her neighbours together, saying, Rejoice with me; for I have found the piece which I had lost. Likewise, I say unto you, There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth. And he said, A certain man had two sons: and the younger of them said to *his* father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to *me* And he divided unto them *his* living. And not many days after, the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want. And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country: and he sent him into his fields to feed swine. And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him. And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger! I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants. And he arose, and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put *it* on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on *his* feet: and bring hither the fatted calf, and kill *it*; and let us eat, and be merry: for this my son was dead, and is alive

again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry. Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing. And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant. And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound. And he was angry, and would not go in: therefore came his father out, and intreated him. And he answering said to *his* father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment: and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends: but as soon as this thy son was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf. And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine. It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.

* And he said also unto his disciples, There was a certain rich man, which had a steward; and the same was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods. And he called him and said unto him, How is it that I hear this of thee? give an account of thy stewardship; for thou mayest be no longer steward. Then the steward said within himself, What shall I do? for my lord taketh away from me the stewardship: I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed. I am resolved what to do, that when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses. So he called every one of his lord's debtors *unto him*, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my lord? And he said, An hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty. Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? And he said, An hundred measures of wheat. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and write fourscore. And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely: for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light. And I said unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations. He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much: and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much. If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit

*Luke, chap. xvi, 1.

to your trust the true *riches*? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is your own? No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. And the Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard all these things and they derided him. And he said unto them, Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men, is abomination in the sight of God. The law and the prophets *were* until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it. And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail. Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from *her* husband, committeth adultery. There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day: and there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried; and in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy life-time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that *would come* from thence. Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house: for I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets: let them hear them. And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.

* Then said he unto the disciples, It is impossible but that offences will come: but woe *unto him,* through whom they come! It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea than that he should offend one of these little ones. Take heed to yourselves: if thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him. And if he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him. And the apostles said unto the Lord, Increase our faith. And the Lord said, If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say unto this sycamine tree, Be thou plucked up by the root, and be thou planted in the sea: and it should obey you. But which of you, having a servant plowing or feeding cattle, will say unto him by and by, when he is come from the field, Go and sit down to meat? And will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterward thou shalt eat and drink? Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not. So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.

† And he spake a parable unto them *to this end,* that men ought always to pray, and not to faint; saying, There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, neither regarded man: and there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man; yet because this widow troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continued coming she weary me. And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust judge saith. And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them? I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh shall he find faith on the earth?

And he spake this parable unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others: Two men went up into the temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican. The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself: God I thank thee that I am not as other men *are,* extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican. I fast twice in the week, I give

* Luke, chap, xvii, I.

† Luke, chap. xviii, I.

tithes of all that I possess. And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as *his* eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying God be merciful to me a sinner. I tell you, this man went down to his house justified *rather* than the other: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

And they brought unto him also infants, that he would touch them: but when *his* disciples saw *it*, they rebuked them. But Jesus called them *unto him*, and said, Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall in no wise enter therein.

And a certain ruler asked him, saying, Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? none *is* good save one, *that is*, God. Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother. And he said, All these have I kept from my youth up. Now when Jesus heard these things, he said unto him, Yet lackest thou one thing: sell all that thou hast, and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me. And when he heard this, he was very sorrowful: for he was very rich. And when Jesus saw that he was very sorrowful, he said, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! For it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. And they that heard *it* said, Who then can be saved? And he said, The things which are impossible with men are possible with God. Then Peter said, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee. And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in his present time, and in the world to come life everlasting.

[c] He said therefore, A certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return. And he called his ten servants, and delivered them ten pounds, and said unto them, Occupy till I come. But his citizens hated him, and sent a message after him, saying, We will not have this *man* to reign over us. And

[c] Luke, chap. xix., 12.

it came to pass, that when he was returned, having received the kingdom, then he commanded these servants to be called unto him, to whom he had given the money, that he might know how much every man had gained by trading. Then came the first, saying, Lord thy pound hath gained ten pounds. And he said unto him, Well, thou good servant: because thou hast been faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities. And the second came, saying, Lord, thy pound hath gained five pounds. And he said likewise to him, Be thou also over five cities. And another came saying, Lord behold *here is* thy pound, which I have kept laid up in a napkin: for I feared thee, because thou art an austere man: thou takest up that thou layedst not down and reapest that thou didst not sow. And he saith unto him, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, *thou* wicked servant. Thou knewest that I was an austere man, taking up that I laid not down, and reaping that I did not sow: wherefore then gavest not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury? And he said unto them that stood by, Take from him the pound, and give *it* to him that hath ten pounds. (And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten pounds. For I say unto you, That unto every one which hath shall be given; and from him that hath not, even that he hath shall be taken away from him. But those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay *them* before me.

[1] And the chief priests and the scribes the same hour sought to lay hands on him; and they feared the people: for they perceived that he had spoken this parable against them. And they watched *him*, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the governor. And they asked him, saying, Master we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly, neither acceptest thou the person *of any*, but teachest the way of God truly: Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Cæsar, or no? But he perceived their craftiness, and said unto them, Why tempt ye me? Shew me a penny. Whose image and superscription hath it? They answered and said, Cæsar's. And he said unto them, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and unto God the things which be God's. And they could not take hold of his words before

[1] Luke, chap. xx, 19.

the people: and they marvelled at his answer, and held their peace. Then came to *him* certain of the Sadducees, which deny that there is any resurrection: and they asked him, saying, Master, Moses wrote unto us, If any man's brother die, having a wife and he die without children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. There were therefore seven brethren, and the first took a wife, and died without children. And the second took her to wife, and he died childless. And the third took her; and in like manner the seven also: and they left no children and died. Last of all the woman died also. Therefore, in the resurrection whose wife of them is she? for seven had her to wife. And Jesus answering said unto them, The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage: but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage: neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection. Now that the dead are raised, even Moses shewed at the bush when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. For he is not a God of the dead, but of the living: for all live unto him. Then certain of the scribes answering said, Master, thou hast well said.

* And he looked up, and saw the rich men casting their gifts into the treasury. And he saw also a certain poor widow casting in thither two mites. And he said, Of a truth I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all: for all these have of their abundance cast in unto the offerings of God: but she of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had.

† There was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews: the same came to Jesus by night, and said unto him, Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him. Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. Nicodemus saith unto him, How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born? Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and *of* the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of

* Luke, chap. xxi, 1. † John, chap. iii, 1.

the Spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit. Nicodemus answered and said unto him, How can these things be? Jesus answered and said unto him, Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen; and ye receive not our witness. If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you *of* heavenly things? And no man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, *even* the Son of man which is in heaven, And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life. For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved. He that believeth on him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God.

* But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God *is* a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship *him* in spirit and in truth.

† Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you: for him hath God the Father sealed.

‡ And the scribes and Pharisees brought unto him, a woman taken in adultery; and when they had set her in the midst, they say unto him, Master, this woman was taken in adultery, in the very act. Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned: but what sayest thou? This they said, tempting him, that

* John, chap. iv, 23. † John, chap. vi, 27. ‡ John, chap. viii, 3.

they might have to accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with *his* finger wrote on the ground, *as though he heard them not*. So when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them, He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone at her. And again he stooped down, and wrote on the ground. And they which heard *it* being convicted by *their own* conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, *even* unto the last: and Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. When Jesus had lifted up himself, and saw none but the woman, he said unto her, Woman, where are those thine accusers? hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more.

* And Jesus said, For judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind. And *some* of the Pharisees which were with him heard these words, and said unto him, Are we blind also? Jesus said unto them, If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth.

† I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every *branch* that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you. Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye *are* the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast *them* into the fire, and they are burned. If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you. Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciple. As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you: continue ye in my love. If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my father's commandments, and abide in his love. These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy might remain in you, and *that* your joy might be full. This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. Ye are

* John, chap. ix, 39. † John, chap. xv, 1.

my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you. Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: but I have called you friends, for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you. Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and *that* your fruits should remain: that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, he may give it you. These things I command you, that ye love one another.

AN APPEAL

TO

THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC,

IN DEFENCE OF

"THE PRECEPTS OF JESUS."

BY

A FRIEND TO TRUTH.

PRINTED AT CALCUTTA:
1820.

AN APPEAL, &c., &c.

In perusing the twentieth number of "The Friend of India," I felt as much surprised as disappointed at some remarks made in that magazine by a gentleman under the signature of "A Christian Missionary," on a late publication entitled, "The Precepts of Jesus;" and also at some observations of a similar nature on the same subject by the Editor of that publication. Before however I attempt to inquire into the ground upon which their objections to the work in question are founded, I humbly beg to appeal to the public against the unchristianlike, as well as uncivil manner in which the Editor has adduced his objections to the compilation, by introducing personality, and applying the term of *heathen* to the Compiler. I say unchristianlike manner, because the Editor, by making use of the term heathen, has, I presume, violated truth, charity, and liberality, which are essential to Christianity in every sense of the word. For there are only two methods by which the character of the Compiler as a heathen, or as a believer in one true and living God, can be satisfactorily inferred. The most reasonable of the two modes is to confine such inquiries to the evidence contained in the subject of review, no mention of the name of the compiler being made in the publication itself. Another mode, which is obviously inapplicable in such discussions, is to guess at the real author, and to infer his opinions from a knowledge of his education or other circumstances. With respect to the first source of evidence, the following expressions of the Compiler's sentiments are found in the Introduction: "A notion of the existence of a supreme, superintending Power, the Author and Preserver of the harmonious system, who has organized and who regulates such an infinity of celestial and terrestrial objects, and a due estimation of that Law which teaches that man should do to others as he would wish to be done by, reconcile us to human nature, &c." "This simple code of religion and morality, (meaning the Precepts of Jesus,) is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, &c.," "so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their

various duties to God, to themselves, and to society," and "so conformable to the dictates of human reason, divine revelation, &c." These expressions are calculated, in my humble opinion, to convince every mind not biassed by prejudice, that the Compiler believed not only in one God, whose nature and essence is beyond human comprehension, but in the truths revealed in the Christian system. I should hope neither the Reviewer nor the Editor can be justified in inferring the heathenism of the Compiler, from the facts of his extracting and publishing the moral doctrines of the New Testament, under the title of "*A Guide to peace and happiness*"—his styling the Precepts of Jesus, a code of religion and morality—his believing God to be the Author and Preserver of the universe—or his considering those sayings as adapted to regulate the conduct of the whole human race in the discharge of all the duties required of them.

Neither, I trust, can his separating the moral sayings of Christ from the mysterious dogmas and historical parts of the New Testament, under the impression, that these are liable to the doubts and disputes of free-thinkers and anti-christians with which this part of the world is unfortunately filled; nor his opinion that this simple code of morality would be more likely to attract the notice and respect of such men, and to guide their mind into the paths of peace and happiness, than if presented to them in conjunction with other matter against which their education has taught them to revolt; justly subject him, in the opinion of the most orthodox Christians, to the epithet applied to him by the Editor. If they do, I cannot see how the same condemnation can be spared to numerous publications of extracts from the Old and the New Testaments, made and sent forth by several Christian authors, under various designations and for different purposes.

With respect to the latter mode of seeking evidence, however unjustified the Editor may be in coming to such a conclusion, he is safe in ascribing the collection of these Precepts to Rammohun Roy; who, although he was born a Brahmun, not only renounced idolatry at a very early period of his life, but published at that time a treatise in Arabic and Persian against that system; and no sooner acquired a tolerable knowledge of English, than he made his desertion of idol worship known to the Christian world by his English publication—a renunciation that, I am sorry to say, brought severe difficulties upon him, by exciting the displeasure of his parents, and subjecting him to the dislike of his near, as well as distant relations, and to the hatred

of nearly all his countrymen for several years. I therefore presume that among his declared enemies, who are aware of those facts, no one who has the least pretension to truth, would venture to apply the designation of heathen to him; but I am sure, that the respect he entertains for the very name of Christianity, which the Editor of the "Friend of India," seems to profess will restrain him from retorting on that Editor, although there may be differences of opinion between them that might be thought sufficient to justify the use towards the Editor of a term no less offensive. The Editor perhaps may consider himself justified by numerous precedents amongst the several partisans of different Christian sects in applying the name of Heathen to one who takes the Precepts of Jesus as his principal guide in matters of religious and civil duties; as Roman Catholics bestow the appellation of heretics or infidels on all classes of Protestants, and Protestants do not spare the title of idolaters to Roman Catholics; Trinitarians deny the name of Christian to Unitarians, while the latter retort by stigmatizing the worshippers of the Son of man as Pagans who adore a created and dependent Being. Very different conduct is inculcated in the Precepts of Jesus to John, when complaining of one who performed cures in the name of Jesus, yet refused to follow the Apostles:—he gave a rebuke, saying, "He that is not against us is on our part." *Mark*, ch. ix, ver. 40. The Compiler, having obviously in view at least one object in common with the Reviewer and Editor, that of procuring respect for the Precepts of Christ, might have reasonably expected more charity from professed teachers of his doctrines.

The Compiler of the Precepts of Jesus will, however, I doubt not, give preference to the guidance of those Precepts, which justify no retaliation even upon enemies, to the hasty suggestions of human passions and the example of the Editor of the "Friend of India."

2. The Editor of the "Friend of India," and the respected Reviewer, both not only disapprove absolutely the plan adopted by the Compiler in separating the moral doctrines of the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the four Evangelists from the mysteries and historical matters therein contained, but even blame him as an injurer of the cause of truth; and for such disapprobation they assign several reasons:—first, The Reviewer says, the supposition of the moral sayings being sufficient for salvation, independent of the dogmas, is, (as he notes in page 26,) radically false; and that it is presumption of him (the compiler) to think himself qualified to judge,

independently of the Divine Teacher, what sort of instruction is advantageous for the happiness of mankind. If indeed the Reviewer understands by the word *moral* what relates to conduct only with reference to man, it cannot apply to those Precepts of Jesus, that teach the duty of man to God; which however the Reviewer will find included in the collection of the Precepts of Jesus by the Compiler: but a slight attention to the scope of the Introduction might have convinced the Reviewer, that the sense in which the word *moral* is there used, whether rightly or otherwise, is quite general, and applies equally to our conduct in religious as in civil matters. Without attaching this meaning to the term 'moral doctrines,' the whole of the concluding sentence must appear absurd, where it is said, "This simple code is well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves, and to society." This assertion is corroborated and supported by a great number of passages in the treatise in question, which point out the appropriate mode of performing our duty to the Almighty Power. It is however too true to be denied, that the Compiler of those moral precepts separated them from some of the dogmas and other matters, chiefly under the supposition, that they alone were a sufficient guide to secure peace and happiness to mankind at large—a position that is entirely founded on and supported by the express authorities of Jesus of Nazareth—a denial of which would imply a total disavowal of Christianity. Some of those authorities, as found amongst these precepts, here follow: *Matthew*, ch. xxii, beginning with verse 37: ,' Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. 38: This is the first and great commandment. 39: And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. 40: ON THESE TWO COMMANDMENTS HANG ALL THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS." *Mark*, ch. xii, beginning with verse 29: "And Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, The Lord our God is one Lord. 30: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first commandment. 31: And the second is LIKE, namely this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is no other commandment greater than these. 32: And he said unto him, Well, Master, thou hast said the truth; for there is one God, and there is none other but he. 33: And to love him with all the heart,

and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices. 34: And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." *Matthew*, ch. vii, verse 12: "Therefore all things whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; FOR THIS IS THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS." Ch. v, 17: "Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." *Luke*, ch. x, beginning with verse 25: "And behold, a certain Lawyer stood up and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? 26: He said unto him, What is written in the Law? How readest thou? 27: He answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself. 28: And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right. THIS DO and THOU SHALT LIVE." The Saviour meant of course by the words *Law* and *Prophets* all the commandments ordained by divine authority, and the Religion revealed to the Prophets and observed by them, as is evident from Jesus's declaring those commandments to afford perfect means of acquiring eternal life, snd directing men to follow them accordingly. Had any other doctrine been requisite to teach men the road to peace and happiness, Jesus could not have pronounced to the Lawyer, "This do and THOU SHALT LIVE." It was the characteristic of the office of Christ to teach men, that forms and ceremonies were useless tokens of respect for God, compared with the essential proof of obedience and love towards him evinced by the practice of beneficence towards their fellow-creatures. The compiler, finding these commandments given as including all the revealed Law, and the whole system of religion adopted by the Prophets and re-established and fulfilled by Jesus himself, as the means to acquire Peace and Happiness, was desirous of giving more full publicity in this country to them, and to the subsidiary moral doctrines that are introduced by the Saviour in detail. Placing also implicit confidence in the truth of his sacred commandments, to the observance of which we are directed by the same teacher, (*John*, ch. xiv, ver. 15, "If ye love me, keep my commandments." Ver. 24, "He that loveth me not, keepeth not my sayings,") the Compiler never hesitated in declaring, (page I,) a "belief in God, and a due regard to that law, 'Do unto others as you would wish to be done by,' render our existence agreeable

to ourselves, and profitable to the rest of mankind." It may now be left to the public to judge, whether or not the charge of arrogance and presumption which the Reviewer has imputed to the Compiler, under the idea that he preferred his own judgment to that of the Saviour, be justly applicable to him.

3. The respected Reviewer argues in page 26, that there are two important points, a knowledge of which is not to be acquired by following the moral precepts of Christ, but which are esaential to the attainment of true peace of mind; they being entirely founded (as he alleges) upon the dogmas and histories, viz. how to obtain, 1st, the forgiveness of sins and the favour of God; and 2ndly, strength to overcome human passions, and to keep the commandments of God. These precepts separated from the mysterious dogmas and historical records appear, on the contrary, to the Compiler to contain not only the essence of all that is necessary to instruct mankind in their civil duties, but also the best and only means of obtaining the forgiveness of our sins, the favour of God, and strength to overcome our passions, and to keep his commandments. I therefore extract from the same compilation, a few passages of that greatest of all Prophets who was sent to call sinners to repentance; a due attention to which will, I hope, satisfy the respected Reviewer on those two points. *Luke*, ch. xiii, ver. 3: "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." Ch. xv, ver. 7, 10: "I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine persons who need no repentance. I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth." *Matthew*, ch. ix, 13: "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Ch. xviii, ver. II: "For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost." *Luke*, ch. v, ver. 32: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Which sayings are confirmatory of what is taught in *Ezekiel*, ch. xviii, ver. 30: "Repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions, so iniquity shall not be your ruin." See also the parable of the prodigal son, where the mercy of God is illustrated by the example of a father pardoning the transgressions of his repenting son. Numerous passages of the Old and the New Testament to the same effect, which might fill a volume, distinctly promise us that the forgiveness of God and the favour of his divine majesty may be obtained by sincere repentance, as required of sinners by the Redeemer.

As to the second point, that is: How to be enabled to overcome our passions, and keep the commandments of God:—we are not left unprovided for in that respect, as our gracious Saviour has promised every strength and power as necessary consequences of earnest prayer and hearty desire. *Matthew*, ch. vii, ver. 7, and *Luke*, ch. xi, ver. 9, 13: "Ask and it shall be given you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you." "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him." *Luke*, ch. xi, ver. 9: "I say unto you, Ask and it shall be given you." After a due attention to these and to numerous passages of the same effect, no one who believes in the divine message of Jesus of Nazareth, or even in the truth of his doctrine only can be at all at a loss to find adequate means of attaining those two ends, justly considered to be most essential by the Reviewer.

4. The Reviewer imputes to the Compiler, error in exalting the value of the moral doctrines above that of the historical facts and dogmas contained in the New Testament. This imputation, I humbly maintain, can be of no weight or force against the authority of Jesus himself, as quoted in the above texts; which clearly shew, that there is no other means of attaining eternal life except the performance of our duties towards God in obeying his commandments. That the aim and object of all the commandments of God is to teach us our duty towards our fellow-creatures may be gathered from a hundred passages of Scripture, of which perhaps the following may suffice. *Matthew*, ch. xxv, ver. 31-46: "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the king say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in?

or naked, and clothed thee? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the king shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Then shall he say unto them also on the left hand, depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they also answer him asying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal." In this description of the day of judgment it is clearly announced, that the merciful Father of the universe accepts as manifestation of love towards himself, every act of charity and beneficence performed towards his creatures: (See text already quoted, *Matthew*, ch. vii, ver. 12.) And apparently to counteract by anticipation the erroneous idea that such conduct might be dispensed with, and reliance placed on a mere dogmatical knowledge of God, or of the Saviour, the following declaration seems to have been uttered. *Matthew*, ch. vii, ver. 21-26: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord! Lord! shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven. Many will say unto me in that day, Lord! Lord! have we not prophesied in thy name; in thy name have cast out devils; and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you; depart from me ye that work iniquity. Therefore whosoever heareth *these sayings* of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, who built his house upon a rock. And every one that heareth *these sayings* of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand." *Matthew* ch. xii, 50; "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother," *Luke*, ch. viii, ver. 21; "My mother and my brethren are these which hear the word of God and do it." Ch. xi, ver. 27, 28: "Blessed is the womb (said a certain woman to Jesus) that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked: but he said, Yea, rather

blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." *John*, ch. xv, ver. 10:" If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love." What then are THOSE SAYINGS, the obedience to which is so absolutely commanded as indispensable and all-sufficient to those who desire to inherit eternal life? They are not other than the blessed and benign moral doctrines taught in the sermon on the mount, (contained in the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Matthew,) which include therefore every duty of man, and all that is necessary to salvation; and they expressly exclude mere profession or belief, from those circumstances which God graciously admits as giving a title to eternal happiness. Neither in this, nor in any other part of the New Testament can we find a commandment similarly enjoining a knowledge of any of the mysteries or historical relations contained in those books. It is besides plainly stated, that but a very small portion of the works of Jesus have been handed down to us by the Evangelists. John says at the conclusion of his gospel, ch. xxi, ver. 25, " There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." On the other hand we cannot doubt, that the whole spirit of his doctrines has been faithfully and fully recorded. The reason of this appears obvious:—miracles must have had a powerful effect on the minds of those who witnessed them, and who without some such evidence were disposed to question the authority of the teacher of those doctrines. *John*, ch. x, ver. 25: " The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me." Vers. 37, 38: " If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works." Had his doctrines of themselves made their due impression, the aid of miracles would not have been requisite, nor had recourse to. In this country, the bare report of such miracles could have given no support to the weight of the doctrines; for as the Compiler has stated in his Introduction, miracles infinitely more wonderful are related of their gods and saints, on authorities that the Hindoos must deem superior to those of the Apostles.

We are taught by revelation, as well as education, to ascribe to the Deity the perfection of those attributes which are esteemed excellent amongst mankind. And according to those ideas it must surely appear more consistent with the justice of the Sovereign Ruler,

that he should admit to mercy those of his subjects who, acknowledging his authority, have endeavoured to obey his laws; or shewn contrition, when they have fallen short of their duty and love; than that he should select for favour those whose claims rest on having acquired particular ideas of his nature and of the origin of his Son, and of what afflictions that Son may have suffered in behalf of his people. If the Reviewer and Editor will continue to resist both authority and common sense, I must be content to take leave of them with the following words, (*Luke*, ch. xvi, ver. 31:) "And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

5. The Reviewer observes (in page 24) with every mark of disapprobation, that the Compiler has intimated in the Introduction, that the dogmatical and historical matters are rather calculated to do injury. The Compiler could not certainly overlook the daily occurrences and obvious facts which led him to remark (in the introduction,) that "historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of freethinkers and anti-christians, especially miraculous relations which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia:" and to prove what the Compiler stated, I humbly entreat any one to refer to the numerous volumes written by persons unattached to any of the established Churches, against the miracles, the history, and some of the dogmas of Christianity. It has been the different interpretations of the dogmas that have given rise to such keen disputes amongst the followers of Jesus. They have not only destroyed harmony and union between one sect of Christians and another, and continue to do so; but in past times have even caused continual wars and frequent bloodshed to rage amongst them, more dreadfully than between Christians and infidels. A slight reference to the histories of Christian countries, will, I trust, afford to my readers entire conviction upon this head. Besides, the Compiler, residing in the same spot where European missionary gentlemen and others for a period of upwards of twenty years have been, with a view to promote Christianity, distributing in vain amongst the natives numberless copies of the complete Bible, written in different languages, could not be altogether ignorant of the causes of their disappointment. He, however, never doubted their zeal for the promulgation of Christianity, nor the accuracy of their statement with regard to immense sums of money being annually

expended in preparing vast numbers of copies of the Scriptures; but he has seen with regret, that they have completely counteracted their own benevolent efforts, by introducing all the dogmas and mysteries taught in Christian churches to people by no means prepared to receive them; and that they have been so incautious and inconsiderate in their attempts to enlighten the natives of India, as to address the instructions to them in the same way as if they were reasoning with persons brought up in a Christian country, with those dogmatical notions imbibed from their infancy. The consequence has been, that the natives in general, instead of benefiting by the perusal of the Bible, copies of which they always receive gratuitously, exchange them very often for blank paper; and generally use several of the dogmatical terms in their native language as a mark of slight in an irreverent manner, the mention of which is repugnant to my feelings. Sabat, an eminently learned but grossly unprincipled Arab, whom our divines supposed that they had converted to Christianity, and whom they of course instructed in all the dogmas and doctrines, wrote a few years ago a treatise in Arabic against those very dogmas, and printed himself and published several hundred copies of this work; and another Musalman, of the name of Ena'et Ahmud, a man of respectable family, who is still alive, speedily returned to Muhammadanism from Christianity, pleading that he had not been able to reconcile to his understanding certain dogmas which were imparted to him. It has been owing to their beginning with the introduction of mysterious dogmas, and of relations that at first sight appear incredible, that notwithstanding every exertion on the part of our divines, I am not aware that we can find a single respectable Musalman or Hindoo, who was not in want of the common comforts of life, once glorified with the truth of Christianity, constantly adhering to it. Of the few hundred natives who have been nominally converted to Christianity, and who have been generally of the most ignorant class, there is ground to suspect that the greater number have been allured to change their faith by other attractions than by a conviction of the truth and reasonableness of those dogmas; as we find nearly all of them are employed or fed by their spiritual teachers, and in case of neglect are apt to manifest a rebellious spirit;—a circumstance which is well-known to the Compiler from several local facts, as well as from the following occurrence. About three years ago, the Compiler, on his visit to an English gentleman, who is still residing in the

vicinity of Calcutta, saw a great number of Christian converts with a petition, which they intended to present to the highest Ecclesiastical authority, stating that their teachers, through false promises of advancement, had induced them to give up their ancient religion. The Compiler felt indignant at their presumption, and suggested to the gentleman as a friend, the propriety of not countenancing a set of men, who, from their own declaration, seemed so unprincipled. The missionaries themselves are as well aware as the Compiler, that those very dogmas are the points which the people always select as the most proper for attack, both in their oral and written controversies with Christian teachers; all of which, if required, the Compiler is prepared to prove by the most unquestionable testimony.

Under these circumstances the Compiler published such sayings of Christ, as he thought intelligible to all, conveying conviction with them, and best calculated to lead mankind to universal love and harmony; not dwelling upon those matters, an observance of which is not absolutely ordained, and the interpretations of which, instead of introducing peace and happiness, have generally given rise to disputes and controversies. The Compiler has had no local influence nor power to promote any one's interest, nor has he situations to give away, nor yet has he friends and colleagues to recommend others to their patronage. Humble as he is, he has therefore adopted those measures which he thought most judicious to spread the truth in an acceptable manner; but I am sorry to observe, that he has unfortunately and unexpectedly met with opposition from those whom he considered the last persons likely to oppose him on this subject. From what has already been advanced, the Reviewer may perceive the reason why the passages extracted by the Compiler from the Gospel of St. John should be comparatively few. It is from this source, that the most difficult to be comprehended of the dogmas of the Christian religion have been principally drawn; and on the foundation of passages of that writer, the interpretation of which is still a matter of keen discussion amongst the most learned and most pious scholars in Christendom, is erected the mysterious doctrine of three Gods in one Godhead, the origin of Muhammadanism, and the stumbling-block to the conversion of the more enlightened amongst the Hindoos.

To impress more strongly on the minds of those for whom this compilation was intended, the doctrines taught by Jesus, the Compiler thought the varied repetition of them by different but con-

curring reporters highly advantageous, as showing clearly that those doctrines were neither misrepresented nor misconceived by any of those Evangelists.

6. Nor is the conduct of the Compiler in selecting certain passages of the Scriptures for certain purposes singular; for we see very often extracts from the Bible, published by the learned men of every sect of Christians, with a view to the maintenance of particular doctrines. Christian churches have selected passages from the Bible, which they conceive particularly excellent, and well adapted for the constant perusal and study of the people of their respective churches; and besides, it is the continual practice of every Christian teacher to choose from the whole Scriptures such texts as he deems most important, for the purposes of illustrating them, and impressing them on the minds of his hearers. Nor will those teachers, if questioned as to their object in such selection, hesitate to assign as their motive the very reason adopted by the Compiler as his—the superior importance of the parts so selected. Whether or not he has erred in his judgment on that point, must be determined by those who will candidly peruse and consider the arguments already advanced on the subject, always bearing in mind the lesson practically taught by the Saviour himself, of adapting his instructions to the susceptibility and capacity of his hearers. *John*, ch. xvi, ver. 12: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now."

Hindustan is a country, of which nearly three-fifths of the inhabitants are Hindoos, and two-fifths Musalmans. Although the professors of neither of these religions are possessed of such accomplishments as are enjoyed by Europeans in general, yet the latter portion are well-known to be firmly devoted to a belief in one God, which has been instilled into their minds from their infancy. The former (I mean the Hindoos) are, with a few exceptions, immersed in gross idolatry, and in belief of the most extravagant description respecting futurity, antiquity, and the miracles of their deities and saints, as handed down to them and recorded in their ancient books. Weighing these circumstances, and anxious, from his long experience of religious controversy with natives, to avoid further disputation with them, the Compiler selected those Precepts of Jesus, the obedience to which he believed most peculiarly required of a Christian, and such as could by no means tend, in doctrine, to excite the religious horror of Muhammadans, or the scoffs of Hindoos. What

benefit or peace of mind can we bestow upon a Musalman, who is an entire stranger to the Christian world, by communicating to him without preparatory instruction all the peculiar dogmas of Christianity; such as those contained in verse 1st, chap. 1st of *St. John*: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God"? Would they not find themselves at a loss to reconcile this dogma to their unprepared understandings, viz. A is B and A is also with B? Although the interpretations given us of such texts by truly learned and candid divines be ever so satisfactory, yet to those that are strangers to these explanations they cannot be intelligible; nor can it be expected from the order of things, that each can happily find at hand an able interpreter to whom he can have recourse for an explanation, whenever he may be involved in difficulties or doubts. But as a great number of missionary gentlemen may perhaps view the matter in a different light, and join the Editor of the Friend of India, in accusing the Compiler as an injurer of the cause of truth, I doubt not that with a view to avoid every possibility of such imputation, and to prevent others from attributing their ill success to his interference with their duties, he would gladly abstain from publishing again on the same subject, if he could see in past experience anything to justify hopes of their success. From what I have already stated, I hope no one will infer that I feel ill-disposed towards the missionary establishments in this country. This is far from being the case. I pray for their augmentation, and that their members may remain in the happy enjoyment of life in a climate so generally inimical to European constitutions: for in proportion to the increase of their number, sobriety, moderation, temperance, and good behaviour have been diffused among their neighbours as the necessary consequences of their company, conversation, and good example.

7. The Reviewer charges the compiler with inconsistency, (p. 27,) because he has termed the Precepts collected by him, a code of Religion and Morality, while, as the Reviewer supposes, they form only a code of morality and not of religion. It is already explained in paragraph 2nd, that the Compiler has introduced those Precepts of Jesus under the denomination of the moral sayings of the New Testament, taking the word moral in its wide sense, as including our conduct to God, to each other, and to ourselves; and to avoid the least possibility of misunderstanding the term, he has carefully particularized the

sense in which he accepted that word by the latter sentence, "This simple code of Religion and Morality, (meaning by the former, those precepts which treat of our duty to God, and by the latter, such as relate to our duties to mankind, and to ourselves,) is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, &c.," "and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves, and to society, &c." In conformity to the design thus expressed, he has collected all the sayings that have a tendency to those ends. The Compiler, however, observes with regret, that neither this language nor this fact, has afforded to the Reviewer satisfactory evidence of his intention nor sufficed to save him from the unexpected imputation of inconsistency.

The Reviewer again (page 29) charges the Compiler with inconsistency, in having introduced some doctrinal passages into his compilation. In reply to which I again entreat the attention of the respected Reviewer to that passage in the Introduction, in which the Compiler states the motives that have led him to exclude certain parts of the gospels from his publication. He there states, that it is on account of these passages being such as were the ordinary foundation of the arguments of the opponents of Christianity, or the sources of the interminable controversies that have led to heart-burnings and even bloodshed amongst Christians, that they were not included in his selection; and they were omitted the more readily, as he considered them not essential to religion. But such dogmas, or doctrinal and other passages as are not exposed to those objections, and are not unfamiliar to the minds of those for whose benefit the compilation was intended, are generally included in conformity with the avowed plan of the work—particularly such as seem calculated to direct our love and obedience to the beneficient Author of the universe, and to him whom he graciously sent to deliver those Precepts of Religion and Morality, whose tendency is to promote universal peace and harmony.

8. In objecting to the assertion made by the Compiler in the Introduction as to a belief in the existence of God prevailing generally, the respected Reviewer advances three arguments:—1st, That millions of people believe in a plurality of Gods. 2ndly, That the majority of those enlightened persons who deny the truth of the Jewish and Christian Revelation are atheists. 3rdly, That the very system of the Vedanta, which denies to God his moral attributes, is a refined

and disguised atheism. I certainly admit that a great number of men and even men of profound learning and extensive abilities, are, owing to their early education, literally sunk in polytheism, an absurd and irrational system of religion. But the admission of a plurality of Gods does not amount to the denial of Godhead. A man, for instance, cannot be accused of having no notion of mankind, because he is proved to believe in the existence of a plurality of individuals. The Reviewer ought therefore to have confined himself to the remark, the truth of which will be readily admitted, that there are millions of people ignorant of the unity of God, the only doctrine consistent with reason and revelation. The astonishing eagerness of the learned amongst those, whose practice and language are polytheistical, to prefer their claim to be considered as Monotheists, is a strong evidence of the consistency of the system of Monotheism with reason. Debased and despicable as is the belief of the Hindoos in three hundred and thirty millions of gods, they pretend to reconcile this persuasion with the doctrine of the unity of God; alleging that the three hundred and thirty millions of gods, whom they enumerate, are subordinate agents, assuming various offices in preserving the harmony of the universe under one Godhead, as innumerable rays issue from one sun. I am at a loss to trace the origin of his second argument, imputing atheism to the majority of those who deny the divinity of the Jewish and Christian Revelation. For notwithstanding my acquaintance with several Europeans and Asiatics who doubt the possibility of Revelation, I have never met with one, to the best of my recollection, maintaining atheism, however widely they might differ from the *Reviewer and the Compiler in a great many points of belief relating to the Deity.* The Reviewer perhaps may have met with some unhappy freethinkers, who have professed doubts respecting the existence of a supreme superintending Power—a circumstance which has probably induced him to form this opinion; but such rare instances can have no force to set aside the credit of what the Compiler affirms, that a belief in God *prevails generally.* Neither can I consciencіously coincide with the respected Reviewer in his imputing atheism to the Vedanta system, under the supposition of its denying moral attributes to God; nor can I help lamenting that religious prejudice should influence the Reviewer so much, as to make him apply the term of atheist towards a sect or to individuals who look up to the God of nature through his wonderful

works alone; for the Vedanta, in common with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, from the impossibility of forming more exalted conceptions, constantly ascribes to God the perfection of those moral attributes which are considered among the human species excellent and sublime. To prove this I quote one passage from each of the four Upanishads of the Vedanta, which have already been translated into English. Mundaka, Chap. 1, section 1: "By him who knows all things collectively and distinctly, whose knowledge and will are the only means of his actions, Brahma, name, and form, and all that vegetates, are produced." Katha, chap. 5: "God is eternal, among all the perishable universe; and is the source of sensation among all animate existences; and he alone assigns to so many objects their respective purposes." Kenopanishad: "In a battle between the celestial gods and the demons, God enabled the former to defeat the latter." And Ishopanishad: "He overspreads all creatures, is merely spirit without the form either of a minute body or of an extended one, which is liable to impression or organization. He is pure, perfect, omniscient, the Ruler of the intellect, omnipresent, and the self-existent. He has from eternity been assigning to all creatures their respective purposes." For further evidence, if required, I beg to refer the Reviewer to the rest of the original Vedanta works that may be found in the College Library and in the missionary stores of books. It is, however, very true, that the Vedanta declares very often its total ignorance of the real nature and attributes of God. Kenopanishad, ver. 3: "Hence no vision can approach him, *no language* can describe him, no intellectual power can compass *or determine him: we know nothing how the Supreme Being should* be explained," &c. It also represents God sometimes in a manner familiar to the understanding of the vulgar. Mundaka, ch. vii. sect. 1: "Heaven is his head, and the sun and moon are his eyes; space is his ears," &c. But such declarations are not peculiar to the Vedanta doctrines, as these are found frequently in the Sacred Scriptures. *Job* xxxvi. 26: "Behold God is great, and we know him not." Ch. xxxvii. 23: "Touching the Almighty we cannot find him out: his greatness is unsearchable." The Scriptures also represent God in the same familiar and figurative manner as is found in the Vedanta. God is affirmed to have made man in his own image, after his own likeness. The angels always behold God's face in heaven. In the Old Testament, as well as in the New, God is represented

as repenting of his works, as being moved with anger, vexation, grief, joy, love and hate: as moving from place to place; having arms with hands and fingers; a head, with face, mouth, tongue, eyes, nose, ears; a heart, bowels, back, thighs, legs; as seeing, being seen, speaking, and hearing, slumbering, waking, &c. No one capable of sound reasoning can for a moment imagine that these or any other descriptions of God are intended to convey literal notions of the unsearchable, incomprehensible Being.

May God render religion destructive of differences and dislike between man and man, and conducive to the peace and Union of mankind.—Amen.

SECOND APPEAL

TO

THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC,

IN DEFENCE OF

THE PRECEPTS OF JESUS."

BY

RAMMOHUN ROY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE contents of the following Treatise are included under these two propositions:—1st, That the Precepts of Jesus, which teach that love to God is manifested in beneficence towards our fellow-creatures, are a sufficient Guide to Peace and Happiness; and 2ndly, That that omnipresent God, who is the only proper object of religious veneration, is one and undivided in person.

Though these doctrines, as I conceive them to be alike founded on reason and revelation, appear to me to be almost as obvious truths as any abstract axiom, yet they are opposed in fact by a very large body of writers and teachers. I must therefore leave them to be decided upon by those who will be pleased to bestow their candid and liberal attention on the arguments I have used in the succeeding pages;—and on their impartial judgment I confidently rely.

SECOND APPEAL.

CHAPTER I.

General Defence of the Precepts in Question.

THE observations contained in No. I of the Quarterly Series of "The Friend of India," on the Introduction to "The Precepts of Jesus" as well as on their defence, termed "An Appeal to the Christian Public," are happily expressed in so mild and Christianlike a style, that they have not only afforded me ample consolation for the disappointment and vexation I felt from the personality conveyed in the preceding Magazines, (Nos. 20 and 23,) but have also encouraged me to pursue my researches after the fundamental principles of Christianity in a manner agreeable to my feelings, and with such respect as I should always wish to manifest for the situation and character of so worthy a person as the Editor of the Friend of India.

The Reverend Editor labours in his Review to establish two points—the truth and excellency of the miraculous relations and of the dogmas found in the scriptural writings; and, 2ndly, the insufficiency of the compiled Precepts of Jesus alone to lead to salvation, unless accompanied with the important doctrines of the Godhead of Jesus and his atonement.

As the Compiler neither in his Introduction to the Precepts of Jesus, nor in his defence of those Precepts, has expressed the least doubt as to the truth of any part of the Gospels, the arguments adduced by the learned Editor to demonstrate the truth and excellence of the authority on which they rest, are, I am inclined to think, quite superfluous, and foreign to the matter in question.

The only reason assigned by the Compiler, (in the Introduction,) for separating the Precepts from the abstruse doctrines and miraculous relations of the New Testament, are, that the former "are liable to the doubts and disputes of Freethinkers and Anti-christians, and the latter are capable at best of carrying little weight with the natives of this part of the globe, the fabricated tales handed down to them being of a more wonderful nature."

These sentiments respecting the doctrines and miracles, founded as they are upon undeniable facts, do not, I presume, convey any disavowal or doubt of their truth. Besides, in applying the term "fabricated" to the tales received by the credulous Hindoos, the Compiler clearly evinced the contemptible light in which he viewed these legends; and in stating that the miracles of the Scriptures were subject to the doubts of "Freethinkers and Anti-christians," it can never fairly be supposed that he meant himself, or any other person labouring in the promulgation of Christianity, to be included in that class.

As to the second point urged by the Reverend Editor, namely, that the compiled Precepts were not sufficient to lead to salvation, I deeply regret that the Editor should appear to have overlooked the authority of the gracious Author of this religion in the several passages cited by the Compiler in his Appeal, to prove beyond doubt the sufficiency of the Precepts in question to procure eternal life; as it is almost impossible that so numerous quotations, spreading over a great part of the Appeal could have escaped his notice. The Reverend Editor, while endeavouring to prove, that the compiled Precepts would fall short of guiding to peace and happiness, only illustrates by sacred authority the true excellency of the miracles and the doctrines of Christianity. But such illustration can have no tendency to demonstrate the position he endeavours to maintain. I am therefore under the necessity of repeating a few passages already quoted, with some others, shewing that the compiled Precepts are sufficient to conduct the human race to happiness; and I humbly entreat to know, if I be persuaded to believe in the divine origin of those passages, and in the entire veracity of their author, how I am to reconcile their authority with the position maintained by the learned Editor, as to the insufficiency of the Precepts of Jesus to guide to peace and happiness. *Matthew*, ch. xxii., beginning with ver. 37: "Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; this is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the Prophets." *Mark*, ch. xii. beginning with ver. 29: "And Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy

mind and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is no other commandment greater than these." *Matthew*, ch. vii. 12: "Therefore all things whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you even so to them; for this is the Law and the Prophets." *Luke*, ch. x. from ver. 25: "And behold a certain lawyer stood up and tempted him, saying Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? He said unto him, What is written in the Law? How readest thou? He answering, said: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neigbour as thyself. And he said unto him, thou hast answered right. *This do, and thou shalt live.*" *Matthew*, ch. vii. ver. 21: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord! Lord! shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven. Many will say unto me in that day, Lord! Lord! have we not prophesied in thy name; and in thy name have cast out devils; and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity. Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, who built his house upon a rock; and every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not shall be likened unto a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand." *Luke*, ch. xi. ver. 27: "Blessed is the womb (said a certain woman to Jesus) that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked: but he said, Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." *John*, ch. xv. ver. 12: "This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you." Ver. 17: "These things I command you, that ye love one another." Ch. xiii. ver. 34: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another;" 35: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Observing those two commandments, (*Matthew*, ch. xxii. ver. 37—39,) selected by the Saviour as a substitute for all the Law and the Prophets, and sufficient means to produce peace and happiness to mankind, the Compiler never scrupled to follow the example set forth by Jesus himself in compiling such precepts as include those two commandments, and their subsidiary moral doctrines, as a true substitute of the Gospel, without intending to depreciate the rest of the word of God. I

regret that the Reverend Editor should have disapproved of this compilation, on the ground, that "it is of importance that every compilation be given as a sample of the Sacred Writings in all their excellence and importance, and not as a substitute for the whole."

The authority of St. Paul, the most exalted among primitive Christians, quoted by the Reverend Editor, (p. 89,) "If righteousness come by the law, Christ is dead in vain," is not, I presume, adequate to set aside, nor even applicable to the express authority of the Author of Christianity already quoted; as the latter includes not only the Mosaic law, to which St. Paul alludes, but both law and religion, and is evident from the following passages: "Therefore all things whatever you would that men should do to you, do you even so to them; for this is the Law and the Prophets." "On these two commandments (to love God and to love our neighbours) hang all the Law and the Prophets." Every one must admit, that the gracious Saviour meant by the words "the Law and the Prophets," all the divine commandments found in the Scriptures, obedience to which is strictly required of us by the founder of that religion. *Luke*, ch. xi. ver. 28: "Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." *John*, ch. xiv. ver. 15: "If you love me, keep my commandments." Had the manifestation of love towards God with all our strength, and towards our neighbours as ourselves, been practically impossible, as maintained by the Editor, (p. 112,) or had any other doctrines been necessary to lead to eternal life, Jesus of Nazareth, (in whose veracity, candour, and perfection, we have happily been persuaded to place implicit confidence), could not, consistently with his office as the Christ of God, have enjoined the lawyer to the obedience of those two commandments, and would not have promised him eternal life as the reward of such obedience; (*vide Luke*, ch. x. ver. 28, "*This do, and thou shalt live*;") for a man possessed of common sense and common humanity would not incite another to labour in vain by attempting what was practically impossible, nor delude him with promises of a reward upon conditions beyond his power to fulfil; much less could a Being, in whom dwelt all truth, and who was sent with a divine law to guide mankind by his preaching and example, inculcate precepts that it was impracticable to follow. Any commandment enjoining man to love God with all his heart, and all his strength, requires of us of course to direct our love towards him as the sole Father of the Universe; but does

not amount to a prohibition of the pursuits necessary for life, or to an abstinence from love towards any other object; for such love also is enjoined by the subsequent commandment. The following passages, *John*, ch. xiv. ver. 21, "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father; and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." Ch. xv. ver. 10: "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love." Ver. 14: "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you," &c., and many other passages of a similar import, exhibit clearly, that love of and adherence to Jesus, can be evinced solely by obedience to the Divine commandments. But if the observance of those commandments be treated as practically impossible, the love of Jesus and adherence to him must likewise be so considered, and Christianity altogether regarded as existing only in theory.

I appeal to the Reverend Editor himself, whether we are to set at defiance the express commandment of Jesus, under the supposition that manifestation of the love enjoined by him is practically impossible? Yet this we must do, if we are to adopt the position of the Editor, found in his Review, page 111, "That the most excellent precepts, the most perfect law, can never lead to happiness and peace, unless by causing men to take refuge in the doctrine of the cross;" meaning, I presume, the doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus on the cross, as an atonement of the sins of mankind.

As the Reverend Editor has most fairly and justly confined himself to arguments, founded on the authority of the divine Teacher himself, I should hope to be allowed to beg him to point out, in order to establish his position, even a single passage pronounced by Jesus, enjoining a refuge in such a doctrine of the cross, as all-sufficient or indispensable for salvation; so that his position, thus supported, may be placed in competition with that founded on those passages which I have quoted in the foregoing paragraph, shewing both the indispensableness and the all-sufficiency of the excellent Precepts in question to procure salvation; and may impel us to endeavour to reconcile contradictions, which would in that case be shewn to subsist between the passages, declaring the all-sufficiency of the moral precepts preached by Christ for eternal life, and those that might be found to announce the indispensableness of the doctrine of the cross for everlasting happiness.

It is however evident, that the human race are naturally so weak, and so prone to be led astray by temptations of temporary gratifica-

tions, that the best and wisest of them fall far short of manifesting a strict obedience to the divine commandments, and are constantly neglecting the duty they owe to the Creator and to their fellow-creatures; nevertheless, in reliance on numerous promises found in the sacred writings, we ought to entertain every hope of enjoying the blessings of pardon from the merciful Father through repentance, which is declared the only means of procuring forgiveness of our failures. I have already quoted some of these comforting passages in my Appeal, page 11; but as the Reverend Editor seems to have entirely overlooked them, and omitted to notice them in any of his publications, I deem it necessary to repeat them here with a few additions. *Ezekiel*, chap. xviii. ver. 30: "Repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin." *Luke*, ch. xiii. ver. 3: "Except you repent, you shall all likewise perish." Ch. xv. ver. 7: "I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance." *Matthew*, ch. ix. ver. 13: "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Ch. iii. ver. 2: John the Baptist preached, saying, "Repent for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," and Jesus after his resurrection, lastly, directs his disciples, *Luke*, ch. xxiv. ver. 47: "That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem," wherein he declares the remission of sins as an immediate and necessary consequence of repentance.

The foregoing authorities and remarks will, I trust, suffice with every candid reader, as my apology for persisting in the conviction that the Precepts compiled and published as a guide to peace and happiness, though deficient in respect to speculative doctrines and creeds, as well as narrative, yet contain all that is essential in practical Christianity; since they teach us the performance of our duty to God and to our fellow-creatures and the most acceptable atonement on our part to the All-merciful, when we have fallen short of that duty.

CHAPTER II.

Natural inferiority of the Son to the Father.

In endeavouring to prove what he represents as "the most abstruse, and yet the most important of doctrines, the Deity of Jesus Christ," the Reverend Editor advances seven positions—1st, That Jesus was possessed of ubiquity, an attribute peculiar to God alone. 2ndly, That he declared that a knowledge of his nature was equally incomprehensible with that of the nature of God. 3rdly, That he exercised the power of forgiving sins, the peculiar prerogative of God. 4thly, That he claimed almighty power, "in the most unequivocal manner." 5thly, That his heavenly Father had committed to him the final judgment of all who have lived since the creation. 6thly. That he received worship due to God alone. 7thly, That he associated his own name with that of God the Father in the sacred rite of baptism.—The facts on which the Editor labours to establish these positions, however, seem to me, upon an impartial examination, not only unfavourable to his inference, but even confirmatory of the opposite opinion.—For, admitting for a moment, that the positions of the Editor are well founded, and that the Saviour was in possession of attributes and powers ascribed to God; have we not his own express and often repeated avowal, that all the powers he manifested, were committed to him as the Son by the Father of the Universe? And does not reason force us to infer, that a being who owes to another all his power and authority, however extensive and high, should be in reality considered inferior to that other? Surely, therefore, those who believe God to be Supreme, possessing the perfection of all attributes, independently of all other beings, must necessarily deny the identity of Christ with God: as the sun, although he is the most powerful and most splendid of all known created things, the greatest immediate source of life and enjoyment in this world, has yet no claim to be considered identical in nature with God, who has given to the sun all the light and animating warmth which he sheds on our globe. To effect a material change without the aid of physical means, is a power peculiar to God; yet we find this power exercised by several of the prophets on whom the

gifts of miracles was bestowed. Besides, it is evident from the first chapter of Genesis, that in the beginning of the creation God bestowed on man his own likeness, and sovereignty over all living creatures. Was not his own likeness and that dominion peculiar to God, before mankind were made partakers of them? Did God then deify man by such mark of distinction?

The following passages, I presume, suffice to illustrate the entire dependence of the Son on God, and his inferiority and subjection to, and his living by, him. *St. John*, ch. x. ver. 17 and 18: "Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. *This commandment have I received of my Father.*" Ch. xii. ver 49: "For I have not spoken of myself; but the Father *who sent me, he gave me commandment* what I should say, and what I should speak." Ch. xiv. ver. 31: "But that the world may know that I love the Father, and *as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do.*" Ch xvii. vers. 1 and 2, Jesus in his prayer—"Glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee; *as thou hast given him power* over all flesh, that he should give eternal life *to as many as thou hast given him.*" *John*, ch. iii. ver. 35: "The Father loveth the Son, and *hath given all things* into his hand." Ch. v. ver. 19: "*The Son can do nothing of himself*, but what he seeth the Father do, &c." 22: "For the Father judgeth no man, but *hath committed* all judgment unto the Son." 30: "*I can of mine own self do nothing:* as I hear I judge; and my judgment is just; because *I seek not my own will, but the will of my Father who hath sent me.*" Ch. vi. ver. 37: "All that the *Father giveth me shall come to me, &c.*" 38: "For I came down from heaven, *not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.*" Ch. viii. ver. 28, : "*That I do nothing of myself; but as my Father hath taught me,* I speak these things." Ver. 50: "I seek not my own glory; there is one that seeketh and judgeth." Ch. xiv. ver. 24: "The word which ye hear is not mine, *but the Father's which sent me.*" "Ver. 31: "*As the Father gave me commandment, even* so I do." And after his resurrection Jesus saith, Ch. xx. ver. 21: "*As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.*" Ver. 17: "I ascend unto *my Father* and *your Father, to my God* and *your God.*" *Matthew*, ch. xii. ver. 18: from Esaiah, "Behold *my servant, whom I have chosen*; my beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased; *I will put*

my spirit upon him, and he shall shew judgment to the Gentiles." Ch. xxviii, ver. 18, "And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, *All power is given unto me* in heaven and in earth." *Luke*, ch. i. ver. 32, "He shall be great, and shall be called *the Son of the Highest:* and the *Lord God shall give unto him* the throne of his father David." For testimony that he lived by the Father, see *John*, ch. vi. ver. 57: "As the living Father *hath sent me, and I live by the Father, &c.*" Ch. v. ver. 26, "For as the Father hath life in himself, *so hath he given to the Son* to have life in himself."

As the Reverend Editor in two instances quoted, perhaps inadvertently, the authority of the Apostles, I think myself justified in introducing some of the sentiments entertained by them on this subject, though I should be contented to deduce my arguments, as proposed by the Editor, exclusively from the direct authority of Jesus himself. I shall confine myself to the quotation of one or two texts from the Epistles of St. Paul. 1st *Corinthians*, ch. xv. vers. 24—28: "Then cometh the end, when he shall have *delivered up the kingdom to God*, even the Father. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. For he hath put all things under his feet: But when he saith, All things are put under him, it is manifest that *He is excepted which did put all things under him.* And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall *the Son also himself be subject unto Him that put all things under him*, that God may be all in all." *Colossians*, ch. i. ver. 15: "Who is the image of the invisible God, *the first-born of every creature.*"

From a due attention to the support of the above quoted texts, and to the term *Son*, distinctly mentioned in them, the reader will, I trust, be convinced, that those powers were conferred on Jesus, and declared by himself to have been received by him from the Father, as the Messiah, Christ, or anointed Son of God, and not solely in his human capacity; and that such interpretation as declares these and other passages of a similar effect to be applicable to Jesus as a man, is an unscriptural invention. Jesus spoke of himself throughout all the Scriptures only as the promised Messiah, vested with high glory from the beginning of the world. *John*, ch. xvii. ver. 5: "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was." In this passage, with the same breath with which he prays for glory, he identifies *the nature*

in which he does so with that under which he lived with God before the creation of the world, and, of course, before his assuming the office of the Messiah. Ver. 24: "Father I will that they also whom thou hast given me *be with me, where I am*; that they may behold *my glory, which thou hast given me:* for thou *lovedst me before the foundation of the world.*" Here again Jesus prays, that his Apostle may witness such honour as the Father had bestowed on him, even before the foundation of the world. Ch. ix. vers. 35—37: "Dost thou" (says Jesus to a man who had been blind) "believe on the *Son of God?* He answered and said, Who is he Lord, that I might believe on him? And Jesus said unto him, Thou hast both *seen him, and it is he* (the Son of God) *that talketh with thee.*" Ch. xvii. vers. 1, 2. "Father, glorify *thy Son*; as *thou hast given him* power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as *thou hast given* him." John the Baptist, who bore witness of Christ, looked not upon him in any other view than as the Son of God. *St. John*, ch. i. ver. 34: "And I saw and bare record" (said John the Baptist, pointing out the person of Jesus,) "that *this is the Son of God.*" *John*, ch. viii. ver. 42: "I proceeded forth and came from God; *neither came I of myself, but he sent me,*" and in numerous passages Jesus declares, that before he assumed the office of the Messiah in this world, he was entirely subject to and obedient to the Father, from whom he received the commission to come to this world for the salvation of mankind. But apparently with the very view of anticipating any misapprehension of his nature on the part of his disciples, to whom he had declared the wonderful extent of the powers committed to him by the Father, he tells them, *John*, ch. xiv. ver. 28, "The Father is greater than I." It would have been idle to have informed them of a truth, of which, as Jews, they would never have entertained the smallest question, that in his mere corporeal nature Jesus was inferior to his Maker; and it must therefore have been his spiritual nature, of which he here avowed the inferiority to that of God.

"The Son" is a term which, when used without being referred to another proper name found in the context, implies invariable the Son of God throughout the whole New Testament, especially when associated with the epithet "The Father;" so the latter epithet, when it stands alone, signifies "The Father of the universe." Matthew, ch. xxviii. ver. 19: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing

them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Ch. xi. ver. 27 : "No man knoweth the Son but the Father, &c." *Vide* rest of the Gospel. It is true indeed, that the angels of God, and some of the ancients of the human race, as well as the children of Israel, are honoured in the sacred writings with the name of "Sons of God." *Job*, ch. i. ver. 6 : "There was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord." *Genesis*, ch. vi. ver. 2 : "The Sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair." *Hosea*, ch. i. ver. 10 : "Then it shall be said unto them, ye are *the sons of the living God.*" Yet the epithet "Son of God," with the definite article prefixed, is appropriated to Christ, the first-born of every creature, as a distinct mark of honour which *he alone* deserves.

The Saviour having declared that unity existed between the Father and himself, *John*, ch. x. ver. 30, "I and my Father are one," a doubt arose with regard to the sense in which the unity affirmed in those words should be accepted. This Jesus removes by defining the unity so expressed as a subsisting concord of will and design, such as existed amongst his apostles, and not identity of being : *vide* ch. xvii. ver. 11, of John, "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, *that they may be one, as we are.*" Ver. 22 : "The glory which thou gavest me I have given them : *that they may be one, even as we are one.*" Should any one understand by these texts real unity and identity, he must believe that there existed a similar identity between each and all of the Apostles ;—nay, even that the disciples also were included in the Godhead, which in that case would consist of a great many times the number of persons ascribed to the Trinity. *John*, ch. xvii. ver. 20—23 : "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word —That *they all may be one* ; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us,—That *they may be one, even as we are one. I in them, and thou in me* : that they may be made *perfect in one.*" I know not how it is possible for those who profess obedience to the word of Christ to overlook the explanation he has here so clearly given of the nature of the unity existing between him and the Father, and to adopt a contrary system, apparently introduced by some Heathen writers to suit their polytheistical prejudices ; but I doubt not the Editor of the Friend of India will admit the necessity of giving preference to divine authority over any human opinion, however prevailing it may be.

The Saviour meant unity in design and will by the assertion also, that he was in God, or dwelt in God and God in him. *John*, ch. x. ver. 38: "That ye may know, and believe, that the father is in me, and I in him," as evidently appears from the following passages:—*John*, ch. xiv. ver. 29: "At that day ye shall know (addressing his Apostles) that I am in my Father, and *ye in me, and I in you.*" Ch. xvii. ver 21: "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be *one in us.*" *John*, ch. vi. ver. 56. "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, *dwelleth in me, and in him.*" 1 *John*, ch. iv, ver. 15: "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God—God *dwelleth in him, and he in God.*" There appear but three modes in which such passages are capable of interpretation. 1st, As conveying the doctrine that the Supreme Being, the Son and the Apostles, were to be absorbed mutually as drops of water into one whole: which is conformable to the doctrines of that sect of Hindoo metaphysicians, who maintain, that in the end the human soul is absorbed into the Godhead; but is quite inconsistent with the faith of all denominations of Christians. 2ndly, As proving an identity of nature, with distinction of person, between the Father, the Son, and the Apostles; a doctrine equally inconsistent with the belief of every Christian, as multiplying the number of persons of the Godhead far beyond what has ever been proposed by any sect. 3rdly, As expressing *that unity* which is said to exist wherever there are found perfect concord, harmony, love, and obedience such as the Son evinced towards the Father, and taught the disciples to display towards the Divine will. That the language of our Saviour can be understood in this last sense solely, will, I trust, be readily acknowledged by every candid expounder of the sacred writings, as being the only one alike warranted by the common use of words, and capable of apprehension hy the human understanding. Had not experience, indeed, too clearly proved that such metaphorical expressions, when taken singly and without attention to their contexts, may be made the foundation of doctrines quite at variance with the tenor of the rest of the Scriptures, I should have had no hesitation in submitting indiscriminately the whole of the doctrines of the New Testament to my countrymen; as I should have felt no apprehension that even the most ignorant of them, if left to the guidance of their own unprejudiced views of the matter, could misconceive the clear and distinct assertions they everywhere con-

tain of the unity of God and subordinate nature of his messenger Jesus Christ. Many of these have been already quoted; to which may be added the following: *John*, ch. xvii ver. 3: "This is life eternal, that they might know *thee the only true God* and Jesus Christ *Whom thou hast sent.*" Here Jesus in addressing the Father declares, that the means to be afforded for eternal salvation, were a knowledge of God, and of himself as the anointed messenger of God. Also ch. xix. ver. 17: Christ saith, "Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is God." Here Jesus, pure as he was and without reproach, thinks it necessary to check the man who applies to him an epithet justly due to God only.—Ch. xiv. ver. 1: "Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God; believe *also* in me." In these words Jesus commands his disciples to put their trust in God, and further to believe in him as the Messenger of God; and thus plainly distinguishes himself from the Godhead. Nor can it for a moment be understood by the following passage *John*, ch. xiv. ver. 9: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," that God was literally and materially visible in the Son—a doctrine which would be directly contrary to the spirit of the religion taught by Jesus, and by all the Prophets of God. *Vide John*, ch. iv. ver. 24: "God is a Spirit." The Apostles also maintained a belief of the immateriality and invisibility of God. 1 *Tim*. ch. vi. ver. 1: "Whom no man hath seen nor can see." 1 *John*, ch. iv. ver. 12: "No man hath seen God at any time." Besides, Jesus explains himself in the two passages immediately succeeding, that, by the phrase "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," he meant only, that whosoever saw him and the works performed by him, witnessed proofs of the entire concord of his words and actions with the will and design of the Father, and ought therefore to have admitted the truth of his mission from God. *John*, ch. xiv ver. 9: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. How sayest thou then, Shew us the Father?" Ver. 10: "Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? The words that I speak unto you I speak not myself; but the Father, that dewelleth in me, he doeth the works." Ver. 11: "Believe me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe for the very works' sake." We have already seen in what sense the expression "dwelleth in me" must be understood, unless we admit that all true followers of Christ are admitted as portions of the Godhead. *John*,

vi. 56: "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him." I *John*, ch. iv. ver. 12: "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us."

For my conviction, and for the satisfaction of those who consider the Precepts of Jesus as a guide to peace and happiness, his word, "They may be one, as we are," (*John*, ch. xvii. ver. 11) in defining the nature of the unity between God and Jesus, fully suffices. Disgusted with the puerile and unsociable system of Hindoo idolatry, and dissatisfied at the cruelty allowed by Musalmanism against Non-musalmans, I, on my searching after the truth of Christianity, felt for a length of time very much perplexed with the difference of sentiments found among the followers of Christ (I mean Trinitarians and Unitarians, the grand division of them), until I met with the explanation of the unity given by the divine Teacher himself as a guide to peace and happiness. Besides, when the Jews misunderstood the phrase used by the Saviour, "I and my Father are one," and accused him of blasphemy, (ch. x. ver. 33: "But for blasphemy, and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God,") Jesus in answer to the accusation denied having made himself God, saying, vers. 34—36, "Is it not written in your Law, I said, Ye are Gods? If ye called them Gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken: say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because *I said, I am the Son of God?*" How was it possible that Jesus, the founder of truth and true religion, should have *disavowed* the charge of making himself God by representing himself as the *Son*, honoured with sanctification *by the Father*, and *sent by him* to this world, if he were the true living God, possessed of everlasting sanctification, independently of another being? From this and all other local evidence the Pharisees and chief priests, though inveterate enemies of the Saviour, accused him to Pilate of having made himself the Son of God and King of the Jews; but relinquished the charge of making himself equal to God, or having ascribed to himself divine nature; although the latter (i. e. making himself God) was better calculated to excite the horror of the people. *Vide John*, ch. xix. ver. 7: "The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die; bcause he made himself the Son of God." *Vide Matthew*, ch. xxvii. ver. 37: "And set up over his head his accusation written, 'This is Jesus, the King of the Jews.'" Ver. 43: "HE TRUSTED IN GOD; let him deliver him now, if

he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God." That the epithet God is frequently applied in the sacred Scriptures, otherwise than to the Supreme Being, as pointed out by Jesus, may be shewn by the following, out of many instances to be found in the Bible. *Deut.* ch. x. ver. 17: "For the Lord your God is GOD OF GODS, and Lord of Lords, &c." Ch. xxxii. ver. 21: "They have moved me to jealousy with *that which is not God.*" *Exodus*, ch. xxii. ver. 28: "*Thou shalt not revile the Gods*, nor curse the ruler of thy people." *Joshua*, ch. xxii ver. 22: "The Lord *God of Gods* knoweth" *Psalm*, lxxxii. ver. 1: "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty: *he judgeth among the Gods.*" Ver. 6: "I have said, *Ye are Gods*; and all of you are childern of the Most High." *Ps.* cxxxvi. ver. 2: "O give thanks unto *the God of Gods.*" *Isaiah*, ch. xli ver. 23: "Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know *that ye are* Gods." *Psalm* xcvii. ver. 7: "*Worship him, all ye Gods.*" *Zeph.* ch. ii. ver. 11: "*He will famish all the Gods of the earth.*" *Exodus*, ch. iv. ver. 16: "God said to Moses, that he should be to Aaron *instead of God.*" Ch. vii. ver. 1: "See, *I have made thee a God* to Pharaoh." Also 1 *Cor.* ch. viii. ver. 5: "As *there be Gods many* and Lords many;" and the verse already quoted from *John*, ch. x. vers. 34, 35: "Jesus answered, Is it not written in your Law, *Ye are Gods?* If he *called them Gods, to whom the word of God came, &c.*" In none of these instances is it in any degree admissible, that by the epithet God it is implied, that the human beings to whom it was attached were thereby declared to be a portion of the Godhead. Moses was to be as a God to Aaron and a God to Pharaoh by the express command of the Almighty; but no Christian will thence argue the equality of Moses with the Father of all things. On what principle then can any stress be laid in defence of the deity of the Son on the prophetic expression quoted in Hebrews from Psalm xlv. ver. 6, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever;" especially when we find in the very next verse, words that declare his subordinate nature; "Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness: therefore *God, thy God*, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows"? We cannot allow much weight to the phrase "for ever," as establishing literally the eternal nature of the power of the Son, this phrase being often found metaphorically applied in the Scriptures to other created beings: as *Proverbs*, ch. xxix. ver. 14: "The king that faithfully judgeth the poor, his throne shall be established for

ever." *Deut.* ch. iv. ver. 40: "And that thou mayest prolong thy days in the earth, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, for ever." Similar to this is the remarkable expression of Jesus to Mary after his resurrection, and therefore, at a time when no design can be conceived to have existed that could have been advanced by his any longer withholding the knowledge of his true nature, if any thing remained unrevealed during the pevious period of his mission on earth. *John*, ch. xx. ver. 17: "Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto *my Father and your Father* and to *my God* and *your God.*"

After a slight attention to the terms Lord and God being often applied to men in the sacred writings, can any weight be allowed to the exclamation of the astonished disciple, *John*, ch. xx. ver. 28: "My Lord and my God;" especially as the Apostle who relates the circumstance within a few verses concludes by saying, ver. 31. "These are within that ye might believe that *Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God*;" but nowhere desires the readers of his Gospel to believe that Jesus is God? Does not common sense point out the inferiority and subordination of a being, though called God, to one who is at the same time declared to be *his* God, *his* father, *his* sanctifier, and *his* promoter to the state of exaltation.

The passages *John*, ch. i. ver. 1: "The Word was God, and the Word was with God," which contains the term God twice, may according to such use of the term be interpreted without involving inconsistence with itself, or the contradiction which it apparently implies with another most decisive passage in *Deut.* ch. xxxii. ver. 39, where Moses representeth God as declaring that *with* him there is no God: "See now that I, even I am he; and *there is no God with me*;" if it should be uuderstood to signify in both instances the Supreme Deity. Should we follow on the other hand the interpretation adopted by Trinitarian Christians, namely, that the Godhead, though it is one, yet consists of three persons, and consequently one substance of the Godhead might abide with the other, both being equally God; we should in that case be forced to view the Godhead in the same light as we consider mankind and other genera, for no doubt can exist of the unity of mankind:—the plurality of men consists in their persons; and therefore we may safely, under the same plea, support the unity of man, notwithstanding the plurality of persons included under the term mankind. In that case also Christians ought in conscience to refrain from accusing Hindoos of polytheism; for every Hindoo, we

daily observe, confesses the unity of the Godhead. They only advance a plausible excuse for their polythesim, wich is, that notwithstanding the unity of the Godhead, it consists of millions of substances assuming different offices correspondent to the number of the various transactions superintended in the universe by divine providence which they consider as infinitely more numerous than those of the Trinitarian scheme.

The Saviour in his appeal, "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not," *John*, ch. x. ver. 37, meant of course the perfomance of works prescribed by the Father, and tending to his glory. A great number of passages in the Scriptures, a few of which I have already cited, and the constant practice of the Saviour, illustrate this fact beyond doubt. In raising Lazarus after he had died, Jesus prayed to the Father for the power of bringing him to life again, and thanked him for his compliance. *John*, ch. xi. ver. 41: "And Jesus lifted up his eyes, and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me." Besides, in declaring that whosoever believed him would do not only the works he performed, but even works of greater importance, Jesus never can be supposed to have promised to such believers equality in power with God, or to have exalted them above himself. *John*, ch. xiv. ver. 12: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also: and greater works than these shall he do." Ch. vi. ver. 29: "Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that *ye believe* on him whom he hath sent." It must be admitted that one, who can perform works of God independently of the Deity, is either greater than or equal in power to the Almighty. The wonderful works which Jesus was empowered to perform drew a great number of the Jews to a belief in Jesus as the promised Messiah, and confirmed his Apostles in their already acquired faith in the Saviour, and in the entire union of will and design that subsisted between him and the Father, as appears from the following passages; *John*, ch. vi. ver. 14: "Then those men, when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did, said, This is of a truth that *Prophet that should come into the world.*" See also *John*, ch. x. ver. 21.

The Scriptures indeed in several places declare, that the Son was superior even to the angels in heaven, living from the beginning of the world to eternity, and that the Father created all things by him and for him. At the same time I must, in conformity to those very

authorities, believe him as produced by the Supreme Deity among created Beings. *John*, ch. v. ver. 26: "For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself." *Colossians*, ch. i. ver. 15, "Who is the image of the invisible God, the *first born of every creature*."

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CHAPTER III.

Separate consideration of the seven positions of the Reviewer.

In attempting to support his first position, that Jesus was possessed of ubiquity, the Reverend Editor has quoted two passages. The first is, *St. John*, ch. iii. ver 13: "No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man who is in heaven;" wherein Jesus, as the Editor conceives, declares his location both in heaven and on the earth at one time. The Editor rests entirely the force of his argument upon the term "is," in the phrase "who *is* in heaven," as signifying the presence of Jesus in heaven while he was conversing with Nicodemus on earth. This argument might perhaps carry some weight with it, were not the frequent use of the present tense in a preterite or future sense observed in the sacred writings, and were not a great number of other passages to determine that the term "is," in this instance, must be understood in the past sense. *John*, ch. viii. ver. 58: "Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, *I am.*" Here the same verb, though found in the form of the present tense, must obviously be taken in a preterite sense. *John*, ch. xi. ver. 8: "His disciples *say* unto him, Master, the Jews of late sought to stone thee, &c." that is, His disciples *said* unto him. Ver. 38: "Jesus therefore again groaning in himself *cometh* to the grave," *i. e.* he *came* to the grave. *Matthew*, ch. xxvi. ver. 2: "Ye know that after two days is the feast of the passover, and the Son of man *is* betrayed to be crucified;" that is, the Son of man *is to be* betrayed and to be crucified. *Vide* the remainder of the chapter. *John*, ch. xiii. ver. 6: "Then *cometh* he to Simon Peter, &c." that is, *he came* to Simon Peter, &c. Again *John*, ch. xvi. ver. 32: "That ye shall be scattered, every man to his own, and shall leave me alone: yet *I am* not alone," *i. e.* yet *I shall not le* alone. So in all the prophecies contained in the Old, as well as in the New Testament, the future tense must frequently be understood where the terms used are those grammatically appropriated to the preterite: as *Matthew*, ch. ii. ver. 18: "In Rama *was* there a voice heard," that is, *will there be* a voice heard. Ver. 15: "Out of Egypt *have I called* my Son," i. e. I *will*

call my Son. After a diligent attention to the following passage, no one will, I presume, scruple to conclude that the Son was actually absent from heaven during his locality on the earth, and consequently the phrase quoted by the Editor is applicable only to the past time. *John*, ch. vi. ver. 62: "What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he *was* before." The verb *was*, accompanied with the term *before* in this passage, positively implies the absence of Jesus from heaven during his stay on the earth. Ch. xvi. ver. 7: "Nevertheless I tell you the truth: it is expedient for you that I *go away*. If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if *I depart*, I will send him unto you." Ver 5: "But now I *go* my way to him that sent me." Ver. 28: *I came forth* from the Father, and am *come* into the world: again I *leave* the world, and *go* to the Father." Ch. xiii. ver. 36: "Jesus answered him, Whither *I go*, thou canst not follow me now, but thou shalt *follow* me afterwards." Ch. xiii. ver. 1: "Jesus knew that his hour was come, that he should *depart out* of this world unto the Father." For further conviction, I may safely refer even to the preceding terms of the verse relied on by the Editor:—"No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man." For the attribute of omnipresence is quite inconsistent with the human notions of the ascent and descent effected by the Son of Man. Is it possible to reconcile the contents of hundreds of such passages, consistent with reason and conformable to the established order of interpretation, to the apparent meaning of a single phrase, that taken literally, is totally opposed to common sense? For to a being named *the Son* or *the created,* (the one term implying the other,) and sent from one mansion to another, the attribute of ubiquity can never be justly ascribed.

Besides, in examining the original Greek Testament, we find in the phrase in question, "Who is in heaven," that the present participle ωυ, "being," is used in lieu of εσrι, "is," viz. ο ωυ εω ȣρανω; a true translation of which should be, "the *ens*" or "*being* in heaven:" and as the nominative case οωυ, "the being," requires a verb to complete the sense, it should be connected with the nearest verb αιαβεβηχεν, "hath ascended," no other verb in fact existing in the sentence.

The whole verse in the original runs thus: Καὶ ȣδεις αναβεβηχεν εις rον ȣρανον ει μη ο εχ rου ȣρανȣ χαταβας ο υιος του ανθωπȣ ο ων εν

τω ȣρανω. A verbal translation of the above would run thus : "And no one hath ascended into heaven, if not the out of heaven descender —the Son of man—the being in heaven ;" which words, arranged according to the rules of English grammar, should run thus : "And no one except the descender from heaven, the Son of man, the being in heaven, hath ascended into heaven," In this case the presence of the Son in heaven must be understood as *referring* to the time of his ascent, and not to that of his addressing himself to Nicodemus— an explanation which, though it does not serve to establish the omnipresence of the Son urged by the Editor ought to be satisfactory to an impartial mind.[*] The second passage which the Editor quotes on this subject is, *Matthew* ch. xviii. ver. 20 : "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there *am* I in the midst of them." Is it not evident that the Saviour meant here, by being in the midst of two or three of his disciples, his guidance to them when joined in searching for the truth, without preferring any claim to ubiquity? We find similar expressions in the Scriptures, wherein the guidance of the Prophets of God is also meant by words that would imply their presence. *Luke*, ch. xvi. ver. 29 : Abraham saith unto him, '*They have* Moses and the Prophets ; let them hear them.' No one will suppose that this expression is intended to signify that the Jews actually had Moses and the Prophets in person among them, or that they could hear them speak in the literal and not in the figurative sense of the words ; nor can any one deduce the omnipresence of Moses and the Prophets from such expressions.

The second position advanced by the Reverend Editor is, that "Jesus ascribes to himself a knowledge and an incomprehensibility

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[*] See Bishop Middleton "Doctrine of the Greek Article," Part 1, page 42, Note : "We are to refer the time of the participle to the time of the act, &c., implied in the verb ; for past, present, and future cannot be meant otherwise than in respect to that act." Leviticus, ch. vii. ver. 33 : ο προσφερων—αυτω εσται ο βραχιων ο δεξιος "The offering (person) for him shall be the right shoulder." Ch. xiv. ver. 47 : ο εσθων —πλυνει τα ιματια αυτου "The eating (person) shall wash his clothes." These present participles are referred to a time present with respect to the act of the verbs connected with them ; but future with respect to the command of God. John, ch. i. ver. 49 : οντα—ειδον σε "I saw thee when thou wast." Moreover, we frequently find the present participle used in the past sense, even without reference to the time of the verb. John, ch. ix. ver. 25 : τυφλος ων αρτι βλεπω "Being blind now I see," that is, "Having been blind now I see."

of nature equal to that of God, and peculiar to God alone;" and in attempting to substantiate this point, he quotes *Matthew*, ch. xi. ver. 27: "No man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." Here the Editor seems to rest on two grounds; Ist, That God is incomprehensible to man; 2ndly, That incomprehensibility of nature is peculiar to God alone:—whence the Reverend Editor draws his inference that Jesus, knowing the nature of God, and being himself possessed of an incomprehensible nature, is equal with God. Now I should wish to know if the Editor, by the term "incomprehensible," understands a total impossiblity of comprehension in any degree, or only the impossibility of attaining to a perfect knowledge of God. If the former, I must be under the necessity of denying such a total incomprehensibility of the Godhead; for the very passage cited by the Editor declares God to be comprehensible not to the Son alone, but also to every one who would receive revelation from the Son; and in this case the latter part of the passage, "*He to whomsoever the Son will reveal him*," must be acknowledged as conveying an exception to the assertion made in the former part of the sentence, "Neither knoweth *any man* the Father, &c."

We find also the following passages in *John*, ch. xiv. vers. 16, 17, "And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever: even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: *but ye know him*;"—wherein Jesus ascribes to his disciples a knowledge of the Holy Ghost, whom the Editor considers one of the persons of the Godhead, possessed of the same nature with God. But if the Editor understands by the passage he has quoted, the incomprehensibility of the real nature of the Godhead, I admit the position but deny his inference, that such an incomprehensibility proves the nature of the object to be divine, as being peculiar to God alone: for it appears evident that a knowledge of the real nature even cf a common leaf, or a visible star, surpasses human comprehension; how then can a simple assertion, setting forth the incomprehensibility of an object, be considered as establishing its identity with God? In *Mark*, ch. xiii. ver 32, "But of that day and that hour *knoweth* no man, no, not the angles which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father," we have a passage, which, though it affirms in a stronger manner an *ignorance of the day* of resurrection,

than that already quoted does of God, yet will not, I presume, be considered by any one as conveying the slightest insinuation of the divine nature of that day; though time is a common object of adoration amongst Idolators. In treating of this point the Editor quotes another text, *Matth.*, ch. xi. ver. 28: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest:"—wherein Jesus declares his power of affording rest, which the Editor considers as peculiar to God. All the prophets, as well as Jesus, were from time to time sent by the Almighty to afford mental rest to mankind, by imparting to them the comforts of divine revelation; and by so doing they only fulfilled the commission given them by God: but no one ever supposed that in so doing they established claims to be considered incarnations of the divine essence. *Proverbs*, ch. xxix. ver. 17: "Correct thy son, and he shall give thee rest: yea, he shall give delight unto thy soul." Revelation guides us to a sure belief, that it is God that affords peace of mind, effects cures of the body, and bestows all sorts of comforts on his creatures. "I thank thee," (says Jesus, *Matthew*, ch. xi. ver. 25,) "O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." Both our perception indeed and sacred authorities point out, that he lavishes all these gifts on us through prophets, physicians, and other physical causes, that are not considered by any sect as of a divine nature.

The third position is, that Jesus exercised, in an independent manner, the prerogative of forgiving sins, which is peculiar to God alone: and the Reverend Editor quotes the passage, *Mark*, ch. ii. ver. 5: "Thy sins be forgiven thee;" and the 9th verse for "Whether is it easier to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say Arise and walk?" Taking those texts as the grounds of his position, I therefore beg to call the attention of the Editor to the passage almost immediately following, in which the evangelical writer intimates, that this power of forgiving sins, as well as of healing men, was given by the Almighty: "But when the multitude saw it, they marvelled, and glorified God, *who had given* such power unto *men.*" Does not this passage convey an express declaration, that Jesus was as much dependent on God in exercising the power of forgiving sins and healing the sick, as the prophets who came forth from God before him? The apostles, who witnessed the power of forgiving sins in the Saviour, were thoroughly impressed with a belief that it was the

Almighty Father who forgave sins through the Son. *Acts*, ch. v. vers. 31, 32: "*Him hath God exalted* with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, *and forgiveness of sins*. And we are his witnesses of these things." Ch. xiii. ver. 38: "Be it known, therefore, men and brethren, that *through this man*, (meaning the Saviour,) is preached unto you the *forgiveness of sins*." I know not how far religious zeal in the breasts of many of the followers of Christ may excuse them in encroaching upon the prerogative which revelation and reason ascribe to the Divine Majesty alone; but Jesus himself clearly avows, that the power of forgiving sins had its source and origin in God alone, as appears from his petitioning the Father to forgive those that were guilty of bringing the death of the cross upon him, the greatest of all imaginable crimes. *Luke*, ch. xiii. ver. 34: "Father forgive them," (says Jusus,) "for they know not what they do;" and from his directing all those that followed him to pray the Father alone for forgiveness of sins. *Luke*, ch. xi. ver. 4: "And forgive us our sins." *Matthew*, ch. vi. ver. 14: "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will forgive you."

The fourth position advanced by the Editor is, that "Almighty power is also claimed by Jesus in the most unequivocal manner." In endeavouring to demonstrate this the Editor notices three passages of *John*, (ch. v. vers. 21—23:) "As the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will. For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son: that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father." A candid inquirer after truth must, I think, feel surprised and disappointed, that in quoting these texts, the Editor should have overlooked the force of the words in which the Son declares that he hath received the commission to judge from the Father: "For the Father judgeth no man, *but hath committed all judgment unto the Son*." I am ready to admit, indeed, that, taken simply as they stand, the words "As the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will," and "That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father," might very readily be understood as implying an assertion of equality with the Father. But this affords one of numerous instances of the danger of resting an opinion on the apparent meaning of the words of insulated passages of Scripture, without attention to the context; for I am convinced that no unprejudiced person can

peruse the verses preceding and subsequent to those quoted by the Editor, without feeling that a more explicit disavowal of equality with God can hardly be expressed by language than that which they contain. I must therefore beg permission to give the entire passage in this place, though some parts of it have been quoted before in support of arguments already discussed. It is to be observed, that the occasion of the expressions here made use of by Jesus, was the accusation brought against him by the Jews, that he had made himself equal with God. *John*, ch. v. vers. 19—36: "Then answered Jesus and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, *The Son can do nothing of himself* but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. For the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things that himself doeth: and he will shew him greater works than these, that ye may marvel. For as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them even so the Son quickeneth whom he will. For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son; that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father who hath sent him. Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and *believeth on him that sent me*, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life. Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in himself, *so hath he given to the Son* to have life in himself; and *hath given him authority* to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of Man. Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation. *I can of mine ownself do nothing: as I hear, I judge:* and my judgment is just, *because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father who hath sent me.* If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. There is another that beareth witness of me; and I know that the witness which he witnesseth of me is true. Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness unto the truth. But I receive not testimony from men: but these things I say, that ye might be saved. He was a burning and a shining light: and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in

his light. But I have greater witness than that of John: for the works which the *Father hath given me to finish*, the same work that I do, *bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me.*"

It would have been strange indeed, had Jesus, in repelling the accusation of blasphemy, which had wrought on the minds of the Jews so far that they sought to kill him, confirmed their assertion, that he made himself equal with God, and thus prematurely endangered his own life; but we find that so far from being further incensed by the explanation above quoted, they seem to have quietly acquiesced in his appeal to their own Scriptures, that the Messiah should have all the power and authority which he asserted the Father had given to himself. Ver. 46: "For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me." The only text in the writings of Moses that refers to the nature of the Messiah, is that of *Deuteronomy*, ch. xviii. vers. 15 and 18, quoted by St. Peter in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. iii. ver. 22, and by St. Stephen, ch. vii. ver. 37: Moses said to the children of Israel. "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, *like unto me: unto him* ye shall hearken." The words which the Lord addressed to Moses were exactly of the same import: "I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, *like unto thee*, &c." It was no doubt to this remarkable passage that Jesus referred, and nothing can more distinctly prove the light in which he wished to be considered, namely, that of a Messenger or Prophet of God. But this is not the only instance in which Jesus entirely disclaims the attribute of omnipotence. On many other particular occasions he declares, in the strongest language, his want of almighty power, and his constant need of divine influence. *Matthew*, ch. xx. ver. 23: "And he saith unto them, ye shall drink indeed of my cup, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with: but to sit on my right hand, and on my left *is not mine to give*; but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father." Ch. xii. ver. 28: "But if I cast out devils *by the Spirit of God*, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." Ch. xxvi. ver. 39: "And he went a little further, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt." Ver. 42: "He went away again the second time, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done." *Luke*, ch. xxii. ver. 32:

"But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, &c." *John*, ch. xii. ver. 27: "Father, save me from this hour." Whosoever honours God cannot, I presume, consistently refuse to honour his Prophet, whom he dignified with the name of "Son of God;" and as he honours God, he will also honour that Prophet, though he be well aware of the distinction between the Almighty and his chosen Son. The honour paid to the Prophet may in this sense be fairly considered the test of the real degree of respect entertained for God—as Jesus saith, *Matthew*, ch. x, ver. 40, "He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me." The obvious meaning of which words is, as far as men listen to your instructions, they listen to mine, and in so far they receive the commandments of God who hath sent me. Prejudice alone could, I think, infer from such expressions, that those who received the Apostles were literally receiving God himself under their form and substance. Equally demonstrative of prejudice, I conceive, would it be to deduce the identity or equality of the Father and the Son from the following passage, *John*, ch. v. ver. 23: "That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father who hath sent him." For in this very passage the Son is represented as the Messenger of the Father, and for that reason only entitled to honour. That the preposition [conj.?] "as" implies here, as in many other places, likeness in nature and quality, and not in exact degree of honour, is illustrated by its obvious meaning in the last verse of *Matthew*, ch. v., "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect;" for by these words no one can conceive, that equality in degree of perfection between God and the disciples is intended to be enjoined.

The fifth position is, that his heavenly Father had committed to Jesus the final judgment of all who have lived since the creation. I readily admit the correctness of this position, and consider the fact as confirming the opinion maintained by me, and by numerous other followers of Christ, as to the Son's total dependence on the commission of God for his power in administering such judgment. I agree also with the Reverend Editor, in esteeming the nature of this office most important; and that nothing but the gift of supernatural wisdom can qualify a being to judge the conduct of thousands of millions of individuals, living at different times from the beginning of the world to the day of resurrection. It is, however, perfectly consistent with

the omnipotence and wisdom of God, who is declared by revelation to be "able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham," (*Matthew*, ch. iii. ver. 9), and with whom all things are possible, (*Luke*, ch. i. ver. 37), to bestow wisdom equal to the important nature of this office on the first-born of every creature, whom he has anointed and exalted even above his angels. But the Editor goes much further than I am willing to follow him, in concluding the omniscience of the Son, from the circumstance of his distributing final judgment; since Jesus not only disclaimed that attribute, but even expressly avowed that he received his qualifications for exercising judgment from God. With respect to his disclaiming omniscience, see *Mark*, ch. xiii. ver. 23; "But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." Omniscience, as the Editor must be well aware, has no limit; but here Jesus expressly declares, that he is ignorant of the day appointed by the Father for the resurrection and judgment. What words can be more expressly declaratory than these of the finite nature of the knowledge granted to Jesus, however its extent may actually surpass our limited capacity? As a proof that his judicial authority is derived from God, see *John*, ch. v. vers. 26, 27: "For as the Father hath life in himself, *so hath he given* to the Son to have life in himself: and *hath given him authority* to execute judgment also." Ver. 30: "I can of mine own self do nothing: as I hear, I judge: and my judgment is just; because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me." Is it possible to misunderstand the assertion contained in these words, that both the authority and the ability to judge are gifts bestowed on the Son by the omnipotent Father?

The sixth position is, that in several instances Jesus accepted worship "due to no man, but to God alone"; and instances of his receiving worship from a blind man, a leper, from mariners, and from his disciples, are adduced from the evangelical writings. Every one must admit that the word "worship," both in common acceptation and in the Scriptural writings, is used sometimes as implying an external mark of religious reverence paid to God, and at other times, as signifying merely the token of civil respect due to superiors; and that concurrent circumstances in every instance determine the real sense in which the word should be taken. Among the Prophets of God, Jesus was not the only one that permitted himself to be worshipped, as we find Daniel the Prophet allowing himself such worship.

Daniel, ch. ii. ver. 46: "Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel." Daniel, like Jesus, neither rebuked the man who worshipped him, nor did he feel indignant at such a tribute of respect; yet we cannot find any subsequent assertion that he had offended God by suffering himself to be the object of the king's *worship* in this instance. Besides, Jesus himself uses the word 'worship' in the latter sense, (I mean that of civil reverence,) in one of the evangelical parables, where he represents a servant as worshipping his master. *Matthew*, ch. xviii. ver. 26: "The servant therefore fell down and worshipped him." From the circumstance of Jesus positively commanding human beings to worship God alone in spirit, and not in any form or shape, either human or angelic; as, *John*, ch. iv. ver. 24: "God is a spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." *Matthew*, ch. iv. ver. 10: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve:" and from the circumstance of his rebuking the man who called him "good master," on the ground that the term "good" should be peculiarly applied to God alone, (*Math.* ch. xix. ver. 17,) we necessarily conclude that Jesus accepted worship only as a mark of human respect, and acknowledgment of gratitude. Let us moreover ascertain from the context, the sentiments which the blind man, the leper, the mariners, and the disciples of Jesus, entertained of his nature; and we can no longer hesitate to believe, that they meant by the worship they offered, only the manifestation of their reverence for him as a superior, indeed, yet still as a created being. The question is, Did those that offered worship to Jesus evince that they believed him to be God, or one of the three persons of the Godhead, and equal to God? Nothing of the kind—the blind man, after his cure, spoke of Jesus as a Prophet, and a righteous man, and believed him when he said he was the Son of God. *John*, ch. ix. ver. 31: "Now we know" (says the blind man,) "that God heareth not sinners: but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth." Ver. 33: "If this man were not of God, he could do nothing." And in answer to the question of Jesus, "Dost thou believe on the Son of God?" he answers, "Lord, I believe. And he worshipped him," Ver. 38. The unclean spirit which is said in Mark, to have worshipped Jesus, "cried with a loud voice and said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the most high God? I *adjure thee by God*, that thou torment me not." *Mark*, ch. v. ver. 7. This adjuration

would have been absurd if Jesus were himself addressed as God; and clearly shews, that the worship offered was to deprecate the power of a being whose nature was subordinate to that of God, by whose name he was adjured. The leper, too, glorified God, while to Jesus he gave only thanks for being the instrument of his cure. *Luke*, ch. xvii vers. 15, 16: "And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God, and fell down on his face at his feet, *giving him thanks*." The mariners who worshipped Jesus declared at the same instant, "Of a truth thou art the Son of God." *Matthew*, ch. xiv. ver. 33. The woman of Canaan, who is also stated in *Matthew*, ch. xv. ver. 25, to have worshipped Jesus, addressed him, ver. 22, as "the son of David," by which term she certainly would not have designated a being whom she worshipped as God. Peter, the most celebrated of his disciples, shewed his faith in acknowledging Jesus merely as the Christ, or in other words with the same exact sense, *the anointed* of God which is certainly far from implying "very God." *Mark*, ch. viii. ver. 29. Even after the crucifixion we find the disciples conversing of Jesus only as "a prophet, mighty in deed and in word before God—and all the people." *Luke*, ch. xxiv. ver. 19. It was Jesus himself risen from the dead whom they addressed, yet throughout the remainder of the chapter, which concludes with the account of his being carried up to heaven, they are only further taught that this prophet was the promised Messiah, but by no means that it was their duty to worship him as God. Peter, in the name of all the disciples declares, *John*, ch. vi. ver. 69. "We believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." And as already observed, the disciple John declares, that the object of the Gospel is, "that it may be believed that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." *John*, ch. xx. ver. 31. When the leper prayed to Jesus for cure, he addressed him only with the term *Κυριὸς* (*Matthew*, ch. viii. ver. 2,) which in Greek is used as synonymous to Lord or Master, and often applied to superior persons.

Every Christian is morally bound to evince obedience to the commandments of Jesus, and exert himself to follow his example. It behoves us therefore to ascertain, what his commandments are with regard to the object of sacred worship and prayer, and in what manner he himself performed those solemn religious duties. The very act of prayer, indeed, implies an acknowledgment of inferiority

to the being adored; but though Trinitarians affirm that such devotion was paid by Jesus only in his human capacity, his form of prayer ought still to be sufficient to guide human creatures as to the Being to whom their prayers should be addressed. Let us examine, therefore, whether Jesus in his acknowledged human capacity ever offered worship or prayer to what Trinitarians term the second or third person of the Godhead, or once directed his followers to worship or pray to either of them. But so far from finding a single direction of the kind, we observe on the contrary, that Jesus strictly enjoins us to worship the Father alone in that form of prayer which he offered for our guidance, *Matthew*, ch. vi. ver. 9: "After this manner therefore pray ye, *Our Father* which art in heaven, &c." "Pray to *thy Father* which is in secret: and *thy Father*, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly." In the same way, when the Saviour himself prays, he addresses the Father alone. *Matthew*, ch. xxvi. ver. 53: "Thinkest thou," says Jesus to Peter, "that I cannot now *pray to my Father*?" *John*, ch. xvi. 26: "I will *pray the Father* for you." *Luke*, ch. xxii. ver. 41 and 42: "And he (the Saviour) was withdrawn from them about a stone's cast, and kneeled down, and prayed, saying, *Father*, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me." *Mark*, ch. xiv. vers. 35 and 36: "And fell on the ground, and prayed, that if it were possible, the hour might pass from him. And he said, *Abba, Father*, all things are possible unto thee." *Luke*, ch. vi. ver. 12: "He went out unto a mountain to pray, and continued all night *in prayer to God*." *Luke*, ch. x. ver. 21: "In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth," *John*, ch. xi. ver. 41: "And Jesus lifted up his eyes, and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me." *Matthew*, ch. xxvii. ver. 46: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" *John*, ch. iv. ver. 22: "Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship." No creed drawn up by men, nor opinion entertained by any sect, can by an unbiassed searcher after the true doctrines of Christianity be suffered to set aside the express authority and constant example of the gracious author of this religion.

The last position is, that Jesus associated his own name with that of God in the rite of baptism, intended to remain in force to the end of the world; and ordained by the passage, *Matthew*, ch. xxviii. ver. 19: "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." A profession of

belief in God is unquestionably common to all the religions supposed to have been founded upon the authority of the Old Testament: but each is distinguished from the other by a public profession of faith in their respective founders, expressing such profession in a language that may clearly exhibit the inferior nature of those founders to the Divine Being of whom they declare themselves the messengers. This system has been carried on from the first, and was no doubt intended to serve as a perpetual distinguishing mark of faith. The Jews claim that they have revelation, rendering a belief not in God alone, but in Moses also, incumbent upon them, *Exodus*, ch. xiv. 31: "The people feared the Lord and believed the Lord, and his servant Moses." But the term "his servant Moses," in this passage, suffices to prove the subordination of Moses, though declared, equally with God, to be an object of their belief. In like manner Muhammadans, in the first acknowlegdment of that system of religion, are directed to profess faith in God, and also in Muhammad, his messenger, in the following form: لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله "There is no God except the true God, Muhammad is his messenger." The term "his messenger" removes every doubt of Muhammad's identity or equality with God; so the epithet "Son" found in the passage, "Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, &c." ought to be understood and admitted by every one as expressing the created nature of Christ, though the most highly exalted among all creatures. If baptism were administered to one embracing Christianity in the name of the Father and the Holy Ghost, he would thereby no more become enrolled as a Christian, than as a Jew or as a Muhammadan; for both of them, in common with Christians, would readily submit to be baptized in the name of God and his prevailing influence over the universe. But as Christianity requires peculiarly a faith in Jesus, as the promised Messiah, the gracious Saviour enjoins baptism in the name of *the Son* also, so as to distinguish his happy followers from the Jews and the rest of the people. A mere association of names in divine commandments therefore never can be considered as tending to prove identity or equality between the subjects of those names:—such junction of names is found frequently in the Sacred Writings without establishing unity among the persons whom those names imply.

The Editor quotes the following passage, *Matthew*, ch. xxviii. ver. 18: "All power in heaven and earth is delivered unto me," recommending it as a sure proof of the deity of Jesus. I regret very much that the force of the expression "is delivered unto me," found in this passage, should have escaped the discerning notice of the Reverend Editor. Does not the term "delivered" shew evidently an entire dependence of Jesus upon the Being who has committed to him such power? Is it consistent with the nature of an omnipotent God to exercise power delivered to him by another being, or to confess that the power he possesses has been received by him from another.

As to the question of the Editor, "Did Muhammad, arrogant as he was, ever make such a declaration as Jesus did, namely, that 'I am with you always even to the end of the world?'" I will not renew the subject, as it has been already discussed in examining the first position. I only entreat the attention of the Editor to the following assertions of Muhammad, known to almost all Musalmans who have the least knowledge of their own religion:

ان الله عزوجل رحمة وهدي للعالمين

"Truly the great and glorious God raised me as *mercy* and *guidance* to *worlds*."

كنت اول النبيين في الخلق واخرهم في البعث

"I *was the first* of all Prophets in creation, and the last in appearance."

كنت نبيا وآدم في الماء والطين

"I was a Prophet when Adam was in earth and water."

انا سيد المرسلين ولا فخر فيه

"I am the Lord of those that were sent by God. This is no boast to me."

انما ظلي على روس امتي .

"My shadow is on the head only of my followers."

من رأني فقد رأ اللّه

"He who has seen me has seen God."

من اطاعني فقد اطاع اللّه ومن عصاني فعصي اللّه

"He who has obeyed me, has obeyed God; and he who has sinned against me, has sinned against God."

It is, however, fortunate for Musalmans, that from want of familiarity and intimate connexion between the primitive Muhammadans and their contemporary heathens, the doctrines of Monotheism taught by Muhammad, and entertained by his followers have not been corrupted by polytheistical notions of Pagans, nor have heathen modes of worship or festivals been introduced among Musalmans of Arabia and Turkey as a part of their religion. Besides, metaphorical expressions having been very common among Oriental nations, Muhammadans could not fail to understand them in their proper sense, although these expressions may throw great difficulty in the way of an European Commentator even of profound learning.

CHAPTER IV.

Inquiry into the Doctrine of the Atonement.

All the texts collected by the Reverend Editor in his review from the authority of the divine Teacher, in favour of the second important doctrine of the cross, implying the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus as an atonement for the sins of mankind, are as follow: "I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever." "His giving his flesh for the life of the world." "I lay down my life for my sheep." "The Son of Man is come to give his life a ransom for many." Is any one of these passages, I would ask, in the shape of an explicit commandment, or are they more than a mere statement of facts requiring figurative interpretation? For it is obvious that an attempt to take them in their direct sense, especially the first, ("I am the living bread;—if any man eat of this, &c.,") would amount to gross absurdity. Do they reasonably convey anything more than the idea, that Jesus was invested with a divine commission to deliver instructions leading to eternal beatitude, which whosoever should receive should live for ever? And that the Saviour, foreseeing that the imparting of those instructions would, by exciting the anger and enmity of the superstitious Jews, cause his life to be destroyed, yet hesitated not to persevere in their promulgation; as if a king, who hazards his life to procure freedom and peace for his subjects, were to address himself to them saying, "I lay down my life for you." This interpretation is fully confirmed by the following passages.—*Luke*, ch. iv. ver. 43: "And he said unto them I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also; *for therefore am I sent.*" Ch. ii. vers 47—49: "And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers. And when they (his parents) saw him, they were amazed: and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that *I must be about my Father's business?*" Wherein Jesus declares, that the sole object of his mission was to preach and impart divine instructions. Again, after having instructed his disciples in the divine law and will, as appears from the following text, "For I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me; and

they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from thee, and they have believed that thou didst send me." (*John*, ch. xvii. ver. 8.) Jesus in his communion with God manifests that he had completed the object of his mission by imparting divine commandments to mankind: "I have glorified thee on the earth, I *have finished the work which thou gavest me to do*." Had his death on the cross been the work, or part of the work, for the performance of which Jesus was sent into this world he, as the founder of truth, would not have declared himself to have finished that work prior to his death.

That Jesus should ride on a colt, should receive an offer of vinegar to drink, and should be wounded with a spear after he had delivered up the ghost, as well as his death on the cross, were events prophesied in the Old Testament, and consequently these were fulfilled by Jesus. *Vide Luke*, ch. xxiv. vers. 26 and 27: "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself." But we are unhappily at a loss to discover any other design in each of these events, which happened to Jesus before his ascent to heaven. I am therefore sorry that I must plead my inability to make a satisfactory reply to the question of the Editor, "Had ever Jesus transgressed his heavenly Father's will, that he underwent such afflictions?" I can only say, that we find in the Scriptures that several other Prophets in common with Jesus suffered great afflictions, and some even death, as predicted. But I know not whether those afflictions were the consequences of the sins committed by them or by their parents, or whether these distresses were experienced by them through some divine purpose unknown to us; as some scriptural authorities shew beyond doubt, that man may be made liable to suffering for some secret divine purpose, without his or his parents having perpetrated any remarkable crime. (*John*, ch. ix ver. 3: "Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.") The latter alternative (namely that the righteous Prophets suffered afflictions and even death for some divine purpose, known thoroughly to God alone) seems more consistent with the contents of the sacred writings, such as follow: *Mark*, ch. xii. vers. 1—9: "And he began to speak unto them by parables. A certain man planted a vineyard, and set a hedge about it, and digged a place for the wine fat, and built a

tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country. And at the season he sent to the husbandmen a servant, that he might receive from the husbandmen of the fruit of the vineyard. And they caught him, and beat him, and sent him away empty. And again he sent unto them another servant; and at him they cast stones, and wounded him in the head, and sent him away shamefully handled. And again he sent another; and him they killed, and many others; beating some, and killing some. Having yet therefore one Son, his well-beloved, he sent him also last unto them, saying, They will reverence my Son. But these husbandmen said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be ours. And they took him, and killed him and cast him out of the vineyard. What shall therefore the Lord of the vineyard do? He will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others." *John*, ch. xv. vers. 21, 22: "But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake, because they know not him that sent me. If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak for their sin." This parable and these passages give countenance to the idea, that God suffered his Prophets, and Jesus, his beloved Son, to be cruelly treated and slain by the Jews for the purpose of taking away every excuse that they might offer for their guilt.

In explaining the objects of Jesus's death on the cross, the Editor confidently assumes, that "If we view Jesus Christ as atoning for the sins of men, we have every thing perfectly in character: he became incarnate to accomplish that which could have been effected by neither men nor angels." I should therefore wish to know whether Jesus, whom the Editor represents as God incarnate, suffered death and pain for the sins of men in his divine nature, or in his human capacity? The former must be highly inconsistent with the nature of God, which, we are persuaded to believe by reason and tradition, is above being rendered liable to death or pain; since the difference we draw between God and the objects that are not God, is, that one cannot be subjected to death or termination, and the other is finite and liable to mortality. That the effects of Christ's appearance on earth, whether with respect to the salvation or condemnation of mankind, were finite, and therefore suitable to the nature of a finite being to accomplish, is evident from the fact, that to the present time millions of human beings are daily passing through the world,

whom the doctrines he taught have never reached, and who of course must be considered as excluded from the benefit of his having died for the remission of their sins. The latter, namely, that Jesus suffered death and pain in his human capacity as an atonement for the offences of others, seems totally inconsistent with the justice ascribed to God, and even at variance with those principles of equity required of men ; for it would be a piece of gross iniquity to afflict one innocent being, who had all the human feelings, and who had never transgressed the will of God, with the death of the cross, for the crimes committed by others, especially when he declares such great aversion to it, as is manifest from the following passages. *Matthew*, ch. xxvi. vers. 37, 39, 42, and 43 : " And he took with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy. And prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup (meaning death) pass from me : nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt. He went away again the second time, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done." *Mark*, ch. xiv. ver. 36 : "And he said, Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee ; take away this cup from me ; nevertheless, not what I will, but what thou wilt." *Luke*, ch. xxii. vers 42 and 44 : "Saying, Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me : nevertheless, not my will, but thine, be done. And being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly : and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood, falling down to the ground." *John*, ch. xii. ver. 27 : "Now is my soul troubled ; and what shall I say ? Father, save me from this hour : but for this cause came I unto this hour." Do not these passages evidently shew, that Jesus in his human capacity (according to the Trinitarian phrase) felt averse to death and pain, and that he earnestly prayed that he might not be subjected to it ? Jesus. however, knowing that the will of the Father rendered such death unavoidable, yielded to it as predicted. *John*, ch. xi. vers. 17 and 18 : "Therefore doth my Father *love me* because *I lay down my life* that I might take it again : no *man* taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself ; I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it : *again* this *commandment have I received of my Father*." *Matthew*, ch. xxvi. vers. 53 and 54 : "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and He shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels ? But how then shall the Scripture be fulfilled, that thus it must be?" The iniquily of one's being

sentenced to death as an atonement for the fault committed by another is so palpable, that although in many countries the human race think themselves justified in detaining the persons of those men who, voluntarily making themselves responsible for the debt or the persons of others, fail to fulfil their engagements; nevertheless every just man among them would shudder at the idea of one's being put to death for a crime committed by another, even if the innocent man should willingly offer his life in behalf of that other.

In endeavouring to prove Jesus's atonement for sin by his death, the Reverend Editor urges, "Is he called the Saviour of men because he gave them moral precepts, by obeying which they might obtain the divine favour, with the enjoyment of heaven as their just desert? or, because he died in their stead to atone for their sins and procure for them every blessing, &c.? If Jesus be termed a Saviour merely because he instructed men, he has this honor in common with Moses, and Elijah and John the Baptist, neither of whom however assumed the title of Saviour." We find the title "Saviour" applied frequently in the divine writings to those persons who had been endued with the power of saving people, either by inculcating doctrines, or affording protection to them, although none of them atoned for the sins of mankind by their death. *Obadiah*, ver. 21: "And *saviours* shall come up on mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be the Lord's." *Nehemiah*, ch. ix. ver. 27: "And according to thy manifold mercies thou gavest them *saviours*, Who saved them out of the hand of their enemies." 2 *Kings* ch. xiii. ver. 5: "The Lord gave Israel a *saviour*, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians." How could, therefore, the Editor, a diligent student of the Bible, lay such a stress upon the application of the term "Saviour" to Jesus, as to adduce it as a proof of the doctrine of the atonement; especially when Jesus himself declares frequently, that he saved the people solely through the inculcation of the word of God? *John*, ch. xv, ver. 3: "Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you." Ch. v. ver. 24: "He that heareth my word and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life." Ch. vi. ver. 63: "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life:"—wherein Jesus represents himself as a Saviour, or a distributor of eternal life, in his capacity of divine teacher.

Jesus is of course justly termed and esteemed a Saviour, for having instructed men in the Divine will and law, never before so fully

revealed. Would it degrade Jesus to revere him as a Divine Teacher, because Moses and the Prophets before him delivered to the people divine instructions? Or would it depreciate the dignity of Jesus, to believe that he, in common with several other prophets, underwent afflictions and death? Such an idea is indeed unscriptural, for God represents the Christ as a Prophet equal to Moses, (*Deut.* ch. xviii. ver. 18.) Jesus declares himself to have come to fulfil the law taught by Moses: (*Matthew*, ch. v. ver. 7.) "Think not that I am come to destroy the Law and the Prophets, I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil;" and strictly commands his disciples and the people at large to obey whatever Moses had taught. Ch. xxiii. vers. 2, 3: "Saying, the Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not."

I am sorry that I cannot, without offending my conscience, agree with the Reverend Editor in the opinion, that "If Jesus be esteemed merely a teacher, the greater degree of honour must be given to Moses, for it was in reality his law that Jesus explained and established."

It is true that Moses began to erect the everlasting edifice of true religion, consisting of a knowledge of the unity of God, and obedience to his will and commandments; but Jesus of Nazareth has completed the structure, and rendered his law perfect. To convince the Editor of this fact, I beg to call his attention to the following instances, found even in a single chapter, as exhibiting the perfection to which Jesus brought the Law given by Moses and other Prophets. *Matthew*, ch. v. vers. 21, 22: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: but I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire." Vers. 27, 28: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery." Vers. 31, 32: "It hath been said, whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement: but I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery." Vers. 38, 39: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and

a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Vers. 43—45. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you: that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." Now I hope I may be justified in expressing my belief, (though it varies from the declaration made by the Editor,) that no *greater* honour can be justly given to any teacher of the will of God, than what is due to the *author* of the doctrines just quoted, which, with a power no less than standing miracles could produce, carry with them proofs of their divine origin to the conviction of the high and low, the learned and unlearned.

The Editor, in page 101, lays much stress on circumstances, the very minuteness of which, he thinks, "serves to enhance their value as testimonies." He alludes to the epithet "Lamb Godof" having been twice applied to Jesus by John the Baptist, two of whose disciples were thereby induced to become followers of Jesus. This is considered by the Editor as implying an admission on the part of Christ, that as a lamb, particularly the Paschal Lamb, was used in sacrifice as an atonement for sins, he also came into the world to sacrifice his life as an atonement for sin. We find, however, the term "lamb," as well as "sheep" applied in other places, where no allusion to the sacrificial lamb can be well imagined, and from which we infer that these were epithets generally applied to innocence subjected to persecution; a meaning which sufficiently accords with the use of the word lamb in the instance in question. We have those terms applied by Jesus to his disciples in *John*, ch. xxi. vers. 15—17, where he commands Simon Peter "to feed his lambs," "to feed his sheep;" and in ch. x. vers. 26, 27, "Ye believe not because ye are not of my sheep."—"My sheep hear my voice." Now, many of the Apostles suffered death in consequence of their endeavours to withdraw men from sin; but the Editor will not thence, I presume, maintain, though it follow from his argument, that the term "lamb" was applied to them, to shew that, by their death, they also atoned for the sins of mankind. The Reverend Editor might have spared the arguments he has adduced to prove, that Jesus was sent into

this world as the long-expected Messiah, intended to suffer death and difficulties like other prophets who went before him; as the Editor may find in the compilation in question, as well as in its defence, Jesus of Nazareth represented as "The Son of God," a term synonymous with that of Messiah, the highest of all the prophets; and his life declares him to have been, as represented in the Scriptures, pure as light, innocent as a lamb, necessary for eternal life as bread for a temporal one, and great as the angels of God, or rather greater than they. He also might have omitted to quote such authority as shews, that Christ, being a mediator between God and men, "declared that whatsoever they (his Apostles) shall ask in his name, the Father will give them;" for the Compiler, in his defence of the Precepts of Jesus, repeatedly acknowledged Christ as the Redeemer, Mediator, and Intercessor with God, in behalf of his followers. But such intercession does not, I presume, tend to a proof of the deity or the atonement of Jesus, as interpreted by the Editor; for God is represented in the sacred books to have often shewn mercy to mankind for righteous men's sakes; how much more, then, would he naturally manifest his favour towards those who might petition him in the name of one whom he anointed and exalted over all creatures and prophets? *Gen.* ch. xxx. ver. 27: "I have learned by experience, that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake." *Jeremiah*, ch. xxvii. ver. 18: "But if they be Prophets, and if the word of the Lord be with them, let them now make intercession to the Lord of hosts." Moreover, we find angels declared to have been endued with the power of pardoning and redeeming men on various occasions. *Genesis*, ch. xlviii. ver. 16: "The Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads!" *Exodus*, ch. xxiii. vers. 20, 21: "Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your transgressions: for my name is in him."

With regard to this doctrine, I have carefully noticed every argument advanced by the Editor, from the authority of Jesus himself in its support; and have adduced such arguments as may be used by those that reject that doctrine, and which they rest on the authority of the same Divine Teacher; leaving the decision of the subject to the discreet judgment of the public, by declining to deliver any opinion, as an individual, as to the merits thereof.

CHAPTER V.

On the doctrines and miraculous narrations of the New Testament.

I REGRET that the Editor should have accused the Compiler of having charged "on the dogmas or doctrines of Christianity those wars and that bloodshed which have occurred between nations merely termed Christians." The Compiler, in his defence of the precepts of Jesus, has ascribed such disputes and contentions not to anything contained in the Scriptures, but to the different interpretations of dogmas, which he esteemed not essential for salvation. In order to convince the Editor of the accuracy of my assertion, I entreat his attention to page 18, line 22, and page 22, line 24, of my defence of the compiled Precepts, under the designation of "An Appeal to the Christian Public"

The Editor observes, that "wars and bloodshed existed before the promulgation of Christianity in the world; neither Christianity, therefore, nor its domgas, created the causes of wars and bloodshed. They existed in the human mind long before its doctrines were published; and that quarrels and feuds between the Arians and the Orthodox in the fourth and fifth centuries were little more than struggles for power and wealth." Although human frailty and want of perfection in men are in fact esteemed as the first and original causes of their improper conduct and wicked deeds, yet in the ordinary acceptation of the term "cause," good or evil acts are invariably attributed to their immediate motives, ascertained from circumstantial evidence; and these acts are consequently held to entitle their respective agents to praise or reproach. But as the motives of actions and secrets of the human heart are in truth known to God alone, it is indeed beyond my power to establish in a satisfactory manner, that the majority of the primitive Arians and Trinitarians were excited by their mistaken religious zeal to slay each other, and not by a desire of power and worldly advancement. I would appeal, however, to the Editor himself, whether it would not be indeed very illiberal to suppose, that almost all the Christian world should for a period of two hundred years have been weak or wicked enough to engage wilfully in causing the blood of each other to be shed under the cloak of religion, and merely for worldly motives. But as this must

be a matter of opinion, I beg to shew that which has been entertained on the subject by one of the highest authorities, against the Trinitarians, who have written on the history of Christianity. I allude to Dr. Mosheim, whose words I here give, and I entreat my readers to draw their own inferences from them:

Volume I, p. 419: "After the death of Constantine the Great, one of his sons, Constantius, who in the division of the empire became ruler of the East, was warmly attached to the Arian party, whose principles were also zealously adopted by the Empress, and indeed by the whole court. On the other hand, Constantine and Constans, Emperors of the West, maintained the decrees of the Council of Nice throughout all the provinces where their jurisdiction extended.—Hence arose endless animosities and seditions, treacherous plots, and open acts of injustice and violence between the two contending parties; Council was assembled against Council, and their jarring and contradictory decrees spread perplexity and confusion throughout the Christian world." Page 420: "His (Gratian's) zeal for their interest, though fervent and active, was surpassed by that of his successor, Theodosius the Great, who raised the secular arm against the Arians with a terrible degree of violence, drove them from their churches, and enacted laws whose severity exposed them to the greatest calamities." It is difficult to conceive what other motives than those of mistaken zeal for a particular doctrine could have influenced the mind of an Emperor like Theodosius to such acts of cruelty and violence: but however that may be, it is obvious that if such a mode of interpreting conduct be adopted, it is difficult to say where we are to stop. The devotion even of the Apostles and Martyrs of Christianity may be attributed to a pursuit after power over the minds and respect in the eyes of men, and all distinction of good and evil character be considered as futile and without foundation. With respect to the final success of the Trinitarian party, it appears to me the event naturally to have been expected. For, to the people of those ages, doctrines that resembled the polytheistical belief that till then prevailed, must have been more acceptable than those which were diametrically opposed to such notions. The idea of a God in human form was easy and familiar: Emperors and Empresses had altars raised to them even during their lives and after death were enrolled as divinities. Perhaps too, something may justly be attributed to a certain degree of pride and satisfaction in the idea, that

the religion they had begun to profess was dictated immediately by the Deity himself, rather than by any subordinate agency. There had not been among the Heathens any class of mankind to whom they were accustomed to look up with that devotion familiarly entertained by the Jews towards Moses and their Prophets, and they were consequently ready to elevate to a God any being who rose in their estimation above the level of mankind.

The violence and outrages which Roman Catholics and Protestants have experienced from each other, were not of course, as observed by the Reverend Editor, owing, in their origin, to the adoption of different interpretations respecting the deity of Christ or of the Holy Ghost; but they were the immediate consequences of the different sentiments they have held with respect to the doctrine of an exclusive power of granting absolution, and leading to eternal life, being vested in St. Peter and his successors. What great mischief has however been produced, and how many lives have from time to time been destroyed, from the difference of sentiments held by the parties with regard to this doctrine, which even the Editor himself does not deem an essential point of religion!

The Editor, in p. 114, argues, as a proof of the importance of the Gospel, that Christ taught them, fully foreseeing that they would be the subject of dispute; and quotes his saying, that he came not to send peace on the earth, but a sword. The whole of the 10th chap. of Matthew, from which the Editor quotes the passage here alluded to, consists of the instructions delivered by Jesus to the twelve Apostles, when he sent them forth to preach the kingdom of heaven to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; but has no allusion, that I can perceive, to eternal dissension amongst those who were already or might afterwards become Christians. That Jesus foresaw, as one of the primary effects of preaching his Gospel, that great dissensions would arise—that he was aware that the great question of confessing him to be the Messiah or not would be as a sword between a man and his father, the daughter and her mother, and the daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law, is evident. But this seems to me by no means to prove that Jesus, as supposed by the Editor, "longed or almost longed" to see a fire kindled in the earth respecting doctrines not essential to the salvation of mankind. Nor would it have been any reason for suppressing the most trivial of his sayings, that priestcraft working on the ignorance and superstition, the bigotry or intolerance

of mankind, should have wrested his words to evil purposes.—As observed by the Editor himself, the mischief lay originally in human nature, not in any part of the doctrines of Christ; but as those dissensions are now perpetuated principally by education, a cause essentially distinct from their origin, the case is entirely altered. The corruption of the human heart cannot be totally removed; but the evil effects that spring from human institutions may be avoided, when their real sources are known. After the secret and immediate causes of persecution have passed away, the differences of opinion which have been the declared grounds of hostility are handed down by the teachers of different sects; and, as already repeatedly avowed, it was with the view of evading, not those questions concerning which Jesus spoke and which distinguish his followers from all others, but those which have from time to time been seized upon to excite enmities still existing amongst fellow Christians, that the Compiler confined himself to those Precepts, concerning which all mankind must be of one accord.

As to the question of the Editor, "It can scarcely be unknown to the Compiler, that the very being of a God has been for numerous ages the subject of dispute among the most learned of his own country; does he account this a sufficient reason for suppressing this doctrine? We know that he does not. Why then should he omit the doctrines of Christ and his Apostles, because men have made them the subject of dispute?" For a direct answer to this question, I beg to refer the Reverend Editor to the Appeal of the Compiler, page 27, wherein he will find that he assigns not one, but two circumstances, as concurring to form the motive of his having omitted certain doctrines of Christianity in his selection—1st, that they are the subject of disputes and contention—2ndly, that they are not essential to religion. It is therefore obvious, that the analogy between the omission of certain dogmas, and that of the being of a God, has been unfairly drawn by the Editor. Admitting that the doctrines of Christianity and the existence of a God are equally liable to disputes, it should be recollected that the former are, in the estimation of the Compiler, not essential to religion; while the latter is acknowledged by him, in common with the professors of every faith, to be the foundation of all religion, as distinctly stated in his Introduction to the selected Precepts of Jesus. Every system of religion adopts the idea of a God, and avows this as its fundamental principle, though

they differ from one another in representing the nature and attributes of the Deity. The Compiler therefore could have no motive for suppressing the doctrine of the being of a God, though disputed by a few pretended literary men; and he has consequently never hesitated to inculcate with all his power the idea of one God to the learned and unlearned of his own country, taking care at the same time, as much as possible, not to enter into particulars as to the real nature, essence, attributes, person, or substance of the Godhead, those being points above his comprehension, and liable to interminable disputes. The Reverend Editor thus expresses his surprise at the conduct of the Compiler, in omitting in his selection the miraculous relations of the Gospel:—" We cannot but wonder that his miracles should not have found greater favour in the eyes of the Compiler of this selection, while the amazing weight which Jesus himself attached to them could scarcely have escaped his notice:" and in order to prove the importance of the miracles ascribed to Jesus, the Editor quotes three instances, in the first of which Jesus referred John the Baptist to his wonderful miracles; in the second, he called the attention of unbelieving Jews to his miraculous works as a proof of his divine mission; in the third, he recommends Philip the Apostle to the evidence of his miracles. But after a slight attention to the circumstances in which those appeals were made, it appears clearly, that in these and other instances Jesus referred to his miracles those persons only who either *scrupled to believe*, or doubted him as the promised Messiah, or required of him some sign to confirm their faith. *Vide Matthew*. ch. xi. vers. 2—4: " When John had heard in the prison the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples, and said unto him, Art thou he that should come, or do we *look for another*? Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and shew John those things which ye do here and see." *John*, ch. x. vers. 37 and 38, Jesus says to those Jews who accused him of blasphemy, "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But *if I do*, though ye believe not me, *believe the works*." In reply to the request of Philip, who, being discontented with the doctrines Jesus inculcated, said, " Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us; Jesus answered and said, " Believe me, that I am in the Father and the Father in me, *or else* believe me for the very works' sake." (*John*, ch. xiv. ver. 11.) Jesus even speaks in terms of reproach of those that seek for miracles for their conviction as to his divine mission. *Matthew*, ch. xii, ver. 39: "But he answered and said

unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign." Moreover he blesses them, who, without having recourse to the proofs of miracles, profess their belief on him. *John*, ch. xx. ver. 29: "Jesus said unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me thou hast believed; *blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.*"

Under these circumstances, and from the experience that nothing but the sublimity of the Precepts of Jesus had at first drawn the attention of the Compiler himself towards Christianity, and excited his veneration for the author of this religion, without aid from miraculous relations, he omitted in his compilation the mention of the miracles performed by Jesus, without meaning to express doubts of their authenticity, or intending to slight them by such an omission.

I regret, therefore, that the Editor should have suffered any part of his valuable time to be spent in advancing several arguments, in the concluding part of his Review, to establish the truth of the miraculous statements of the New Testament. But as this discussion applies to the evidence of miracles generally, it may be worth considering. Arguments adduced by the Editor amount to this: "If all social, political, mercantile, and judicial transactions be allowed to rest upon testimony; why should not the validity of Christian miracles be concluded from the testimony of the Apostles and others, and be relied upon by all the nations of the world?" The Editor must be well aware, that the enemies to revelation draw a line of distinction on the subject of proofs by testimony, between the current events of nature familiar to the senses of mankind, and within the scope of human exertions; and extraordinary facts beyond the limits of common experience, and ascribed to a direct interposition of divine power suspending the usual course of nature. If all assertions were to be indiscriminately admitted as facts, merely because they are testified by numbers, how can we dispute the truth of those miracles which are saïd to have been performed by persons esteemed holy amongst natives of this country? The Compiler has never placed the miracles related in the New Testament on a footing with the extravagant tales of his countrymen, but distinctly expressed his persuasion that they (Christian miracles) would be apt at best to carry little weight with those whose imaginations had been accustomed to dwell on narrations much more wonderful and supported by testimony which they have been taught to regard with a reverence that they cannot be expected all at once to bestow on the

Apostles. See Introduction to the Precepts, p. 5, and Appeal, p. 88. The very same line of argument, indeed, pursued by the Editor, would equally avail the Hindoos. Have they not accounts and records handed down to them, relating to the wonderful miracles stated to have been performed by their saints, such as Agastya, Vasishta, and Gotama; and their gods incarnate, such as Ram, Krishna, and Narsingh; in presence of their contemporary friends and enemies, the wise and the ignorant, the select and the multitude?—Could not the Hindoos quote in support of their narrated miracles, authorities from the histories of their most inveterate enemies the Jains, who join the Hindoos entirely in acknowledging the truth and credibility of their miraculous accounts? The only difference which subsists between these two parties on this subject, is, that the Hindoos consider the power of performing miracles given to their gods and saints by the Supreme Deity, and the Jains declare that they performed all those astonishing works by *Asuri Sakti*, or by demoniac power. Musalmans, on the other hand, can produce records written and testified by contemporaries of Muhammad, both friends and enemies, who are represented as eye-witnesses of the miracles ascribed to him; such as his dividing the moon into two parts, and working in sun-shine without casting a shadow. They can assert, too, that several of those witnesses suffered the greatest calamities, and some even death, in defence of that religion; some before the attempts of Muhammad at conquest, others after his commencing such attempts, and others after his death. On mature consideration of all those circumstances, the Compiler hopes he may be allowed to remain still of opinion, that the miraculous relations found in the divine writings would be apt at best to carry little weight with them, when imparted to the Hindoos at large, in the present state of their minds: but as no other religion can produce anything that may stand in competition with the precepts of Jesus, much less that can be pretended to be superior to them, the Compiler deemed it incumbent upon him to introduce these among his countrymen as a Guide to Peace and Happiness.

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CHAPTER VI.

On the Impersonality of the Holy Spirit. Miscellaneous remarks.

I WILL now inquire into the justness of the conclusion drawn by the Editor, in his attempt to prove the Deity of the Holy Ghost, from the circumstance of his name being associated with that of the Father in the rite of Baptism. This subject is incidentally brought forward in the course of the arguments he has adduced respecting the nature of Jesus, where he observes, "It is needless to add that this testimony of Jesus, (the associating of his own name and that of the Holy Ghost with the name of the Father,) is equally decisive respecting the Deity of the Holy Ghost." I have hitherto omitted to notice this question among other matters in review, reserving it for the express purpose of a distinct and separate examination. It seems to me, in the first place, rather singular, that the Reverend Editor, after having filled up many pages with numerous arguments in his endeavour to establish the Godhead of Jesus, should have noticed in so short and abrupt a manner, the question of the Deity of the Holy Ghost, although the Editor equally esteems them both as distinct persons of the Deity. I wonder, in the next place, how the learned Editor could suppose a mere association of names in a rite to be sufficient to prove the identity of their subjects. I am indeed sorry I cannot, without overlooking a great many scriptural authorities, and defying reason totally, join the Editor in the opinion, that the association of the name of the Holy Spirit with that of the Father of the Univesse, in the rite of Baptism, is "decisive of, or even allusive to, the separate personality of the Spirit."

2 *Chronicles*, ch. xx. ver. 20: "Jehoshaphat stood and said, Hear me, O Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem; believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper;" wherein the name of the Prophets of God is associated with that of the Deity himself in the profession of belief, which is considered by Christians of all denominations more essential than an external symbol of Christianity. Again, in *Jeremiah*, ch. xxx. ver. 9, "But they shall serve the Lord their God, and David their King, whom I will raise up unto them," the Lord joins his name with that of David in the act of religious service, which is in its

strictest sense esteemed due to God alone. Would it not therefore be unscriptural to make an attempt to prove the deity of the Prophets, or David, under the plea that their names are associated with that of God in religious observances? But we must do so, were we to follow the process of reasoning adopted by the Reverend Editor. The kind of evidence on which the Editor relies in this instance, would besides suit admirably the purposes of those who might seek in the sacred Scriptures grounds for justifying idolatry. Fire worshippers, for instance, insisting on the literal sense of the words, might refer to that text in the 3rd Chapter of Matthew, repeated in *Luke*, ch. iii. ver. 16, in which it is announced, that Jesus Christ will baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire. If the association in the rite of Baptism of the names of the Son and Holy Ghost, with that of the Father, proves their divinity; it is clear that fire also being associated with the Holy Ghost in the same rite, must likewise be considered as a part of the Godhead.

God is invariably represented in revelation as the main object of belief, receiving worship and prayers that proceed from the heart through the first-born of every creature, the Messiah, ("No man cometh unto the Father but by me." *John*, ch. xiv. ver. 6,) and leading such as worship him in spirit to righteous conduct, and ultimately to salvation, through his guiding influence which is called the Holy Spirit, ("when he the Spirit of truth is come he will guide you into all truth," *John*, ch. xvi. ver. 13.) There is therefore a moral obligation on those who avow the truth of such revelation to profess their belief in God as the sole object of worship, and in the Son through whom they, as Christians, should offer divine homage, and also in the Holy influence of God, from which they should expect direction in the path of righteousness, as the consequence of their sincere prayer and supplication. For the same reason also, in publicly adopting this religion, it is proper that those who receive it should be baptized in the name of the Father, who is the object of worship; of the Son, who is the mediator; and of that influence by which spiritual blessings are conveyed to mankind, designated in the Scriptures as the Comforter, Spirit of truth, or Holy Spirit. As God is declared through his Holy Spirit to have led to righteousness such as sought heartily his will, so he is equally represented to have through wrath afflicted rebels against his authority, and to have prospered through his infinite mercy those who manifested obedience to him; as appears from the following

passages :—2 *Kings*, ch. xxiv. 20, "For through the *anger* of the Lord it came to pass in Jerusalem, until he had cast them out from his presence." *Psalm*, ch. xc. ver. 7, "For we are consumed by thine *anger*, and by the *wrath* are we troubled." *Psalm*, ch. xxi ver. 7, "And through the *mercy* of the most High he shall not be moved." *Psalm*, ch. vi. ver. 4, "Return, O Lord, deliver my soul: O save me for thy *mercy's* sake." Nor can we legitimately infer the idea of the self-existence or distinct personality of the Holy Ghost, from such metaphorical language as the following, "The Holy Ghost shall teach you," *Luke*, ch. xiii. ver. 12. "The Holy Ghost is come upon you," *Acts*, ch. i. ver. 8. "The Comforter, who is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send," *John*, ch. xiv. ver. 26. For we find expressions of a similar nature applied to other attributes of God, personifying them equally with the Holy Spirit. *Psalm*, ch. lvii. ver. 3: "God shall *send* forth *mercy* and his *truth*.", lxxxv. ver. 10: "*Mercy* and *truth* are *met* together." Ch. c. ver 5: "The Lord is good, his *mercy* is *everlasting*." Ch. xxxiii. ver. 22: "Let thy *mercy* O Lord, be upon us." Ch. xxxvi. ver. 5: "Thy *mercy* O Lord, is in the heavens." Ch. cviii. ver 4: "For thy *mercy* is great above the heavens." *Ezek.*, ch. vii. ver. 3: "I will *send* my *anger* upon thee." 2 *Chronicles*, ch. xxiv, ver. 18, "*Wrath* came upon Judah for this trespass."

Were every attribute ascribed to the Deity, which is found personified, to be therefore considered as a distinct personage, it would be difficult to avoid forming a very strange notion of the theology of the Bible. It appears, indeed, to me imposible to view the Holy Spirit as very God, without coming to ideas respecting the nature of the Deity, little different from some of those most generally and justly condemned as found amongst Polytheists. Take, for instance, *Matthew*, ch. i. ver. 11, where it is said, that Mary was found with child of the Holy Ghost. Ver. 20: "That which is conceived in her, is of the Holy Ghost." *Luke*, ch. i. ver. 35: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." In interpreting these passages according to the opinion maintained by the Editor, we should necessarily be drawn to the idea that God came upon Mary, and that the child which she bore was in reality begotten of him.—Is this idea, I would beg to know, consistent with the perfect nature of the righteous God? Or rather, is not such a notion of the Godhead's having had intercourse with a human female, as horrible as the sentiments entertained by ancient and modern Heathens respecting

the Deity? On the other hand if we understand by those passages, merely that the miraculous influence of God came upon Mary, so that, though a virgin, she bore a child, everything would stand consistent with our belief of the Divine power, without shocking our ideas of the purity of the Deity, inculcated alike by reason and revelation. This mode of interpretation, is, indeed, confirmed by the very passage of *Luke* above quoted, "The power of the Highest shall overshadow thee;" plainly and simply declaring, that it was the power of God which gave birth to the child, contrary to the ordinary course of nature. If by the term "Holy Ghost" be meant a third distinct person of the Godhead, equal in power and glory with the Father of all, I am at a loss to know what Trinitarians understand by such expressions as the following: *Matthew*, ch. iii. ver. 11, and *Luke*, ch. iii. ver. 16: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." *Acts*, ch. x. ver. 38: "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power." *Matthew*, ch. xii. ver 28: "I cast out devils by the Spirit of God." Ver. 31: "All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto man. *Luke*, ch. iv. ver. 1: "And Jesus, being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan." If the term "Holy Ghost" be synonymous with the third person of the Godhead, and "Christ" with the second person, the foregoing passages may be read as follows: "He, the second person, shall baptize you with the third person, of the Godhead, and with fire." "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth, (the second person of the Godhead,) with the third person of the Godhead, and with power." "I (the second person of the Godhead) cast out devils by the third person of the Godhead." "All manner of sin and blasphemy, even against the first and second person of the Godhead shall be forgiven unto men; but blasphemy against the third person of the Godhead shall not be forgiven unto men." "Jesus, (the second person of the Godhead,) being full of the third person of the Godhead, returned from Jordan." But little reflection is, I should suppose, necessary to enable any one to perceive the inconsistency of such paraphrases as the foregoing, and the reasonableness of adopting the usual mode of scriptural interpretation of the original texts, according to which the foregoing passages may be understood as follows: "He shall baptize you with the spirit of truth and purity." "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with his holy influence and power." "I cast out devils by

the influence of God." "All manner of sin and blasphemy, even against the Christ, the first-born of every creature, shall be forgiven to men; but blasphemy against the power of God shall not be forgiven unto men." "Jesus, being full of the influence of God, returned from Jordan." Still more dangerous to true religion would it be two interpret, according to the Trinitarian mode, the passages which describe the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Jesus on the occasion of his baptism. *Luke*, ch. iii. ver. 22: "And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him." For, if we believe that the Spirit, in the form of a dove or in any other *bodily shape*, was really the third person of the Godhead, how can we justly charge with absurdity the Hindoo legends of the Divinity having the form of a fish or of any other animal?

It ought to be remarked, with respect to the text above quoted, denouncing eternal wrath on those who blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, that the occasion on which the term was made use of by Christ was the accusation of the Jews, that his miracles were the effects of an influence of a nature directly opposite to that of God, namely, the power of Beelzebub, the Prince of Devils. The Jews alleged that he was possessed of an unclean or diabolical spirit, ("Because they said, He hath an unclean spirit:" *Mark*, ch. iii. ver. 30. "They *said*, This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils," *Matthew*, ch. xii. ver. 24.) Jesus affirms, that the Spirit which enabled him to do those wonderful works was a holy Spirit: and that whatever language they might hold with respect to himself, blasphemy against that power by which he did those miracles would not be forgiven. "All manner of sins and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come."

Were the words "all manner of blasphemy," in the passage in question, received as including blasphemy against the Father, the term must be thus understood: "All manner of blasphemy against man and the Father, and even blasphemy against the Son, shall be forgiven; but blasphemy against the Holy Ghost must not be forgiven: and consequently the interpretation would amount to an admission of the superiority of the Son and the Holy Ghost to the Father, an

opinion which no sect of Christians has hitherto formed. In the above-quoted passage, therefore, the exception of the Holy Ghost must exclude blasphemy against the Father, and the whole should be thus interpreted :—All manner of blasphemy against men and angels, even against the first-born of every creature, shall be forgiven ; but blasphemy against the power of God, by which Jesus declared himself to have cast out devils, shall not be forgiven. For further illustration I quote here the whole passage of *Matthew*, ch. xii. vers. 24—37 : "But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils. And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand. And if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself ; how shall then his kingdom stand ? And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges. But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you. Or else how can one enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man? and then he will spoil his house. He that is not with me is against me ; and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad. Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men ; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him : but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. Either make the tree good, and his fruit good ; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt : for the tree is known by his fruit. O generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things : and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things. But I say unto you, That every idle world that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." *Mark*, ch. iii. vers 29, 30 : "But he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation ; because they said, He hath an unclean spirit."

Is it not evident from the above authority of Jesus himself, that the term "Holy Ghost" is synonymous to the prevailing influence of God? And had not the power by which Jesus performed his miracles the same origin, and was it not of the same nature as that by which the children of Israel performed theirs? "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges." It may not be without use to notice here, that frequent instances are related in the Scriptures of the influence of the Spirit of God, in leading righteous men to truth, before Jesus had commenced the preformance of his divine commission, and even before he had appeared in this world; in the same manner as it afterwards operated in guiding his true followers to the way of God, subsequent to his ascent to heaven, in consequence of his repeated intercession with the Father. This will fully appear from the following passages, *Luke*, ch. i. ver. 15: "And he (John the Baptist) shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb." Ver. 41: "And it came to pass, that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost." Ver. 67: "And his (John's) father Zacharias was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied," &c. Ch. ii. vers. 25, 26: "And behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon: and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel; and the Holy Ghost was upon him. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came by the Spirit into the temple," *Mark*, ch. xii. ver. 36: "David himself said by the Holy Ghost, The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool." The Evangelist Matthew employs a similar expression, ch. xxii. 43: "How then doth David in spirit call him Lord?" *Luke*, ch. iv. ver. 1: "And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the wilderness." It must not, therefore, be supposed, that the manifestation of this holy attribute of God is peculiar to the Christian dispensation. We find in the Scriptures the term "God" applied figuratively in a finite sense to Christ, and to some other superiors, as I have already noticed in page 130: a circumstance which may possibly have tended to confirm such as are rendered, from their early impressions, partial to the doctrine of the Trinity, in their prepossessed notions of the deity of Jesus. But

with respect to the Holy Ghost I must confess my inability to find a single passage in the whole Scriptures, in which the Spirit is addressed as God, or as a person of God, so as to afford to believers of the Trinity an excuse for their profession of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost. The only authorities they quote to this effect that I have met with are as follow: *Acts*, ch. v. vers. 3, 4: "Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." From which they conclude, He that lieth to the Holy Ghost lieth to God. *John*, ch. xv. ver. 26: "But when the Comforter is come whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me." As to the first of these texts, I need only remark, that any sin or blasphemy against one of the attributes of God is of course reckoned a sin or blasphemy against God himself. But this admission amounts neither to a recognition of the self-existence of the attribute, nor of its identity with God. With respect to the mission of the Spirit of truth as a proof of its being a separate existence, and not merely an expression for the influence of God, the passage in question, if so taken, would thus run: "But when God is come, whom I (God) will send unto you from God, even God who proceedeth from God, &c." Can there be an idea more polytheistical than what flows from these words? Yet those that maintain this interpretation express their detestation of Polytheism. If, with a view to soften the uureasonableness of this interpretation, they think themselves justified in having recourse to the term "mystery," they cannot, without injustice, accuse Hindoos, the believers of numerous gods under one Godhead, of absurdity, when they plead mystery in defence of their Polytheism; for, under the plea of mystery, every appearance of unreasonableness may be easily removed.

I find to my great surprise, that the plural form of expression in the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness," has been quoted by some divines as tending to prove the doctrine of the deity of the Holy Ghost, and that of the Son, with the deity of the Father of the Universe, commonly called the doctrine of the Trinity. It could scarcely be believed, if the fact were not too notorious, that such eminent scholars as some of those divines undoubtedly were, could be liable to such a mistake as to rely on this verse as a ground of argument in support of the Trinity. It shews how easily prejudice in

favour of an already acquired opinion gets the better of learning, and how successfully it darkens the sphere of truth. Were we even to disregard totally the idiom of the Hebrew, Arabic, and of almost all Asiatic lannguages, in which the plural number is often used for the singular, to express the respect due to the persons denoted by the noun; and to understand the term, "our image" and "our likeness," found in the verse as conveying a plural meaning, the quotation would still by no means answer their purpose; for the verse in question would in that case imply a plurality of Gods, without determining whether their number was three or three hundred, and of course without specifying their persons.—No middle point in the unlimited series of number being determined, it would be almost necessary for the purpose of obtaining some fixed number as implied by those terms, to adopt either two, the lowest degree of plurality in the first personal pronoun both in Hebrew and Arabic, or to take the highest number of Gods with which human imagination has peopled the heavens. In the former case, the verse cited might countenance the doctrine of the duality of the Godhead entertained by Zirdusht and his followers, representing the God of goodness and the God of evil to have jointly created man, composed of a mixed nature of good and evil propensities: in the latter it would be consistent with the Hindoo system of religion; but there is nothing in the words that can be with any justice construed as pointing to the Trinity. These are not the only difficulties attending the interpretation of those terms:—if they should be viewed in any other than a singular sense, they would involve contradiction with the very next verse: "So God created man in his own image," in which the singular number is distinctly used; and in *Deut.* ch. iv. ver. 4: "The Lord our God is one Lord;" and also with the spirit of the whole of the Old Testament.

To those who are tolerably versed in Hebrew and Arabic, (which is only refined Hebrew,) it is a well-known fact that in the Jewish and Muhammadan scriptures, as well as in common discourse, the plural form is often used in a singular sense, when the superiority of the subject of discourse is intended to be kept in view: this is sufficiently apparent from the following quotations taken both from the Old Testament in Hebrew, and from the Qoran. *Exodus,* ch. xxi. ver. 4, in the original Hebrew Scripture אדניו יחו לו אשה, אם "If his masters (meaning his master) have given him a wife."

Ver. 6th Hebrew, ודנישׁי אדין אל חאלחיח "Then his masters (that is, his master) shall bring him unto tho Judges." Verse 29th, ואם שׁור נגה הוא מחמל שׁלשם והועד ככלעין "But if the ox were wont to push with his horn in time past, and it has been testified to his owners" (that is to his owner.)—*Isaiah*, ch. vi. ver. 8 : Hebrew, אח סי אשׁלח ומי ילד לגן "To whom shall I send? and who will go for us?" (that is, for me.)

So also in the Qoran, نحن اقرب من حبل الوريد "We are (meaning am) I nearer than the jugular vein." انا خلقناه بقدر "Surely we (meaning I) created every thing in proportion." In these two texts of the Qoran, God is represented to have spoken in the plural number, although Muhammad cannot be supposed to have employed a mode of expression which he could have supposed capable of being considered favourable to the Trinity.

But what are we to think of such reasoning as that which finds a confirmation of the doctrine of the Trinity in the thrice repeated term "holy," in verse 3, ch. vi. of *Isaiah?* Following this mode of argument, the repetitions of the term "Eli, Eli." or "My God, My God," by Jesus in his human nature, in *Matthew*, ch. xxvii. ver. 46, equally establishes the duality of the Godhead. So also the holy name of the Supreme Deity being composed of four letters, in the Hebrew, יהוה ; in Greek, Θεὸς ; in Latin, Deus ; in Arabic, الله ; and in Sanscrit, ब्रह्म, clearly denotes the quadrality of the Godhead !! But these and all similar modes of argument that have been resorted to, are worthy of notice only as they serve to exhibit the extraordinary force of prejudice and superstition.

The most extraordinary circumstance is, that some should quote in support of the Trinity the following sentence: "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one," representing it as the 7th verse, ch. v. of the first epistle of John. This is supposed to have been at first composed as a paraphrase upon what stands as ver. 8 of the same chapter, ("and there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one,") and met with approbation. It was, however, for a length of time, known only in oral circulation; but was afterwards placed in the margin of some editions, and at last introduced into the text, most

probably in the fifteenth century, as an original verse. From that time it has been the common practice to insert this verse amongst those which are collected in support of the Trinitarian doctrine. It may have served in this way to confirm and strengthen prejudice, though few biblical critics ever attached the smallest value to it either way. This interpretation is so modern, and so obvious, that several Trinitarian Editors and commentators of the Bible, such as Griesbach and Michaelis, (who never allowed their zeal for their sect to overcome the prudence and candour with which they were endowed,) have omitted to insert it in their late works on the New Testament; knowing, perhaps, that such an interpolation, so far from strengthening the doctrine they maintain, has excited great doubts as to the accuracy of other passages generally relied upon for its support.

We have already, I trust, seen distinctly that none of the lessons taught by Christ to his disciples teach us to believe in him as God; but as most Trinitarian authors assert that his doctrine was fully revealed by his Apostles speaking under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, it may be worth while to examine whether it be included by them amongst the doctrines of the Christian religion. This question may be immediately determined by referring to the history of the Acts of the Apostles; for if the doctrine of the Trinity had been considered by them as an essential part of what they were commanded to teach, we should certainly find it insisted upon in the discourses they addressed to their converts. But we shall look in vain for any expression amongst those reported by Luke, that indicates the profession of such a belief by the Apostles themselves; far less that they exacted an acknowledgment of its truth from those whom they admitted by the rite of Baptism into the faith of Christianity.

Acts, ch. ii. ver. 22: "Ye men of Isreal, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know;" 32: "This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses." 36: "Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ." Ch. iii. vers. 22 and 23: "For Moses truly said unto the Fathers, a Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever he shall say unto you. And it shall come to pass, that every soul, which will not hear that Prophet, shall

be destroyed from among the people." Ch. iv. ver. 12: "Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." Vers. 26, 27: "The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ. For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed," &c. Ch. v. ver. 31: "Him has God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins." Ch. xii. ver. 56: "And said, behold, I see the heaven opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." Ch. vii. vers. 37, 38: "And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And he commanded the chariot to stand still: and they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch: and he baptized him." Ch. x. ver. 38: "How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power." Ver. 42: "And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he who was ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead." Ch. xiii. ver. 38: "Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins." Ch. xvii. ver. 3: "Opening and alleging, that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead: and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you is Christ."

Thus we find the Apostles never hesitated to hazard their lives by declaring before the Jews, that their master was a Prophet, the expected Messiah, the Son of the living God: which was equally offensive to their countrymen, as if they had called him God himself; yet in none of the sermons do we ever find them representing him as the true God. In the same manner, Jesus himself never assumed that character to himself, although he repeatedly avowed that he was the Messiah, the Son of God, whereby he knew that, according to their law, he would draw the penalty of death upon himself. As to the nature of those doctrines of Christianity deemed essential in the earliest times, I shall content myself with making a few extracts from the Ecclesiastical History of Mosheim, a celebrated author among Trinitarians, which will prove that the doctrine of the Trinity, so zealously maintained as fundamental by the generality of modern Christians, made not its appearance as an essential, or even secondary article of Christian faith, until the commencement of the fourth

century; and then it was introduced after long and violent discussions by the majority of an assembly, who were supported by the authority of a monarach. Mosheim, Vol. I. p. 100: "Nor in this first century was the distinction made between Christians of a more or less perfect order which took place afterwards: whoever acknowledged Christ as the Saviour of mankind, and made solemn profession of his confidence in him was immediately baptized, and received into the Church." P. 411: "Soon after its commencement, even in the year 317, a new contention arose in Egypt, upon a subject of much higher importance, and with consequences of a yet more pernicious nature; the subject of this fatal controversy, which kindled such deplorable division throughout the Christian world, was the doctrine of three persons of the Godhead, a doctrine which in the three preceding centuries had happily escaped the vain curiosity of human researches, and been left undefined and undetermined by any particular set of ideas. The Church indeed had frequently decided against the Sabellians and others, that there was a real difference between the Father and the Son, and that the Holy Ghost was distinct from them both; or, as we commonly speak, that three distinct persons exist in the Deity; but the mutual relation of these persons to each other, and the nature of the distinction that subsists between them, are matters that hitherto were neither disputed nor explained, with respect to which the Church had cousequently observed a profound silence:—nothing was declared to be the faith of Christians in this matter, nor were there any modes of expression prescribed as requisite to be used in speaking of the mystery. Hence it happened, that the Christian doctors entertained different sentiments upon this subject without giving the least offence, and discoursed variously concerning the distinction between Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost, each one following his respective opinion with the utmost liberty." On this quotation I beg leave to remark, that if, in the first and purest ages of Christianity, the followers of Christ entertained such different opinions on the subject of the distinction between Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, without incurring the charge of heresy and heterodoxy, and without even breaking the tie of Christian affection towards each other, it is a melancholy contrast that the same freedom of opinion on this subject is not now allowed, nor the same mutual forbearance maintained amongst those who call themselves Christians. Mosheim, p. 412: "In an assembly of

Presbyters of Alexandria, the Bishop of that city, whose name was Alexander, expressed his sentiments on this head with a high degree of freedom and confidence; and maintained, among other things, that the Son was not only of the same eminence and dignity, but also of the same essence with the Father: this assertion was opposed by Arius, one of the Presbyters, a man of a subtile turn, and remarkable for his eloquence." Page 414: "The Emperor Constantine, looking upon the subject of this controversy as a matter of small importance, and as little connected with the fundamental and essential doctrines of religion, contented himself at first with addressing a letter to the contending parties, in which he admonished them to put an end to their disputes; but when the Prince saw that his admonitions were without effect, and that troubles and commotions which the passions of men too often mingle with religious disputes, were spreading and increasing daily throughout the empire, he assembled at length in the year 325 the famous Council of Nice in Bithynia, wherein the deputies of the Church Universal were summoned to put an end to this controversy. In this general council, after many keen debates and violent efforts of the two parties, the doctrine of Arius was condemmed; Christ declared consubstantial or of the same essence with the Father; the vanquished Presbyter banished among the Illyrians, and his followers compelled to give their assent to the creed or confession of faith which was composed by this council." It must not escape the notice of my readers, that so late as the year 314, the doctrine of the Son being of the same nature with the Father was supposed to be a matter of small importance, and little connected with the fundamental and essential doctrines of religion.

The reason for the majority being in favour of the three persons of the Godhead at the Council of Nice may be easily accounted for, as I noticed before. More than nine-tenths of the Christians of that age, including the emperor and princes, were Gentile converts, to whom the idea of a plurality of Gods was most familiar and acceptable, and to whose reason as well as practice the worship of a Deity in the human shape was perfectly consonant, as appears from the following quotation, as well as from the Roman and Grecian histories. Mosheim, Vol. I. p. 25: "The deities of all nations were either ancient heroes renowned for noble exploits and worthy deeds, or kings and generals who had founded empires, or women become illustrious by remarkable actions or useful inventions; the merit of these distinguished and eminent persons, contemplated by their posterity with an

enthusiastic gratitude, was the reason of their being exalted into celestial honours." We find also in the Acts of the Apostles, Paul declared to be God by the people of Melita, and both Paul and Barnabas regarded as gods by the inhabitants of Lystra; and the Saviour was ranked in the number of false gods even by professed heathens. *Acts*, ch. xxviii. ver. 6: "Howbeit, they looked when he (Paul) should have swollen or fallen down dead suddenly; but after they had looked a great while, and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said he was a God." Ch. xiv. ver. 11: "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men." Mosheim, Vol. I. p. 25: "Many who were not willing to adopt the whole of the doctrines of Christianity were nevertheless, as appears from undoubted records, so struck with the account of his life and actions, and so charmed with the sublime purity of his precepts, that they numbered him (Jesus) among the greatest heroes, nay even among the gods themselves." Page 46: "So illustrious was the fame of Christ's power grown after his resurrection from the dead and the miraculous gifts shed from on high upon his Apostles, that the Emperor Tiberius is said to have proposed his being enrolled among the gods of Rome, which the opposition of the Senate hindered from taking effect." If some of the heathens, from the nature of their superstitions, could rank Jesus among their false gods, it is no wonder if others, when nominally converted to Christianity, should have placed him on an equality with the true God, and should have passed a decree, constituting him one of the persons of the Godhead. These facts coincide entirely with my own firm persuasion of the impossibility, that a doctrine so inconsistent with the evidence of the senses as that of three persons in one being, should ever gain the sincere assent of any one into whose mind it has not been instilled in early education. Early impressions alone can induce a Christian to believe that three are one, and one is three; just as by the same means a Hindoo is made to believe that millions are one, and one is millions; and to imagine that an inanimate idol is a living substance, and capable of assuming various forms. As I have sought to attain the truths of Christianity from the words of the author of this religion and from the undisputed instructions of his holy Apostles, and not from a parent or tutor, I cannot help refusing my assent to any doctrine which I do not find scriptural.

Before concluding, I beg to revert to one or two arguments respecting the nature of Jesus Christ, which have been already partly

touched upon. It is maintained that his nature was double, being divine as Son of God, and human as Son of man—that in the former capacity he performed miracles, and exercised authority over the wind and the sea, and as man was subject to and experienced human feeling—joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain. Is it possible to consider a being in the human shape, acting daily in a manner required by the nature of the human race, as the invisible God, above mortality and all the feelings of mortal beings, from a mere figurative application of the terms "Son of God" or "God" to him, and from the circumstance of his performing wonderful works contrary to the usual course of nature? If so, what can prevent one from esteeming Moses and others, as possessed of both divine and human nature, since Moses, likewise, is called God distinctly, *Exodus*, ch. vii. ver. 1: "I have made thee a God to Pharaoh;" and he is also called man, ("wherewith Moses, the man of God, blessed Israel," *Deut*. ch. xxxiii ver. 1;) and consequently it may be alleged, that in his divine capacity, Moses performed miracles, and commanded the heavens and the earth, ("Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth," *Duet*. ch. xxxii. ver. 1; "For it (the word of Moses) is not a vain thing for you, because *it is your life*," ver. 47;) and that in his human capacity, he suffered death and other miseries. Neither Jesus nor Moses ever declared, "I say so, and perform this as God; and I say so, and perform that as man." If we give so great a latitude to the modes of reasoning employed to justify the idea of one being possessed of two sorts of consciousness, as God and man; two sorts of minds, divine and human; and two sets of souls, eternal and perishable; then we shall not only be at a loss to know what is rational and what is absurd, but shall find our senses and experience of little or no use to us. The mode of interpreting the Scriptures which is universally adopted is this, that when two terms, seemingly contradictory, are applied to one person, then that which is most consistent with reason and with the context, should be taken in a literal, and the other in a figurative sense. Thus God is declared to be immaterial, and yet to have hands, eyes, &c. The latter expressions taken literally, being inconsistent with reason, and with other passages of the Scriptures, are understood as metaphorically implying his power and knowledge, while the former is interpreted in its strict and literal sense: in like manner the term "Lord God," &c., applied to any other than the Supreme Being, must

be figuratively understood. Were any one, in defiance of this general mode of interpretation, to insist that the term "God," applied to Jesus, should be taken in its literal sense, and that, consequently, Jesus should be actually considered God in the human shape, he would not only acknowledge the same intimate connexion of matter with god, that exists between matter and the human soul, but also would necessarily justify the application of such phrases as "Mother of God" to the Virgin Mary, and "Brother of God" to James and others, which are highly derogatory to the character of the Supreme Author of the universe; and it is the use of phrases similar to these which has rendered the religion of the Hindoos so grossly absurd and contemptible. To admit that all things, whether possible or impossible to our understanding, are possible for God, is certainly favourable to the idea of a mixed nature of God and man; but at the same time would be highly detrimental both to religion and society: for all sorts of positions and tales, however impossible they may be, might in that case be advanced and supported on the same plea.

I now conclude my reply with noticing in a brief manner the modes of illustration that Trinitarians adopt both in conversation and in writing in support of the unity of the Godhead, in consistency with the distinction of three persons. 1st, That as the soul, will, and perception, though they are three things, yet are in fact one, so God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, though distinct persons, are to be esteemed as one. Admitting for a moment the propriety of this analogy, it serves to destroy totally their position as to the three existences of the Godhead being distinct substances; for, according to the established system of theology, the soul is believed to be the substance, and will and perceptions, its properties, which have no distinct existence in the same manner as weight and locality are the properties of matter, without having existence as separate substances. If this analogy, then, were to hold good, the Father would be acknowledged as a separate existence like the soul, but the Son and the Holy Spirit must be considered his attributes as will and perception are of the soul:—a doctrine which resembles that of the heretic Sabellius and the early Egyptian Christians.

It is therefore necessary, that, in endeavouring to prove the reasonableness of the idea respecting the unity of three distinct substances of the Godhead, from comparison between them and the

soul, and its will and perception, they should establish first that the soul, will, and perception are three substances, and that they are at the same time one; and then should draw such an analogy, shewing the possibility of the position which they assume.

2ndly, That as notwithstanding the distinct existence of the sun, his rays of light and his rays of heat, they are considered as one; so God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, though separate substances, are one. Were we to admit the separate existence of heat, a point still disputed amongst philosophers, it would serve as an analogy so far as these three distinct substances though different in nature, are connected together; but by no means would answer the purpose of illustrating their position, that these distinct persons are one in nature and essence: for the sun is acknowledged to be a compact body; rays of light are fluid substances subject to absorption, and frequently found emanating from other bodies as well as the sun, and heat an existence of which the most remarkable property is its power of expanding other substances, is frequently unaccompanied by the rays of the sun. But it is universally acknowledged, that whatever argument tends to prove a distinction between substances, must necessarily overturn their unity in essence and existence; and therefore the unity in nature and essence which they assert to exist in the three persons of the Godhead not being found in the sun, light, and heat, the analogy attempted to be drawn must be abandoned. Again, it is advanced, that as a single substance possesses various qualities, and consequently is viewed differently; so the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are in fact one God; yet the Deity in his capacity of the Creator of the world is called the Father, and in his capacity of Mediator is termed the Son, in which he is generally supposed inferior to the Father; and his office of sanctification is named the Holy Ghost, in which he is deemed inferior to both. I know not whether to consider such an argument as reasoning, or as a mockery of reason; since it justifies us in believing, that one and the same being in one of his capacities is superior to himself, and again, in reference to another quality, is inferior to himself; that he is in one case his own beloved Son, and then in another capacity is at the disposal of himself according to the entreaty of his Son. This mode of arguing, after all, serves to deny the Trinity, which represents the Godhead as consisting of three distinct persons and not as one person possessing different attributes, which it is the object

of Trinitarians to prove. They allege the united state of the soul and the body as analogous to the union of the Father and Son; but no one who believes in the separate existence of the soul, can for a moment suppose it to be of the same essence as the body; so that unless they admit the immateriality of the Father alone, and assert the materiality of the Son in his pre-existent state, this illustration also must be set aside.

Some allege, that as the Son of Man designates human nature, so the Son of God expresses the nature of God. Were we to admit the term "God" as a common noun, and not a proper name, and Godhead as a genus like mankind, &c., and that Jesus was actually begotten of the Deity, this mode of reasoning would stand good; but Godhead must in this case be brought to a level with other genera, capable of performing animal functions, &c.

Some represent God as a compound substance, consisting of three parts, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, a representation in support of which they can offer no scriptural authority. I would, however, wish to know, whether these parts (Father, Son and Spirit) are of the same nature and existence, or each possessed of a different nature or essence. In the former case, there would be a total impossibility of composition; for composition absolutely requires articles or parts of different identity and essence; nothing being capable of composition with itself. Besides, the idea of such a compound substance is inconsistent with that distinct personality of Father, Son, and Spirit, which they maintain.—In the latter case, (that is, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit being of different nature,) a composition of these three parts is not impossible; but it destroys the opinion which they entertain respecting the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit being of the same nature and essence, and of course implies that the Godhead is liable to divisibility.

The argument so adduced by them would include in reality a denial of the epithet God to each part of the Godhead; for no portion of an existence, either ideal or perceptible in a true sense, can be called the existence itself; as it is one of the first axioms of abstract truth, that a part is less than the whole: but we find in the Scriptures the Father constantly called God in the strict and full signification of the term. *John*, ch. xvii. ver. 3: "This is life eternal, that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." 1 *Cor.* ch. xv. ver. 24: "Then cometh the end, when he shall have

delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father." 1 *Cor.* ch. viii. ver 6: "To us there is but one God, the Father." *Ephesians*, ch. iv. vers. 5, 6: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all."

Another argument which has great weight with that sect is, that unless Jesus is God and man, he cannot be considered as qualified to perform the office of mediator between God and man; because it is only by this compound character that he intercedes for guilty creatures with their offended God. This mode of reasoning is most evidently opposed to common sense, as well as to the Scriptures; though their zeal in support of the Trinity has not permitted them to see it. I say, opposed to common sense; because we observe, that when any one feels angry with, and inclined to punish one of a herd of cattle which may have trespassed on his grounds, or when a rider wishes to chastise his horse on account of its viciousness, it is his friend or neighbour generally who intercedes in its behalf, and is successful in procuring mercy to the offending animal, in his simple nature, without assuming in additon that of the creature in whose behalf he intercedes.—I say opposed to scripture; because we find in the sacred writings, that Abraham, Moses, and other Prophets stood mediator, and interceded successfully in behalf of an offending people with their offended God; but none of them possessed the double nature of God and man. *Numb.* ch. xi. vers. 1, 2: "When the people complained, it displeased the Lord; and the Lord heard it, and his anger was kindled, and the fire of the Lord burnt among them, and consumed them that were in the uttermost parts of the camp. And the people cried unto Moses; and when Moses prayed unto the Lord, the fire was quenched." Ch. xiv. vers. 19, 20: Moses prayed to the Lord, "Pardon, I beseech thee, the iniquity of this people, according unto the greatness of thy mercy, and as thou hast forgiven this people, from Egypt, even until now. And the Lord said, I have pardoned them according to thy word." Ch. xxi. ver. 7: "Therefore the people came to Moses, and said, We have sinned, for we have spoken against the Lord, and against thee: pray unto the Lord that he take away the serpents from us: And Moses prayed for the people." *Exod*, ch. xxxii. ver 30: "And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a great sin, and now I will go up unto the Lord, peradventure I shall make an atonement for your sins." *Gen.*, ch. xviii. ver. 32: "And

he (Abraham) said, O let not the Lord be angry and I will speak yet but this once:—Peradventure ten shall be found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for ten's sake." I find several others performing the office of mediator and intercessor in common with Jesus, as I noticed before; and indeed this seems to have been an office common to all Prophets: but none of them is supposed to have been clothed with Godhead and manhood in union. *Jeremiah*, ch. xxvii. ver. 18: "But if they be Prophets, and if the word of the Lord be with them, let them now make intercession to the Lord of Hosts," &c. *Deut.* ch. v. ver. 5: "I (Moses) stood between the Lord and you at that time, to shew you the word of the Lord." I regret very much that a sect generally so enlightened, should, on the one hand, have supposed the divine and human natures to be so diametrically opposed to each other, that it is morally impossible for God even to accept intercession from a mere human being in behalf of the human race, and, on the other hand, should have advanced that the Deity joined to his own nature that of man, and was made flesh, possessing all the members and exercising all the functions of man—propositions which are morally inconsistent with each other.

To avoid the supposed dishonour attached to the appointment of a mediator less than divine, the Deity is declared by them to have assumed the human shape, and to have subjected himself to the feelings and inclinations natural to the human species; which is not only inconsistent with the immutable nature of God, bnt highly derogatory to the honour and glory which we are taught to ascribe to him.

Other arguments of the same nature are frequently advanced, but they are altogether much fewer in number, and far less convincing, than those which are commonly brought forward by Hindoos to support their polytheism. Since, then, in evincing the truth and excellence of the Precepts of Jesus, there is no need of the aid of metaphysical arguments, and since, as a last resource, they do not depend for their support on the ground of mystery, the Compiler has, in the discharge of his duty towards his countrymen, properly introduced them as a Guide to Peace and Happiness.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

On the Quotations from the Old Testament contained in the New.

It cannot have escaped the notice of attentive readers of the Scriptures, that the bare quotations in the New Testament from the Old, when unaccompanied with their respective contexts, are liable to be misunderstood. Those who are not well versed in the sacred writings, finding in these references such phrases as apparently corroborate their already acquired opinions, not only lay stress upon them, in support of the sentiments generelly adopted but even lead others, very often, though unintentionally, into great errors.

Thus *Matthew*, ii. 15. "Out of Egypt have I called my Son." The Evangelist refers to verse 1st, chapter xi. of *Hosea*; which, though really applied to Israel, represented there as the Son of God, is used by the Apostle in reference to the Saviour, in consideration of a near resemblance between their circumstances in this instance:—both Israel and Jesus were carried into Egypt and recalled from thence, and both were denominated in the Scriptures the "Son of God." The passage of *Hosea* thus runs from ch. xi, vers. 1st to the 3rd: "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my Son out of Egypt. As they called them, so they went from them: they sacrificed unto Baalim, and burnt incense to graven images. I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms; but they knew not that I healed them." In which Israel, who is represented as a child of God, is declared to have sacrificed to Baalim, which cannot justly be ascribed to the Saviour.

With a view therefore to remove the possibility of such errors and to convince my readers that all the references in the New Testament with their contexts manifest the unity of God and natural inferiority of the Messiah to the Father of the universe, I have endeavoured to arrange them methodically, beginning with such quotations as were made by Jesus himself, agreeably to the proposal of the Reverend Editor.

Quotations by Jesus himself exactly agreeing with the Hebrew.

Matthew, iv. 4: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God; the same in *Luke*, iv.

4, compared with *Deut.* viii. ver. 3: "And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know, that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live."

Matthew, vi. 7: "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God"—compared with *Deut.* iv. 16, 17: "Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God, as ye tempted him in Massah. Ye shall diligently keep the commandments of the Lord your God, and his testimonies, and his statutes, which he hath commanded thee."

Matthew, ix. 13: "But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice"—compared with *Hosea* vi. 5, 6: "Therefore have I hewed them by the prophets; I have slain them by the words of my mouth; and thy judgments are as the light that goeth forth. For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings."

Matthew xix. 19, xxii. 39: "Honour thy father and thy mother: and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"—compared with *Exodus* xx. 12: "Honour thy father and mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee"—and *Levit.* xix. 18: "Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: I am the Lord."

Matthew, xxi. 42: "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the *Lord's doing*, and it is marvellous in our eyes;"—the same in *Mark* xii. 10, *Luke* xx. 17, compared with *Psalms* cxviii. 22, 23: "I (says David) will praise thee; for thou hast heard me, and art become my salvation. The stone which the builders refused is become the head-stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes." To decide whether this passage is principally applied to David, and in the way of accommodation to Jesus, or originally to Jesus himslf, is entirely left to the discretion of my readers; but it is evident in either case, that it is God that has *raised* the *stone so rejected.*

Matthew, xxii. 44: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool;"—the same in *Mark* xii. 36, *Luke* xx. 42, compared with *Psalms*, cx. 1, 2: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The Lord shall send the rod of thy

strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies." This passage is simply applied to the Messiah, manifesting that the victory gained by him over his enemies was entirely owing to the influence of God.

John, x. 35: "Ye are gods"—compared with *Psalm* lxxxii. 1, 6, 7: "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; he judgeth among the gods. I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High: but ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes;" wherein Jesus shews from this quotation, that the term God is figuratively applicable in the Scriptures to creatures of a superior nature.

Quotations made by Jesus himself, nearly agreeing with the Hebrew.

Matthew, iv. 10: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve"—compared with *Deut.* vi. 13: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name."

Matthew, xiii. 14: "By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive"—compared with *Isaiah* vi. 9, and its context, "I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then said I, (Isaiah,) Here am I, send me. And he said, Go and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not." This censure has original reference to the conduct of the people to whom Isaiah was sent, but it is implied by Jesus in an accommodated sense to that of the Jews of his time.

Matthew, xix. 5: "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh"—compared with *Genesis*, ii. 23: "And Adam said, This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman; because she was taken out of man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh."

Matthew, xix. 18, 19: "Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother; and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"—compared with *Exodus* xx. 12—16: "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour."

Matthew, xxii. 32: "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob"—compared with *Exodus*, iii. 6: "Moreover he said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God."

Matthew, xxii. 37: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind:" the same in *Mark* xii. 30, *Luke* x. 27, compared with *Deut.* vi. 5: "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might."

Matthew xxvi. 31: "Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad"—compared with *Zechariah*, xiii. 7: "Awake, O sword, against my Shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow,* saith the Lord of hosts: smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered; and I will turn mine hand upon the little one."

Verse 7, either was originally applied to Agrippa (אגרפה) the last king of the Jews, whose subjects were scattered after he had been smitten with the sword, and in an accommodated sense is applied by Jesus to himself, whose disciples were in like manner dispersed while he was suffering afflictions from his enemies—or is directly applicable to Jesus; but in both cases his total subordination and submission to the Father of the universe is too obvious to be disputed.

John, vi. 45: "It is written in the Prophets, And they shall be all taught of God. Every man, therefore that hath heard and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me"—compared with *Isaiah*, liv. 13: "And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord; and great shall be the peace of thy children."

John, xiii. 18: "I speak not of you all; I know whom I have chosen; but that the Scripture may be fulfilled, He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me"—compared with *Psalm* xli. 9: "Mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, lifted up his heel against me," is immediately applicable to David and his friend Ahithophel, who betrayed him; and, secondarily, to Jesus, and Judas, his traitorous apostle.

* The word עמיתו found in the original Hebrew Scripture signifies one that lives near another; therefore the word "fellow" in the English translation is not altogether correct, as justly observed by Archbishop Newcome.

John, xv. 25 : "But this cometh to pass, that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me without a cause"—compared with *Psalm*, cix. 2, 3 : "They have spoken against me with a lying tongue. They compassed me about also with words of hatred ; and fought against me without a cause." Verse 3rd was originally applied to David and his enemies, and in an accommodated sense to Jesus and the Jews of his day.

Quotation made by Jesus himself, agreeing with the Hebrew in sense, but not in words.

Matthew, xxi. 16 : "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise"—compared with *Psalm* viii. 2, and its preceding verse : "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies ; that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger."

Quotation taken from combined Passages of Scripture.

Matthew, xxi. 13 : "And said unto them, It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer : but you have made it a den of thieves"—compared with *Isaiah*, lvi. 17 : "For mine house shall be called the house of prayer for all people." Ch. vii. 11 : "Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes ?"

Quotation differing from the Hebrew, but agreeing with the Septuagint.

Matthew, xv. 7—9 : "Ye hypocrites, well did Esias prophesy of you saying, This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips ; but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men"—compared with *Isaiah*, xxix. 13, which in the Septuagint corresponds exactly with the gospel, but which in verse 9 differs from the original Hebrew, thus translated in the common version : "And their fear towards me is taught by the precepts of men."

Quotations in which there is reason to suspect a different reading in Hebrew, or that the Apostles understood the words in a sense different from that expressed in our Lexicons.

Matthew, xi. 10 : "This is he of whom it is written, Behold I send my messenger *before thy face*, who shall prepare thy way before *thee*"—compared with *Malachi*, iii. 1 : Behold I *will* send my messen-

ger, and he shall prepare the way before *me.*" *Matthew* xxvi. 31: "I will smite the Shephered, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad"—compared with *Zechariah*, xiii. 7: "Smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered."

Luke, iv. 8: "Thou shalt *worship* the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve"—compared with *Deut*, vi. 13: "Thou shalt *fear* the Lord thy God, and serve Him."

Quotations slightly varying from the Suptuagint.

Luke, iv. 18, 19: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and *recovering of sight to the blind*; to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord"—compared with *Isaiah*, lxi. 12: The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek: he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives; and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

Now I beg the attention of my readers to these quotations ascribed to Jesus himself, and appeal to them whether he assumed in any of these references the character of the Deity, or even equality with him. I am certain that they will find nothing of the kind: Jesus declared himself in these instances entirely subordinate to the Almighty God, and subject to his authority, and frequently compared himself to David or some of the other prophets.

No. II.

On the References made to the Old Testament in Support of the Deity of Jesus.

TRINITARIAN Divines quote *John*, i. 14 : " And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth," as a reference to *Isaiah*, ix. 6 : " For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder ; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace,"—though the Evangelist John *made no allusion* to this passage of *Isaiah* in the verse in question. The passage of *Isaiah* thus referred to was applied to *Hezekiah*, the son of Ahaz, figuratively designated as the son of the virgin, the daughter of Zion, to wit, Jerusalem, foretold by the Prophet as the deliverer of the city from the hands of its enemies, though its utter destruction was then threatened by the kings of Syria and Israel. The words " a virgin," according to the English translation, are " the virgin," both in the original Hebrew and in the Greek of the Gospel of *Matthew*, as well as in the Septuagint. But unless Ahaz was aware of the allusion of the Prophet, the use of the definite article in this passage must be quite inexplicable ; and no one will contend for a moment, that it was given to that wicked king to understand that the mother of Christ was the virgin alluded to ; what, then, could Ahaz have comprehended by the expression " the virgin " ? On referring to 2 *Kings*, xix. 21, we find the same Prophet make use of the very expression, where he informs the king, *Hezekiah*, of the denunciation of God against Sennacherib, the blasphemous king of Assyria, who was at that time besieging Jerusalem. " This is the work that the Lord hath spoken concerning him ; *The virgin*, the daughter of Zion, hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn."—It is impossible to conceive that these words, expressly spoken of the king of Assyria, bear any allusion to the virgin, the mother of Christ ; and it illustrates clearly the otherwise obscure expression of the Prophet addressed to Ahaz, when he foretold to him the happy reign of his successor Hezekiah. In *Isaiah*, x. 32, " He (the king of Assyria) shall shake his hand against

the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem," the epithet "the daughter of Zion," which in the last passage was used as synonymous with "the virgin," here signifies Jerusalem itself, in which sense it was commonly used in the figurative language of the Prophet, and no doubt well understood by Ahaz: for we find the same words in many other passages used to signify either a city or the people of a city. *Isaiah* xviii. 12: "And he said, Thou shalt no more rejoice, O thou oppressed *virgin*, daughter of Zion." Ch. xlvii. 1: "Come down, and sit in the dust, O *virgin* daughter of Babylon."—*Jeremiah*, xiv. 17; "Therefore thou shalt say this word unto them: Let mine eyes run down with tears night and day, and let them not cease; for the *virgin* daughter of my people is broken with a great breach." Ch. xviii. 13: "Therefore thus saith the Lord; Ask ye now among the heathen, who hath heard such things; the *virgin* of Israel hath done a very horrible thing." Ch. xxxi. 4: "Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O *virgin* of Israel; thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry." Ver. 13: "Then shall the *virgin* rejoice in the dance," &c. Ver. 21: "Set thee up waymarks, make thee high heaps; set thine heart toward the highway, even the way which thou wentest: turn again, O *virgin* of Israel, turn again to these thy cities." *Lam.*, ch. i. 15: "The Lord hath trodden the *virgin*, the daughter of Judah, as in a wine-press." Ch. ii. 13: "What thing shall I take to witness for thee? what thing shall I liken to thee, O daughter of Jerusalem? what thing shall I liken to thee, O *virgin* daughter of Zion? for thy breach is great like the sea; who can heal thee?" *Amos*, v. 2: "The *virgin* of Israel is fallen, she shall no more rise; she is forsaken upon her land; there is none to raise her up."

To shew that the passages in question, as well as all that is foretold in this and the succeeding chapters, refer to the reign of Hezekiah, nothing more than a comparison of them with the records of that reign is requisite. I shall therefore lay before my readers all those verses in these chapters that are commonly referred to by Trinitarians as alluding to the coming of Christ, with their contexts, together with such parts of the history of the reign of Hezekiah as appear to me to be clearly indicated by those passages.

Isaiah, vii. 1: "And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz, the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin, the king of Syria, and Pekah, the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up toward

Jerusalem to war against it, but could not prevail against it. 2. And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind. 3. Then said the Lord unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and Shearjashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field. 4. And say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither be faint-hearted, for the two tails of these smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and of the son of Remaliah. 5. Because Syria, Ephraim, and the son of Remaliah, have taken evil counsel against thee, saying, 6. Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set a king in the midst of it, *even* the son of Tabeal: 7. Thus saith the Lord God, It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass. 8. For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus *is* Rezin; and within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people. 9. And the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established. 10. Moreover, the Lord spake again unto Ahaz, saying, 11. Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God; ask it either in the depth, or in the height above. 12. But Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord. 13. And he said, Hear ye now, O house of David, Is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will ye weary my God also? 14. Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. 15. Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil, and choose the good. 16. For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings. 17. The Lord shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days that have not come, from the day that Ephraim departed form Judah; even the king of Assyria."

Chap. viii. 5: "The Lord spake also unto me again, saying, 6. Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah, that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son. 7. Now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria, and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks; 8. And he shall pass through Judah; he shall overflow and go over,—

he shall reach even to the neck; and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel."

Ch. ix. 1: "Nevertheless, the dimness shall not be such as was in her vexation, when at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulum, and the land of Naphtali and afterward did more grievously afflict her by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan in Galilee of the nations. 2. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. 3. Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not increased the joy: they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. 4. For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his Oppressor, as in the day of Midian. 5. For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. 7. Of the increase of his Government and peace there shall be no end,* upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth, even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this."

Ch. x. 5: "O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is mine indignation. 6. I will send him against an hypocritical nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets. 7. Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy and cut off nations, not a few. 8. For he saith, Are not my princes altogether Kings; 9. Is not Calno as Carchemish? Is not Hamath as Arpad? is not Samaria as Damascus?† 10. As my hand hath found

* Those that are at all versed in scriptural language will attach no weight to the terms "no end" and "for ever," found in ch. v. 7; for the former often signifies plenteousness, and the latter long, but not eternal duration. *Vide* Eccles., iv, 16: "There is no end of all the people, even of all that have been before them." Isaiah, ii. 7; "Neither is there any end of their treasure, neither is there any end of their chariots." Nahum, ii. 9: "There is none end of their store." Ch. iii. 3: "And there is none end of their corpses." Psalm, cxlv. 2, 9: "I will praise thy name for *ever and ever*," Deut. xv. 17: "And he shall be thy servant *for ever*."

† Compare vers. 9—11, with the historical relation of the vain boastings of the Assyrian, narrated in 2 Kings, xviii. 33—35.

the kingdoms of the idols, and whose graven images did excel them of Jerusalem and of Samaria; 11. Shall I not, as I have done unto Samaria and her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her idols? 12. Wherefore it shall come to pass that, when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Zion and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the King of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks."—16. "Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of hosts, send among his fat ones leanness; and under his glory he shall kindle a burning like the burning of a fire. 17. And the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his *Holy One* for a flame: and it shall burn and devour his thorns and briers in one day."—24. "Therefore thus saith the Lord God of hosts, O my people that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrian: he shall smite thee with a rod, and shall lift up his staff against thee, after the manner of Egypt. 25. For yet a very little while, and the indignation shall cease, and mine anger, in their destruction." 27.* "And it shall come to pass in that day, that his burden shall be taken away from off thy shoulder, and his yoke from off thy neck, and the yoke shall be destroyed because of the anointing."

2 *Kings*, xviii. 1: "Now it came to pass in the third year of Hoshea, son of Elah, king of Israel, that Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, king of Judah began to reign. 2. Twenty and five years old was he when he began to reign; and he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem: his mother's name also was Abi, the daughter of Zachariah. And he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that David his father did. 4. He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it; and he called it Nehushtan. 5. He trusted in the Lord God of Israel; so that *after him* was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were *before him*. 6. For he clave to the Lord, and departed not from following him, but kept his commandments, which the Lord commanded Moses. 7. And the Lord was with him: and he prospered whithersoever he went forth: and he rebelled against the King of Assyria and served him not. 8. He smote the Philistines, even unto Gaza, and the borders thereof, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city."—17.

* Compare with 2 Kings, xvi. 7, "So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglathpileser, King of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son." &c., and ch. xviii. 7, as above.

"And the king of Assyria sent Tartan, and Rabsaris, and Rab-shakeh, from Lachish to king Hezekiah, with a great host against Jerusalem. And they went up and came to Jerusalem. And when they were come up, they came and stood by the conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the fuller's field."—28. "Then Rab-shakeh stood, and cried with a loud voice in the Jews' language, and spake, saying, Hear the word of the great king, the king of Assyria: 29. Thus saith the king, Let not Hezekiah deceive you: for he shall not be able to deliver you out of his hand: 30. Neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the Lord, saying, The Lord will surely deliver us, and this city shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria. 31. Hearken not to Hezekiah: for thus saith the king of Assyria, Make an arrangement with me by a present, and come out to me, aud then eat ye every man of his own vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his cistern: 32. Until I come and take you away to a land like your own land; a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil-olive and of honey, that ye may live, and not die: and hearken not unto Hezekiah, when he persuadeth you, saying, The Lord will deliver us. 33. Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? 34. Where are the gods of Hamath, and of Arpad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand? 35 Who are they among all the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?

Ch. xix. 15: "And Hezekiah prayed before the Lord, and said, O Lord God of Israel, which dwellest between the cherubims, thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth; thou hast made heaven and earth. 16. Lord, bow down thine ear and hear: open, Lord, thine eyes, and see: and hear the words of Sennacherib, which hath sent him to reproach the living God." 19. "Now therefore, O Lord our God, I beseech thee save thou us out of his hand that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art the Lord God, even thou only. 20. Then Isaiah the son of Amoz sent to Hezekiah, saying, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, that which hast prayed to me against Sennacherib, king of Assyria, I have heard, 21. This is the word that the Lord hath spoken concerning him; *The virgin, daughter of Zion*, hath despised thee and laughed thee to

scorn: the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee. 22. Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice, and lifted up thine eyes on high? even against the Holy one of Israel. 23. By the messengers thou hast reproached the Lord, and hast said, With the multitude of my chariots I am come up to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon, and will cut down the tall cedar trees thereof, and the choice fir trees thereof: and I will enter into the lodgings of his borders, and into the forest of his Carmel."—27. "But I know thy abode, and thy going in, and thy rage against me. 28. Because thy rage against me and thy tumult is come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest." 32. "Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a shield, nor cast a bank against it. 33. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the Lord. 34. For I will defend this city, to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake. 35. And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses. 36. So Sennacherib, king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Ninevah. 37. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharzer, his sons, smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Armenia: and Esar-haddon, his son, reigned in his stead."

2 *Chron*, xxx. 24: "For Hezekiah, king of Judah, did give to the congregation a thousand bullocks, and seven thousand sheep; and the princes gave to the congregation a thousand bullocks, and ten thousand sheep; and a great number of priests sanctified themselves. 25. And all the congregation of Judah, with the priests and the Levites, and all the congregation that came out of Israel, and the strangers that came out of the land of Israel, and that dwelt in Judah, rejoiced. 26. So there was great joy in Jerusalem; for since the time of Solomon, the son of David, King of Israel, there was not the like in Jerusalem. 27. Then the priests, the Levites arose and blessed the people: and their voice was heard, and their prayer came up to his holy dwelling-place, even unto heaven."

Ch. xxxi. 20: "And thus did Hezekiah throughout all Judah, and wrought that which was good and right and truth before the Lord his God. 21. And in every work that he began in the service of the house of God, and in the law, and in the commandments, to seek his God, he did it with all his heart, and prospered."

Ch. xxxii. 23: "And many brought gifts unto the Lord to Jerusalem, and presents to Hezekiah, king of Judah, so that he was magnified in the sight of all nations from thenceforth." 33. "And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David: and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honour at his death. And Manasseh, his son, reigned in his stead."

If, as is declared by Trinitarians, the child promised in ch. vii. 14, be the same that is alluded to in ch. ix. 6, and ch. x. 17, it is quite evident from the context, that he was to be the deliverer of the Jews from the hands of the king of Assyria, and was to be distinguished by the excellence of his administration and the respect in which he was to be held by all the nations. Making allowance for the hyperbolical style of Eastern nations, nothing can more aptly apply as prophecy than these passages do to the reign of Hezekiah, as described in the above extracts from *Kings* and *Chronicles*. But what, it may be asked, had the birth of Christ to do with the destruction of the King of Assyria? or how could it be said that before he "knew to refuse the evil and choose the good," the land of Syria and Israel should be deserted of their respective kings, Rezin and Pekah, who were gathered to their fathers many years before this birth?

This illustrious son of Ahaz was not the only king among the select nation of God, that was honoured, with such names as Hezekiah or "God my strength" and "Emmanuel" or "God with us;" and also with such epithets as "Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the Everlasting Father, and the Prince of Peace." We find several other chiefs of that tribe that used to walk in the way of God, dignified in Scripture with epithets of a similar import. *Genesis*, xxxii. 28: "And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel, (Prince of God:) for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed." *Psalm*, lxxxix. 18: "For the Lord is our defence; and THE HOLY ONE of Israel is our king. 19. Then thou spakest in vision to *thy Holy One*, and saidst, I have laid help upon one that is *mighty*: I have exalted one chosen out of the people.

20. I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I *anointed* him:" 27. "Also I will make him MY FIRST BORN, higher than the kings of the *earth.*"

As to the words "a virgin," found in the English translation, I request my readers to advert to the original Hebrew העלמה "the virgin," as well as to the Greek both of the Septuagint and the Gospel of *Matthew*, η παρθένος "the virgin," leaving it to them to judge, whether a translation which so entirely perverts the meaning preserved throughout, by men whom we cannot suspect of ignorance of the original language, must not have proceeded from previous determination to apply the term "virgin," as found in the Prophet, to the mother of Christ, in order that the high titles applied to Hezekiah might in the most unqualified manner be understood of Jesus.

The Evangelist Matthew referred in his Gospel to *Isaiah*, vii. 14, merely for the purpose of accommodation; the son of Ahaz and the Saviour resembling each other, in each being the means, at different periods, though in different senses, of establishing the throne of the house of David. In the same manner he referred to *Hosea*, xi. 1, in ch. ii, 15, of his Gospel, and in many other instances. How inconsistent is it that a sect, which maintains the omniscience and omnipotence of Jesus, should apply to him a passage, by which he is made subject to such a degree of ignorance, as not to be able at one period to distinguish between good and evil! (*Isaiah*, vii. 16: "For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good," &c.) Admitting that these quotations in *Isaiah* were originally applicable to Jesus, they cannot assist in proving the Deity of the Messiah; just as they fall short of proving the divinity of Hezekiah when applied to him:—for we find in the sacred writings the name of God, and even the term of Jehovah, the peculiar name of God, applied as an appellation to others, without establishing any argument for asserting the Deity of those to whom such names are given. *Jeremiah*, xxxiii. 16: "In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely: and this is the name wherewith she shall be called, JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS." In the English version, the word Jehovah is rendered "Lord," in this and in other passages. *Exodus*, xvii. 15: "And Moses built an altar, and called the name of it Jehovah-nissi, or 'JEHOVAH MY BANNER.'" It is fortunate that some sect has not hitherto arisen, maintaining the Deity of Jerusalem, of the altar of Moses, from the authority of the passages just mentioned.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. i. 8, 9, reference is made to *Psalm*, xlv. 6, 7: " Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, &c. Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee," &c. I have frequently noticed that the term "God" in an inferior sense is often applied in the Scriptures to the Messiah and other distinguished persons; but it deserves particularly to be noticed in this instance, that the Messiah, in whatever sense he is declared God, is in the very same sense described in ch. i. 9. (" God, thy God,") as *having a God, superior to him*, and by whom he *was appointed* to the office of Messiah.

Supposed application of the term "Jehovah" to Jesus in references made to the Old Testament.

Luke, i. 16, 18: "And many of the children of Israel shall he (John the Baptist) turn to the Lord their God. And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord"—compared with *Isaiah*, xl. 3, "The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of Jehovah, make straight in the desert a highway for our God:" and also in *Malachi*, iii. 1, Behold I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold he shall come, saith Jehovah of hosts." From this, it is concluded by Trinitarians, that because the Prophet John is described as the forerunner of Jehovah, and in the evangelist as the forerunner of Jesus, therefore Jesus must be Jehovah.

In reply to this, it may be simply observed, that we find in the Prophets distinct and separate mention of Jehovah and of the Messiah as the messenger of the covenant; John therefore ought to be considered as the forerunner of both, in the same manner as a commander sent in advance to occupy a strong post in the country of the enemy, may be said to be preparing the way for the battles of his king, or of the general whom the king places at the head of his army.

They also refer to *Isaiah*, vi. 5, "For mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts"—comparing it with *John*, xii. 41, "These things said Isaiah, when he saw his glory, and spake of him." The passage in the evangelist is more correctly explained by referring to

John, viii. 56, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day;" which cannot be understood of ocular vision, but prophetic anticipation, whereas the glory seen in the vision of Isaiah was that of God himself in the delivery of the commands given to the Prophet on that occasion.

I *Corinth*, i. 30, "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus who of God is made into us wisdom and rightousness," &c., is compared with *Jeremiah*, xxiii. 6, "He shall be called Jehovah our rightousness." In reply to which I only refer my reader again to the passage in *Jeremiah*, xxxiii. 16, in which Jerusalem also is called "Jehovah our righteousness," and to the phrase "*is made unto us of God*" found in the passage in question, and expressing the inferiority of Jesus to God. Also 2 *Cor.*, v, 21, "That we might be made the righteousness of God in him," where St. Paul says, that all Christians may be made the righteousness of God.

Mr. Brown, a celebrated Trinitarian Commentator, retains the common version of *Jeremiah*, xxiii. 6, and applies it to Jesus, whom he supposes to be "Jehovah our righteousness." But in ch. xxxiii. 16, where the construction in the original Hebrew is precisely the same, he alters it in the margin, "he who shall call her is Jehovah our righteousness," instead of applying the phrase "Jehovah our righteousness" to Jerusalem, in the same manner as he had applied it to Jesus in the former passage.—I therefore deem it necessary to give the original Hebrew of both texts, and a verbal translation of them. The reader will judge how strongly the judgment of the learned Commentator was biassed in support of a favourite doctrine. *Jer.*, xxiii. 6. וזה שמן אשד יקדאן יהוה צדקנן תיסין הושע יהודה וישדאל ישכן לבטה "In his days shall be saved Judah, and Israel shall dwell in safety, and this his name which (man) shall call him, "Jehovah or righteousness." *Jeremiah*, xxxiii. 16, לבטה וזה אשד יקדא לה יהוה צדקנן גומים ההם תושע והודה וידושלם תשכון "In those days shall be saved Judah, and Jerusalem shall dwell in safety, and this (name) which (man) shall call her, Jehovah our righteousness."

In altering the common translation of the latter passage, Mr. Brown first disregards the stop after יקדא לה that is, "shall call her;" which by separating the two parts of the sentence, prevents Jehovah from being employed as the agent of the verb "shall call." 2ndly, He entirely neglects the established mode of construction, by leaving זה or "this," untranslated, and by omitting to point out the

name by which Jerusalem should be called. 3rdly, He totally overlooks the idiom of the Hebrew, in which verbs are often employed unaccompanied with their agent, when no specific agent is intended, as appears from the following passages:—

Gen., xxv. 26, ואחדיכן וצא אחיו וידו אחזת בצקב עשׂו ויקדא שׁמו יעקב "And after that came his brother out and his hand took hold on Esau's heel, and (man) called his name Jacob." 2 *Samuel* ii. 16, בגבעון ויהוקו איש בדאשׁ דעהו וחדבו בצד ידעהו ויכלו תדו ויקדא למקום ההוא חלקת האדים אשׁד "And they caught every one his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellow's side; so they fell down together: wherefore (man) called that place Helkath Hazurem, which is in Gibeon." *Genesis*, xvi. 14, על כן קדא לבאד באד כדוי דאי "Wherefore (man) called the well Beer-lahai-roi."

They again adduce *Isaiah*, xlv. 23: "Unto me (God) every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear"—compared with *Romans*, xiv. 10, 12: "But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? For we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God. So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God." Between the Prophet and the Apostle there is a perfect agreement in substance, since both declare that it is to God that every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess, through him before whose judgment-seat we shall all stand:—for at the same time both Jesus and his Apostles inform us, that we must stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, because the Father has committed the office of final judgment to him.—From this passage, they say, it appears that Jesus swore by himself, and that thereby he is proved to be God, according to the rule, that it is God only that can swear by himself. But how can they escape the context, which expressly informs us, that "the Lord," (Jehovah,) and not Jesus, swore in this manner? We must not, however, overlook what the Apostle says in his epistle to the *Philippians*, ch. ii. 9—11, where he declares, that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess; but neither must we forget, that Jesus is declared to have been exalted to these honours by God, and that the only confession required is, that he is Lord, which office confession of his dignity is to the glory of God the Father. 9. "Wherefore God also hath highly *exalted* him, and

given him a name which is above every name; 10. That at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; 11. And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

Some have adopted a most extraordinary way of establishing the deity of Jesus. Any epithet or act, however common it may be, ascribed to God in the Sacred Writings, and also to Christ in the New Testament is adduced by them as a proof of his deity; and I observe with the utmost surprise, that the prejudice of many Christians in favour of the doctrine of the Trinity induces them to lay stress upon such sophisms. For instance, *Isaiah*, xliii. 3: "For I am the Lord thy God, the Holy one of Israel, thy Saviour," compared with 2 *Peter*, iii. 18, "Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." The conclusion they draw from these passages is, that unless Jesus were God, he could not be a Saviour: but how futile this reasoning is will clearly appear from the following passages: *Nehemiah*, ix. 27: "Thou gavest them saviours, who saved them." *Obed.*, 27: "And saviours shall come upon Mount Zion." 2 *Kings*, xiii. 5: "And the Lord gave Israel a saviour, so they went out from under the hand of the Syrians: and children of Israel dwelt in their tents, as beforetime." *Isaiah*, xix. 19, 20: "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them." If this argument possesses any force, then it would lead us to acknowledge the deity not only of Jesus, but that of those different individuals to whom the term "Saviours" or "Saviour" is applied in the above citations. The phrase in *Isaiah*, "Besides me there is no Saviour," is easily accounted for by considering, that all those who have been instrumental in effecting the deliverance of their fellow-creatures from evils of whatever nature, were dependent themselves upon God, and only instruments in his hands; and thus all appearance of inconsistence is removed.

Again, *Ps.*, xxiii. 1: "Jehovah is my Shepherd"—compared with *John*, x. 16: "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice: and there shall be one fold, and one Shepherd." In the former text, David declared God to be his shepherd or protector; in the latter, Jesus represents himself as

the one shepherd of the one fold of Christians, some of whom were already attached to him, and others were afterwards to become converts: but Trinitarian writers thus conclude from these passages: If Christ be not one with Jehovah, he could not be called a Shepherd, and thus there would be two shepherds: but a little reflection on the following passages will convince every unbiassed person, that Moses is called a shepherd in like manner, and his followers a flock; and that the term "Shepherd" is applied to others also, without conveying the idea of their unity with Jehovah. *Isaiah*, lxiii. 11: "Then he remembered the days of old, Moses and his people, saying, Where is he that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherd of his flock?" *Ezekiel*, xxxiv. 23, 24: "And *I will set up one shepherd* over them, and he shall feed them, even *my servant* David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my *servant David* a prince among them. I the Lord have spoken it." If they insist (though without any ground) upon interpreting the name David as put for Jesus, they must still attribute his shepherdship over his flock to divine commission, and must relinquish the idea of unity between God the employer, and the Messiah his *servant*. *Jeremiah*, xxiii. 4: "I will set up shepherds over them, which shall feed them: and they shall fear no more, nor be dismayed, neither shall they be lacking, saith the Lord."

Psalm, lxxviii. 56: "They tempted and provoked the most high God"—compared with 1 *Cor.*, x. 9, "Neither let us tempt Christ, aa some of them also tempted." They thus conclude: the former passage declares the most high God to have been tempted by rebellious Israelites, and in the latter, Jesus is represented to have been the person tempted by some of them; consequently Jesus is the most high God. How far cannot prejudice lead astray men of sense! Is it not an insult to reason, to infer the deity of Jesus from the circumstance of his being in common with God, tempted by Israel and others? Are we not all, in common with Jesus, liable to be tempted both by men and by Satan? *Hebrews*, iv. 15, "For we have not an high priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points *tempted like as we are*, yet without sin." *Genesis*, xxii. 1, "And it came to pass after these things that God did tempt Abraham." Can the liability to temptation common to God, to Jesus, to Abraham, and to all mankind, be of any avail to prove the divinity and unity of these respective subjects of temptation?

We find Moses in common with God is spoken against by the rebellious Israelites. *Numb.*, xxi. 5, "And the people (Israel) spoke against God, and against Moses." Are we to conclude upon this ground, that [because] God as well as Moses is declared to have been spoken against by Israel, that Moses therefore is God himself? In the same text quoted by them, we find the most high God provoked also—(they tempted and provoked the most high God)—so we find Moses and David provoked at different times. *Numbers*, xxi. 1, "And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David;" and *Psalm*, cvi. 32, 33, "It went ill with Moses for their sakes: because they provoked his spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips." Can any one from the circumstance of Moses and David having been the subjects of provocation, in common with God, be justified in attempting to prove the deity of either of them?

Isaiah, liv. 5: "Thy Maker is thine husband, the Lord of hosts is his name"—compared with *John*, iii. 29, "He that hath the bride is the bridegroom," &c. *Eph.*, v. 23, "For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church," &c. From these they infer, that as the Church is one bride, so on the other hand, there is one husband, who is termed in one place God, and in another place Christ. My readers will be pleased to examine the language employed in these two instances: in the one, God is represented as the husband of all his creatures, and in the other, Christ is declared to be the husband or the head of his followers; there is therefore, an inequality of authority evidently ascribed to God and to Jesus. Moreover, Christ himself shews the relation that existed between him and his church, and himself and God, in *John* xv. 1: "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman."—5. "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman."—5. "I am the vine, ye are the branches." Would it not be highly unreasonable to set at defiance the distinction drawn by Jesus between God, himself, and his Church, and to attempt a conclusion directly contrary to his authority, and unsupported by revelation?

Revelation, xxii. 13: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last"—compared with *Isaiah*, xliv. 6: "Thus saith the Lord, the King of Israel, and his redeemer the Lord of hosts; I am the first, and I am the last; and besides me there is no God." From a comparison of these verses they conclude, that there is no God besides him who is the first and the last: but Jesus is the first and the

last: therefore besides Jesus there is no other God.. I must embrace this opportunity of laying before my readers the context of the verse in Revelation, which will, I presume, shew to every unbiassed mind how the verse in question has been misapplied; since the verse cited in defence of the deity of Jesus, when considered in relation to the passages that precede and follow it, most clearly declares his inferiority and his distinct nature from the Father. *Revelation*, xxii. 6: "And he (the angel) said unto me, These sayings are faithful and true: and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done. 7. Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book. 8. And I John saw these things and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel who shewed me these things. 9. Then saith he unto me See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God. 10. And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand. 11. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still. 12. And, behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be. 13. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last. 14. Blessed are they that do *his* commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city. 15. For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolators, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie. 16. I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspiing of David, and the bright and morning star."

If they ascribe verse 13, ("I am Alpha and Omega," &c.,) to Jesus and not to the angel mentioned in the above passage, they must also unavoidably ascribe to Jesus the passage coming immediately before or after it, including of course verse the 9th, "Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not: for I am thy fellow-servant," &c., for there is but one agent described by the pronoun "*He*" in the whole train of the verses above quoted who is pointed out clearly by the repetition of the phrase, "Behold I come quickly," in verses 7th and 12th. In this case the passage, although it speaks of Jesus as

Alpha and Omega, &c.. yet must be considered as denying him the divine nature, and ranking him among the chosen servants of God, ("For I am thy fellow-servant.") If they ascribe all the verses of chap. xxii. as far as verse the 16th to the angel, they cannot justify themselves in founding their conclusion with regard to the deity of Jesus upon the force of verse the 13th, "I am Alpha and Omega," &c., which in the latter case can bear no relation to Christ, since their system requires them to apply it to an inferior angel. I beg the attention of my readers to five particular circumstances in this instance. 1st, That the angel whom the Lord sent, as intimated in verse the 6th, was intended to show his servants in general things that would shortly happen; and the angel sent by Jesus, as found in verse 16th, was to testify to John and other disciples the things relating to the churches. 2ndly, Jesus declares in verse 16th, and in the subsequent verses, that he is the offspring of David, and that it is God that has the power of punishing any one who either takes away from or adds any thing to his revelation. 3rdly, That the passage in *Revelation*, xxii. 13, is not parallelled to that contained in the prophecy of *Isaiah*, xliv. 6, since the phrase "*Besides me there is no God*," which is found in the latter, and upon which the whole controversy turns, is not contained in the former. 4thly, That when the angel rejected the worship of John addressed to himself, he ordered him to worship God without mentioning the name either jointly or separately of the Lamb, by which Jesus is distinguished throughout the Revelation:— "Worship God," ver. 9. 5thly, In the very next verse, after the speaker, whether Jesus or an angel, describes himself as Alpha and Omega, he uses the expression, "Blessed are they that do *his* commandments," clearly indicating the existence of another being to whose *commandments* obedience is required.

It is worth noticing here, that the terms, "Alpha and Omega, beginning and end," are in a finite sense justly applicable to Jesus as the first of all created existences, and the last of those who will be required to resign the authority with which he is invested by the Father. See *Colossians*, i. 15, "The first-born of every creature;" 1 *Corinthians*, xv. 28, "Then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him."

Isaiah, xl. 10: "Behold, the Lord God will come with a strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him"—is compared with *Revelation*, xxii, 12, "I

come quickly; and my reward is with me." From the circumstance of the common application of the phrase, "his reward is with him," to God and to Jesus, they infer the deity of the latter; in answer to which I beg to refer my readers to the foregoing paragraphs illustrating verse 11th, which immediately precedes the verse in question of the *Revelation*, and also to *John*, v. 30, 32, "As I hear, I judge: and my judgment is just; because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father who hath sent me. The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son;"—and to *Matthew*, xvi. 27, "For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works." Do not these passages point out evidently, that the power of exercising judgment and of distributing rewards *has been given* to Jesus by the Almighty, and that Jesus possesses this authority in behalf of the *Father* of the universe?

Ephesians, iv. 8: "When he (Christ) ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men"—compared with *Psalm*, lxviii. 18, "Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive: thou hast received gifts for men, yea, for the rebellious also that the Lord God might dwell among them." The Jews are of opinion that David in this verse spoke of Moses, who, when he ascended to Mount Sinai, received gifts (i. e. the divine commandments) for men, even for the rebellious Israelites: in this case the Apostle Paul in his epistle, must have applied the verse in an accommodated sense to Jesus. The verse in the Psalm may be directly applied to Jesus, who, on his ascension, received gifts of pardon even for those who had rebelled against him. Mr. Brown, a celebrated Trinitarian Commentator, and several others, consider the 18th verse in this *Psalm*, and verse 8th in this chapter of *Ephesians*, as immediately applicable to Jesus as the Messiah. But another writer, Mr. Jones, with a view to establish the deity of Christ by a comparison of *Ephesians*, iv. 8, with *Psalm*, lxviii. 18, omits carefully the latter part of the verse, ("Thou hast received gifts for men, yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them,") which is altogether inapplicable to God, and quotes only the first part of the verse, (thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive;") and thence draws this conclusion—"The Scripture here (in the Epistle referred to) expressly affirms the person who ascends, &c., to be the Lord God." From a view of the whole verse, the sense

must, according to this mode of reasoning, be as follows—"The person who ascended on high and who *received* gifts for men, *that the Lord God* might dwell among them, is the Lord God;" an interpretation, which as implying that the Lord God ascended and received gifts from a Being of course superior to himself, in order that he might dwell among men, is equally absurd and unscriptural.

Zechariah, xii. 10, as found in the English version: "In that day they shall look upon me whom they have pierced"—compared with *John*, xiv. 37; "They shall look on him whom they pierced;" from which comparison he has thus concluded—"As it stands in the Prophet, the Lord Jehovah was to be pierced; so that unless the man Christ who hung upon the cross was also the Lord Jehovah, the Evangelist is found to be a false witness, applying to him a prophecy that could not possibly be fulfilled in him." In order to shew the source of Mr. Jones's error, I beg to lay before my readers the verse in Hebrew, and a translation thereof from the Arabic Bible, as well as a correct translation into English.

ושפכתי על כית דויד וצל יושב ידושלם דות חי
ותחננים וחכיטו אלי את אשר דקדו וספדי עלין כמספד
על היהיד והמד עלין כחמד על הגנוד

واصب على بيت داؤد وعلى سكان اور شليم روح النعمة
والرافة وينظرون الى من اجل انهم رفضوا وينوحون عليهم
مناحة مثل علي وحيد يتوجعون وجعا مثل علي بكر –

"And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplication: and they shall look *toward me on account of him whom* they have pireced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his own son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born."

This translation is strongly confirmed by the Septuagint, whose words I subjoion with a literal rendering—

Καὶ ξπιβλξψονται πρός με, ανθ' ψν χατωρ χήσαντο.

"And they shall look *towards me*, on *account* of those whom they pierced."

In the prophet the Lord speaks of Israel at the approach of their restoration, when they will look up to God for mercy on account of their cruelty to the Messiah, whom they pierced, and for whom they will mourn and lament. Hence the prophecy in question has been fulfilled in Jesus, without representing the Lord (Jehovah) as the object pierced; and consequently no false testimony is chargeable upon John the Evangelist, who by changing the object of the verse from "me" found in the Hebrew and Septuagint, into "him," we may suppose, had in view the general import rather than the particular expressions of the prophecy, pointing out that they looked to the Messiah also, whom they had pierced. Without referring to the Hebrew phrase, which shows beyond doubt the inaccuracy of the English translation of the verse, common sense is, I presume, sufficient to show, that since in the last two clauses in the verse under consideratlon the Lord God speaks of the Messiah in the third person—("for him they [i. e. the Israelites] will mourn and lament,") he must be supposed to have spoken of the same third person as pierced by them unjustly, and thus to have pointed out the cause of their lamentation. If Jehovah had been pierced, he would have been mentioned in the first person, also as the object of lamentation and bitterness.

1 *Peter*, ii. 6: "Wherefore also it is contained in the Scripture, Behold, *I lay in Zion* a chief corner-stone, elect, precious: and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded. 7. Unto you therefore which believe he is precious: but unto them who are disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner, 8, And a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, even to them which stumble at the word, being disobedient; whereunto also they were appointed"—compared with *Isaiah*, xxviii. 16, "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold *I lay in Zion* for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation; he that believeth shall not make haste;" and *Isaiah*, viii. 13, "Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself; let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. 14, And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence, to both the houses of Israel; for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem."

These passages show, that the Lord God placed the Messiah as a corner-stone for the temple, and that whoever stumbles at that

stone so exalted by the Almighty, stumbles at or disobeys him who has thus placed it. But Mr. Jones omits the words found in *Peter*, ii. 6. and *Isaiah*, xxviii. 16, "I lay in Zion a chief corner-stone precious," &c., which show the created nature of the Messiah, and after quoting a part of vers. 7 and 8 of 1 *Peter*, ch. ii. ("The stone which the builder disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence,") and only verse 13th and part of the 14th of ch. viii. of *Isaiah*, he has thus concluded:—"This stone of stumbling and rock of offence, as it appears from the latter text, (the text in *Peter*,) is no other than Christ, the same stone which the builders rejected. Therefore Christ is the Lord of hosts himself."—Here the Apostle *Peter*, in conformity with the Prophet, represents God as the founder of the corner-stone and Jesus as the same corner-stone, which though it be disallowed by the Jews, yet is *made* by the same founder, the head of the corner; but the Jews from their disobedience stumbled directly at the stone so exalted, rendering it a stone of stumbling and rock of offence; and hereby they stumbled secondarily at the founder of this stone, and offended the Lord God; who, though he was the rock of defence of Israel, (rock of refuge, *Psalm*, xciv. 24,) became a stone of stumbling and rock of offence.

Thus in *Luke*, x. 16, Jesus declares to his disciples, "He that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me;" intimating by these words, that contempt for the holy doctrines which Christ commissioned his disciples to teach, argued contempt for him by whom Christ himself was sent; but no one will thence infer the deity of those disciples. In vers. 6 and 7 in question, and in ver. 4 of the same chapter of *Peter*, ("To whom coming as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God and precious,") Jesus is distinctly declared to be "*a* stone of stumbling," "*a* living stone chosen of God;" the indefinite article "a" here denoting that he is only one of many such stones. It is surprising that Mr. Jones could overlook these phrases, and conclude upon the identity of Jesus with God from metaphorical language which represents God as "a stumbling stone" of Israel, and Jesus a stumbling stone of those who never believed him. That there is nothing peculiar in Jesus being called a stone or a shepherd, see *Genesis*, xlix. 24, where in a metaphorical sense Joseph is called "the shepherd and the stone of Israel."

The Hebrew language, in common with other Asiatic tongues, frequently indulges in metaphor; and consequently the Old Testament,

written in that language, abounds with expressions which cannot be taken in their literal sense. This, indeed, Jesus himself points out in *John*, x. 34—36, in which he justifies the assumption of the title of Son of God, to denote that he was sanctified and sent of the Father, by shewing that in the Scriptures the name even of God was sometimes metaphorically applied to men of power or exalted rank. Hence we find epithets which in their strict sense in their most common application are peculiar to God, applied to inferior beings, as I have already noticed. But the Scripture avoids affording the least pretext of misunderstanding the real nature of such objects, by various adjuncts and epithets of obvious meaning, quite inapplicable to the Deity. It is melancholy, however, to observe, how frequently men overlook the idiom of the language of Scripture, and (apparently misled by the force of preconceived notions) set aside every expression that modifies those that suit their peculiar ideas.

Were we to admit common phrases applied both to God and to Jesus as a proof of the divinity of the latter, we must upon the same ground be led to acknowledge the deity of Moses, of David, and of other Prophets, who are in common with God, the subjects of peculiar phrases. Moses in *Deut.*, xxx, 15, declares, "See I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil." So Jehovah declares in *Jeremiah*, xxi. 8, "Behold, I set before you the way of life, and the way of death." In conformity to this mode of argument adopted by Trinitarian writers, we should thus conclude from these passages—unless Moses were one with Jehovah, he could not in his own name employ the same authoritative phrase which is used by Jehovah. In the same manner the term 'worship' is equally applied to God and David in *Chronicles*, xxix. 20, "And David said to all the congregation, Now bless the Lord your God. And all the congregation blessed the Lord, God of their fathers, and bowed down their heads, and worshipped the Lord and the king." Whence, according to their mode of argument, every one must find himself justified in drawing the following conclusion: God is the only object of worship—but the term 'worship' is in the Bible applied to David—David must therefore be acknowledged as God.

I have now noticed all the arguments founded on scripture that I have heard of as advanced in support of the doctrine of the Trinity, except such as appeared to me so futile as to be unworthy of remark; and in the course of my examination have plainly stated the grounds

on which I conceive them to be inadmissible. Perhaps my opinions may subject me to the severe censure of those who dissent from me, and some will be ready to discover particular motives for my presuming to differ from the great majority of Christian teachers of the present day in my view of Christianity, with the doctrines of which I have become but recently acquainted. Personal interest can hardly be alleged as likely to have actuated me, and therefore the love of distinction or notoriety may perhaps be resorted to, to account for conduct which they wish it to be believed honest conviction could never direct. In reply to such an accusation, I can only protest in the most solemn manner, that even in the belief that I have been successful in combating the doctrine of Trinitarians, I cannot assume to myself the smallest merit:—for what credit can be gained in proving that one is not three, and that the same being cannot be at once man and God; or in opposing those who maintain, that all who do not admit doctrines so incomprehensible must be therefore subjected by the All-merciful to eternal punishment? It is too true to be denied, that we are led by the force of the senses to believe many things that we cannot fully understand. But where the evidence of sense does not compel us, how can we believe what is not only beyond our comprehension, but contrary to it and to the common course of nature, and directly against revelation; which declares positively the Unity of God as well as his incomprehensibility; but nowhere ascribes to him any number of persons, or any portion of magnitude? *Job*, xxxvi. 26, "Behold, God is great, and we know him not." Ch. xxxvii. 23, "Touching the Almighty, we cannot find him out." *Psalm*, cxlv. 3, "His greatness is unsearchable." Neither are my attempts owing to a strong hope of removing early impressions from the breasts of those whose education instilled certain ideas into their minds from the moment they became capable of receiving them; for notwithstanding great and long-continued exertions on my part to do away Hindoo polytheism, though palpably gross and absurd, my success has been very partial. This experience, therefore, it may be suggested, ought to have been sufficient to discourage me from any other attempt of the kind; but it is my reverence for Christianity, and for the author of this religion, that has induced me to endeavour to vindicate it from the charge of polytheism as far as my limited capacity and knowledge extend. It is indeed mortifying to my feelings to find a religion, that from its sublime

doctrines and pure morality should be respected above all other systems, reduced almost to a level with Hindoo theology, merely by human creeds and prejudices; and from this cause brought to a comparison with the Paganism of ancient Greece; which, while it included a plurality of Gods, yet maintained that Θεὸς ἐστὶ ἕις, or "God is one," and that their numerous divine *persons* were all comprehended in that one Deity.

Having derived my own opinions on this subject entirely from the Scriptures themselves, I may perhaps be excused for the confidence with which I maintain them against those of so great a majority, who appeal, to the same authority for theirs; inasmuch as I attribute the different views, not to any inferiority of judgment compared with my own limited ability, but to the powerful effects of early religious impression; for when these are deep, reason is seldom allowed its natural scope in examining them to the bottom. Were it a practice among Christians to study first the books of the Old Testament as found arranged in order, and to acquire a knowledge of the true force of scriptural phrases and expressions without attending to interpretations given by any sect; and then to study the New Testament, comparing the one with the other, Christianity would not any longer be liable to be encroached upon by human opinions.

I have often observed that English divines, when arguing with those that think freely on religion, quote the names of Locke and Newton as defenders of Christianity; but they totally forget that the Christianity which those illustrious persons professed, did not contain the doctrine of the Trinity, which our divines esteem as the fundamental principle of this religion. For the conviction of the public as to the accuracy of this assertion, I beg to be allowed to extract here a few lines of their respective works, referring my readers to their publications upon religion for more complete information.

Locke's Works, Vol. VII. p. 421: "But that neither he nor others may mistake my book, this is that in short which it says—1st, That there is a faith that makes men Christians—2ndly, That this faith is the believing 'Jesus of Nazareth to be the Messiah'—3rdly, That the believing Jesus to be the Messiah, includes in it a receiving him for our Lord and King, promised and sent from God, and so lays upon all his subjects an absolute and indispensible necessity of assenting to all that they can attain of the knowledge that he taught, and of sincere obedience to all that he commanded."

Sir I. Newton's Observations upon the Prophecies, p. 262: "The Beasts and Elders therefore represent the Christians of all nations; and the worship of these Christians in their churches is here represented under the form of worshipping God and the Lamb in the Temple, God for his benefaction in creating all things, and the Lamb for his benefaction in redeeming us with his blood:—God as sitting upon the throne and living for ever, and the Lamb exalted above all by the merits of his death."

It cannot be alleged that these personages, in imitation of several Grecian philosophers, published these sentiments only in conformity to the vulgar opinion, and to the established religion of their country; for both the vulgar opinion and the religion of the government of England in their days were directly opposite to the opinions which these celebrated men entertained.

The mention of the name of Sir Isaac Newton, one of the greatest mathematicians (if not the greatest) that ever existed, has brought into my recollection a mathematical argument which I some time ago heard a divine adduce in support of the Trinity, and which I feel inclined to consider here, though I am afraid some of my readers may censure me for repeating an argument of this kind. It is as follows: that as three lines compose one triangle, so three persons compose one Deity. It is astonishing that a mind so conversant with mathematical truth as was that of Sir Isaac Newton, did not discover this argument in favour of the possible existence of a Trinity, brought to light by Trinitarians, considering that it must have lain so much in his way. If it did occur to him, its force may possibly have given way to some such considerations as the following:—This analogy between the Godhead and a triangle in the first instance, denies to God, equally with a line, any real existence: for extension of all kinds, abstracted from position or relative situation, exist only in idea. Secondly, It destroys the unity which they attempt to establish between Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; for the three sides of a triangle are convinced of as separate existences. Thirdly, It denies to each of the three persons of God, the epithet "God," inasmuch as each side cannot be designated a triangle; though the Father of the universe is invariably called God in the strict sense of the term. Fourthly, It will afford to that sect among Hindoos who suppose God to consist of four persons, or चतुर्व्यूहात्मक an opportunity of using the same mode of arguing, to shew the reasonableness of their sentiments, by comparing

the compound Deity with the four sides of a quadrilateral figure. Fifthly, This manner of arguing may be esteemed better adopted to support the polytheism of the majority of Hindoos, who believe in numerous persons under one Godhead; for instead of comparing the Godhead with a triangle, a figure containing the fewest sides, and thereby proving the three persons of the Godhead, they might compare God with a polygon, more suitable to the dignified rank of the Deity, and thus establish the consistency with reason of the belief, that the Godhead may be composed of numerous persons. Sixthly, This mode of illustration would, in fact, equally suit the Atheist as the Polytheist. For as the Trinity is represented by the three sides of a triangle, so the eternal revolution of nature without any divine person may be compared to the circle, which is considered as having no sides nor angles; or, Seventhly, As some great mathematicians consider the circle as a polygon, having an infinite number of sides, the illustration of the Trinitarian doctrine by the form of the triangle will by analogy justify those sects, who maintain the existence of an infinite number of persons in the Godhead, in referring for an illustration of their opinions to the circular, or rather perhaps to the globular figure, in which is to be found an infinity of circles, formed each of an infinite number of sides.

As I was concluding this Appendix, a friend to the doctrine of the Trinity kindly lent me Serle's "Horæ solitariæ." I confine here my attention only to four or five arguments, which the author has adduced in the beginning of his work, and that for several reasons. 1st, Because a deliberate attention to the nature of the first-mentioned arguments may furnish the reader with a general idea of the rest, and justify me in neglecting them. 2ndly, Because such of the others as seem to me at all worthy of notice have been already considered and replied to; and, 3rdly, Because I am unwilling to protract further discussion, which has already grown to a length far beyond my original intention.

At page 10, Mr. Serle alleges, that "God says by Moses in the book of Genesis, In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; and then just afterwards, the Spirit moved upon the face of the waters. Here are three persons in one power; the Beginning, God, and the Spirit." If a bare mention of the word "beginning" and "spirit," (or properly speaking "wind,") in the first two verses of Genesis, justifies the numbering of them as two persons of God, how

can we conscientiously omit the "water" mentioned in the same verse as co-existent with "spirit," making it the fourth person, and "darkness" which is mentioned before Spirit, as a fifth person of God: and if under any pretence we are justified in classing "beginning," an abstract relation, as a person of God, how can we deny the same dignity to the "end," which is equally an abstract relation? Nay, the very words of chap. I. 8, of Revelation might be quoted to prove one of the persons of God to be the "ending;"—"I am Alpha and Omega, the BEGINNING and the ENDING, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." We have, then, God, the Beginning, the Spirit, and the Ending, four persons at least whom we must admit into the Godhead, if Mr. Serle's opinion have any foundation.

Page 12: "They (the ancient Chaldee Jews and Cabalists) expressed their idea of the Trinity by this particular type, ִ where the three jods denote Jah, Jah, Jah, or that each of three persons (according to our Athanasian creed) is by himself Jah or Lord:—the point ָ (kametz) as common to each, implies the divine nature in which the three persons equally existed; and the circle, enclosing all was intended to exhibit the perfect unity, eternity, and conjunction, of the whole Trinity." This type, if it existed at any time, can bear various interpretations, Theistical, Polytheistical, or Atheistical; but in Hebrew and Chaldee, the sign which is generally used to denote the Deity has two jods only; a reference to the Targums of Jonathan and Onkelos, written in the Chaldee language, and to other Targums in Hebrew and Chaldee, will establish the fact beyond doubt. This practice, which, according to Mr. Serle's mode of arguing, establishes the duality of God, is entirely overlooked by him.

In the same page again he says, that "in a very ancient book of the Jews, the first person, or Hypostasis, is described as כתר Kather, the crown, or admirable and profound intelligence; the second person חכמה Chochma, wisdom, or the intelligenge illuminating the creation, and the second glory: and the third person בינה Binah or the sanctifying intelligence, the worker of faith and the father of it." He immediately after this assertion notices in page 13, "they believed, taught, and adored three primordial existences in the Godhead, which they called sometimes מדות middoth, or *properties*, and sometimes ספירות sephiroth, or *numerations*." The force of truth here impels the author to contradict himself directly; since he

at one time asserts that the Jews believed them to be the *three* persons of God, and again forgetting what he said, he affirms that the Jews called them *properties*, or *numeration* of properties. The fact is, that when the intercourse between the Jews and Greeks was great, the former, in imitation of the latter, entertained the idea that the Supreme Deity used ten superior intelligences or qualities in the creation of the world; namely, כתר Crown—חכמה Wisdom—בינה Understanding—גדלה Greatness—גבורה Mightiness—תפארת Beauty—נצח Everlasting—הוד Glory—יסוד Foundation—מלכות Kingdom.* But a Godhead consisting of ten persons not suiting Mr. Serle's hypothesis, he omits the last seven, and mentions only the first three, which he denominates a proof of the Trinity.

In page 14, Mr. Serle represents "R. Simeon and the famous Jonathan treating upon the Trisagion, or thrice holy, in the 6th chapter of *Isaiah*," as saying "that the first Holy implies the Father, the second Holy the Son, and the third Holy the Holy Ghost." I therefore give the commentary of Jonathan,† which I have been so fortunate as to procure, in order to shew how zeal in behalf of the Trinity has sometimes led men to forget the claims of care and prudence. Jonathan's Targum on the term "Holy," thrice repeated in *Isaiah*, vi. 3, is as follows:—

קדיש בשמי מרומא עלאה בית שכנתיה קדיש על
ארעא עובד גבורתיה קדיש לעלם ולעלמי עלמיא

"Holy in the most high heavens, the place of his glory—Holy upon the earth, the work of his power—Holy for ever and ever and ever."

Again, in page 14, he says, that "The Jews before Christ had a title for the Godhead consisting of twelve letters, which Maimonides, the most learned of all their writers, owns to have been a compounded name, or name (as was common among the Rabbins) composed of the initial letters of other names. Galatinus from R. Hakkadosh, (who lived about A. D. 150, or rather from Porchetus, Salvaticus, or Raymundus Martini,) believes that these twelve letters were אב, בן ורוח הקדש, i. e. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."

* This opinion is still to be found in the conversation as well as writings of the learned amongst Eastern theologians.

† The copy which is now in my hands was printed in London, by Thomas Roycroft, in the year 1656. It contains, besides the Targum of Jonathan, the original Hebrew text, together with the Septuagint, Syriac, and Arabic translations, each accompanied with a Latin interpretation.

There is no impossibility in the existing of a name of God consisting of twelve letters, as is stated to have been the case on the authority of Maimonides, because we find different names of God, consisting of various numbers of letters. But Mr. Serle, on the authority of Galatinus, a Christian writer, represents these twelve letters as expressing the names of Fathei, Son, and Holy Spirit. I therefore make a few remarks on this head. 1st, Mr. Serle himself expresses his doubts respecting the source from which Galătinus had obtained his information, "*whether from R. Hakkadosh, from Porchetus Salvaticus, or from Raymundus Martini.*" 2ndly, The construction of this sentence of twelve letters is conformable to the European style of writing, but is quite foreign to Hebrew idiom, which requires a conjunction expressed before בן or Son; but the omission of this shews that it must have been invented by one more accustomed to the idiom of European languages, than to that of the Hebrew. 3rdly, Maimonides, the original authority of Mr. Serle, owns that these twelve letters were the initials of other names; whereas Mr. Serle in the explanation of them represents them as composing in themselves three complete names, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, instead of giving a name for each of the twelve letters.

I am not aware how many arguments and illustrations of similar weight and importance to those already discussed may still remain, that have not been brought to my notice; but I trust the inquiry has proceeded sufficiently far to justify me in still adhering to the unity of God as the doctrine taught alike in the Old and in the New Testaments.

I now conclude this Appendix, with repeating my prayer, that a day may soon arrive, when religion shall not be a cause of difference between man and man, and when every one will regard the Precepts of Jesus as the sole Guide to Peace and happiness.

POSTSCRIPT.

Dr. Prideaux, in the fourth volume of his "Connection," (which has very lately come into my hands,) takes a different view of Isaiah, ch. ix. vers. 6, 7, from that which has been offered in the preceding pages. After quoting the words of the prophet according to the English Version, he says, "Christians all hold that this is spoken of the Messiah; and Jonathan, in the Targum which is truly his, doth on that place say the same." Hereby he gives out that this prophecy, including the epithets "Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, and the Prince of Peace," is applied by Jonathan, as by Christians, to the Messiah:—I therefore give here the explanation given by Jonathan to verses 6 and 7, which will sufficiently shew the error Dr. Prideaux has committed.

אמד נביא לבית דןד אדי דכי אתיליד לנא בד אתיהיב
לנא ןקביל אןיתא עלןהי למצדא ןאתקדי שמיה מן קדם
מפליא עצה אלהא גבדא קים לעלמיא סשיחא דשלמא יסי
עלנא ביןמןהי : סגי סגי דבן לעבדן אןדיתא ןלנטדי שלמא
ליתסןף על כןדסי דןד ןעל מלכןתיה לאתקנא יתה ןלסבנה
בדינא ןבןכןתא סכצן ןצד צלמא בסימדא דיי צבאןת
תתצבד דא :

"The prophet says, to the house of David a child is born, to us a son is given, and he will take upon himself the preservation of the law; from the presence of the causer of wonderful counsels, the great God enduring for ever, his name will be called the anointed, (in Heb. Messiah) in whose days peace shall be multiplied upon us." "Greatness shall be multiplied to those who obey the law, and to those who keep peace, there will be no end to the throne of David and of his government: for establishing and for building it with judgment and with justice now and for ever."

Here Jonathan, in direct opposition to Christians, denies to the son so born the epithets "Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, and Everlasting Father;" and applies to him only the title of "The Prince of Peace," (nearly synonymous with Messiah,) on account of

his preserving peace during his reign as was promised of the Messiah. (2 *Kings*, xx. 19: "Is it not good (says Hezekiah) if peace and truth be in my days?" 2 *Chron.*, xxxii. 26: "The wrath of the Lord came not upon them in the days of Hezekiah.") This application of the term anointed (or Messiah) is made to Hezekiah in the same manner as to other eminent kings, often called Messiah in the Sacred Writings:—1 *Samuel*, xii. 3: "Behold, here I am! witness against me before the Lord, and his anointed, (or his Messiah,) the king." 2 *Samuel*, xxiii. 1: "David the son of Jesse said, and the man who was raised up on high, the Messiah of the God of Jacob," &c. Ch. xxii. 51: "He is the tower of salvation for his king, and sheweth mercy to his Messiah, unto David, and to his seed for evermore." 1 *Samuel*, ii. 10: "The Lord shall judge the ends of the earth; and he shall give strength unto his king, and exalt the horn of his Messiah." *Psalm*, xx. 6: "Now know I that the Lord saveth his Messiah." *Isaiah*, xlv. 1: "Thus saith the Lord to his Messiah, to Cyrus." The reign of Hezekiah was so accompanied with peace and success, that some Jewish commentators entertained the opinion that Hezekiah was really the last Messiah promised by God.

R. Hillel,—

אמד דבי הלל אין להם משיה לשדאל שכבד נאכלןהן
בימי הןקיה:

"There is no Messiah for the Israelites, for they enjoined it (i. e. they had him) at the time of Hezekiah."

If Trinitarians still insist in defiance of the above authorities, and under pretence of the word "anointed" or "Messiah," found in the Targum of Jonathan, that his interpretation should be understood of the expected Messiah, then, as far as depends upon the interpretation given by him of verses 6 and 7, they must be compelled to relinquish the idea that he expected a divine deliverer. Moreover, all other celebrated Jewish writers, some of whom are more ancient than Jonathan, apply the passage in question to Hezekiah, some of them differing, however, from him in the application of the epithets contained in verse 6.

Talmud Sanhedrim, ch. 11, "God said, let Hezekiah, who has five names, take vengeance upon the king of Assyria, who has taken upon himself five names also." R. Sholomo follows the annotation made by Shammai. "For a child is born, &c. Though Ahaz was wicked, his son, who was born to him to be a king in his stead, shall

be righteous, the government of God and his yoke shall be on his shoulder, because he shall obey the law and keep the commandments thereof, and shall incline his shoulder to the burthen of God.—And he calls his name, &c. God, who is the wonderful counsellor, and the mighty and everlasting Father, called his name the Prince of Peace, for peace and truth shall be in his days."*

The reader will not suppose the application of the terms "wonderful counsellor, mighty God, everlasting Father, and prince of peace," to Hezekiah, to be unscriptural, when he refers to page 216 of this work, and considers the following passages, in which the same epithets are used for human beings and even for inanimate objects. 2 Chron., ii. 9, "The house which I am about to build shall be wonderful great." Micah, iv. 9, "Is there no king in thee? Is thy counsellor perished?" Genesis, xxiii. 6, "Hear us: thou art a mighty Prince amongst us." Judges, ix. 13, "Should I leave my wine which cheereth God and man?" that is, master and servant. 2 Thess., ii. 4. "Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God." Gen., xlix. 26, "To the utmost bound of the everlasting hills." I Samuel, iv. 8, "Who shall deliver us out of the hands of these mighty gods?" which Cruden interprets of the Jewish ark. Isaiah, xliii. 28, "Therefore I have profaned the princes of the sanctuary."

I wonder how those who found their opinion respecting the Trinity on terms applied in common to God and creatures, can possibly overlook the plain meaning of the term "Son," or "Only-begotten," continually applied to the Saviour throughout the whole of the New Testament; for should we understand the term God, in its strict sense, as denoting the First Cause, (that is a being not born nor begotten,) we must necessarily confess that the idea of God is as incompatible with the idea of the "Son," or "Only-begotten," as entity is with non-entity; and therefore that to apply both terms to the same being will amount to the grossest solecism in language.

* It is worth noticing, that "to be called" and "to be" do not invariably signify the same thing; since the former does not always imply that the thing is in reality what it is called, but the use of it is justified when the thing is merely *taken notice of* in that view. See Luke, i. 36, "This is the sixth month with her who was called (that is, reputed) barren." Isaiah, lxi. 3. "That they might be called (or accounted) trees of righteousness." This is more especially the case when the phrase "to be called" has for its subject not a person, but the *name* of a person. See Deut, xxv. 10, "And his name shall be called in Israel, *the house of him that* hath his shoe loosed," Genesis, xlviii, 16, "Let my name be named on them."

As to their assertion, that there are found in the Scriptures two sets of terms and phrases, one declaring the humanity of Jesus, and another his deity, and that he must therefore be acknowledged to have possessed a twofold nature, human and divine, I have fully noticed it in other places pointing out such passages as contain two sets of terms and phrases applied also to Moses and even to the chiefs of Israel and to others ; and that if it is insisted upon, that each word in the Sacred Writings should be taken in its strict sense, Moses and others, equally with the Saviour, must be considered as gods, and the religion of the Jews and Christians will appear as Polytheistical as that of Heathens.

Although there is the strictest consistency between all the passages in the sacred books, Trinitarians with a view to support their opinion, charge them first with inconsistency, and then attempt to reconcile the alleged contradiction by introducing the doctrine of the union of two natures, divine and human, in one person, forgetting that at the same time the greatest incongruity exists between the nature of God and man, according to both revelation and common sense.

If Christianity inculcated a doctrine which represents God as consisting of three persons, and appearing sometimes in the human form, at other times in a bodily shape like a dove, no Hindoo, in my humble opinion, who searches after truth, can conscientiously profess it in preference to Hindooism; for that which renders the modern Hindoo system of religion absurd and detestable, is that it represents the divine nature, though one (एकं ब्रह्म), as consisting of many persons, capable of assuming different forms for the discharge of different offices. I am, however, most firmly convinced, that Christianity is entirely free from every trace of Polytheism, whether gross or refined. I therefore enjoy the approbation of my conscience in publishing the Precepts of this religion as the sources of Peace and Happiness.

FINAL APPEAL

TO

THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC

IN DEFENCE OF

"THE PRECEPTS OF JESUS."

BY

RAMMOHUN ROY.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AT THE UNITARIAN PRESS, DHURMTOLLAH.

1823.

PREFACE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the apprehension of exciting displeasure in the breasts of many worthy men, I feel myself obliged to lay before the public at large this my self-defence, entitled "A FINAL APPEAL to the Christian Public." I, however, confidently hope that the liberal among them will be convinced, by a reference to the first part of this Essay, and to my two former Appeals, that the necessity of self-vindication against the charge of being an "injurer of the cause of truth," has compelled me, as a warm friend of that cause, to bring forward my reasons for opposing the opinions maintained by so large a body of men highly celebrated for learning and piety—a consideration which, I trust, will induce them to regard my present labours with an eye of indulgence.

I am well aware that this difference of sentiment has already occasioned much coolness towards me in the demeanour of some whose friendship I hold very dear; and that this protracted controversy has not only prevented me from rendering my humble services to my countrymen by various publications which I had projected in the native languages, but has also diverted my attention from all other literary pursuits for three years past. Notwithstanding these sacrifices, I feel well satisfied with my present engagements, and cannot wish that I had pursued a different course; since, whatever may be the opinion of the world, my own conscience fully approves of my past endeavours to defend what I esteem the cause of truth.

In my present vindication of the unity of the Deity, as revealed through the writings of the Old and New Testaments, I appeal not only to those who sincerely believe in the books of revelation, and make them the standard of their faith and practice, and who must, therefore, deeply feel the great importance of the divine oracles being truly interpreted; but I also appeal to those who, although indifferent about religion, yet devote their minds to the investigation and discovery of truth, and who will, therefore, not think it unworthy of their attention to ascertain what are the genuine doctrines of Christianity as taught by Christ and his apostles, and how much it has

been corrupted by the subsequent intermixture of the polytheistical ideas that were familiar to its Greek and Roman converts, and which have continued to disfigure it in succeeding ages. I extend my appeal yet further ; I solicit the patient attention of such individuals as are rather unfavourable to the doctrines of Christianity as generally promulgated, from finding them at variance with common sense, that they may examine and judge whether its doctrines are really such as they are understood to be by the popular opinion which now prevails.

I feel assured that if religious controversy be carried on with that temper and language which are considered by wise and pious men as most consistent with the solemn and sacred nature of religion, and more especially with the mild spirit of Christianity, the truths of it cannot, for any length of time, be kept concealed under the imposing veil of high-sounding expressions, calculated to astonish the imagination and rouse the passions of the people, and thereby keep alive and strengthen the preconceived notions with which such language has in their minds been, from infancy, associated. But I regret that the method which has hitherto been observed in inquiry after religious truth, by means of large publications, necessarily issued at considerable intervals of time, is not, for several reasons, so well adapted to the speedy attainment of the proposed object, as I, and other friends of true religion, could wish. These reasons are as follows :—

1st. Many readers have not sufficient leisure or perseverance to go through a voluminous essay, that they may make up their minds and come to a settled opinion on the subject.

2ndly. Those who have time at their command, and interest themselves in religious researches, finding the real point under discussion mixed up with injurious insinuations and personalities, soon feel discouraged from proceeding further, long before they can come to a determination.

3rdly. The multiplicity of arguments and various interpretations of numerous scriptural passages, that bear often no immediate relation to the subject, or to each other, introduced in succession, distract and dishearten such readers as are not accustomed to Biblical studies, and interrupt their further progrese.

As Christianity is happily not a subject resting on vague metaphysical speculations, but is founded upon the authority of books written in languages which are understood and explained according

to known and standing rules, I therefore propose, with a view to the more speedy and certain attainment of religious truth, to establish a monthly periodical publication, commencing from the month of April next, to be devoted to Biblical Criticism, and to subject Unitarian as well as Trinitarian doctrines to the test of fair argument, if those of the latter persuasion will consent thus to submit the scriptural grounds on which their tenets concerning the Trinity are built.

For the sake of method and convenience, I propose that, beginning with the Book of Genesis, and taking all the passages in that portion of Scripture, which are thought to countenance the doctrine of the Trinity, we should examine them one by one, and publish our observations upon them; and that next month we proceed in the same manner with the Book of Exodus, and so on with all the Books of the Old and New Testaments, in their regular order.

If any one of the Missionary Gentlemen, for himself, and in behalf of his fellow-labourers, choose to profit by the opportunity thus afforded them, of defending and diffusing the doctrines they have undertaken to preach, I request, that an Essay on the Book of Genesis, of the kind above intimated, may be sent me by the middle of the month and if confined within reasonable limits, not exceeding a dozen or sixteen pages, I hereby engage to cause it to be printed and circulated at my own charge, should the Missionary Gentlemen refuse to bestow any part of the funds intended for the spread of Christianity towards this object; and also, that a reply (not exceeding the same number of pages) to the arguments adduced, shall be published along with it by the beginning of the ensuing month. That this new mode of controversy, by short monthly publications, may be attended with all the advantages which, I, in common with other searchers after truth, expect, and of which it is capable, it will be absolutely necessary that nothing be introduced, of a personal nature, or calculated to hurt the feelings of individuals—that we avoid all offensive expressions, and such arguments as have no immediate connection with the subject, and can only serve to retard the progress of discovery; and that we never allow ourselves for a moment to forget that we are engaged in a solemn religious disputation.

As religion consists in a code of duties which the creature believes he owes to his Creator, and as "God has no respect for persons; but in *every nation*, he that fears him and *works righteousness*, is accepted with him;" it must be considered presumptuous and unjust for

one man to attempt to interfere with the religious observances of others, for which he well knows, he is not held responsible by any law, either human or divine. Notwithstanding, if mankind are brought into existence, and by nature formed to enjoy the comforts of society and the pleasures of an improved mind, they may be justified in opposing any system, religious, domestic, or political, which is inimical to the happiness of society, or calculated to debase the human intellect; bearing always in mind that we are children of ONE Father, "who is above *all* and through *all* and in us *all*."

Calcutta, January 30, 1823.

NOTICE.*

All the preceding works of the author on the subject of Christianity were printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta; but the acting proprietor of that press having, since the publication of the Second Appeal, declined, although in the politest manner possible, printing any other work that the author might publish on the same subject, he was under the necessity of purchasing a few types for his own use, and of depending principally upon native superintendence for the completion of the greater part of this work. This must form an apology to the public for the imperfections that may appear in its typographical execution.

* This notice appeared in the First Edition, published in Calcutta.—Ed.

FINAL APPEAL.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Remarks.

NEARLY a month having elapsed after the publication of the fourth number of the quarterly series of* the "Friend of India," before it happened to reach me, and other avocations and objects having subsequently engaged my attention, I have not till lately had leisure to examine the laborious essay on the doctrines of the Trinity and Atonement, at the conclusion of that Magazine, offered in refutation of my "Second Appeal to the Christian Public." For the able and condensed view of the arguments in support of those doctrines which that publication presents, I have to offer the Reviewer my best thanks, though the benefit I have derived from their perusal is limited to a corroboration of my former sentiments. I must, at the same time, beg permisson to notice a few unjust insinuations in some parts of his Essay; but in so doing, I trust, no painful emotions, neither of that salutary kind alluded to by the Editor, nor of any other, will make their appearance in my remarks.

The Rev. Editor charges me with the arrogance of taking upon myself "to teach doctrines directly opposed to those held by the mass of real Christians in every age." To vindicate myself from the presumption with which I am here charged, and to shew by what necessity I have been driven to the publication of opinions unacceptable to many esteemed characters, I beg to call the attention of the public to the language of the Introduction to "The Precepts of Jesus," compiled by me, and which was my first publication connected with Christianity. They may observe therein, that, so far from teaching any "opposite doctrines," or "rejecting the prevailing opinions held by the great body of Christians," I took every precaution against giving the least offence to the prejudices of any one, and consequently

* The Final Appeal was published in reply to the elaborate answer to the Second Appeal, by Dr. Marshman, printed in the fourth number of the Quarterly Series of the Friend of India, December, 1821.—ED.

limited my labour to what I supposed best calculated for the improvement of those whose received opinions are widely different from those of Christians. My words are—"I decline entering into any discussions on those points, (the dogmas of Christianity,) and confine my attention at present to the task of laying before my fellow-creatures the words of Christ, with a translation from the English into Sanscrit and the language of Bengal. I feel persuaded that, by separating from the other matters contained in the New Testament the moral precepts found in that book, these will be likely to produce the desirable effects of improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions and degrees of understanding."—(Introduction, p. 4.) The Precepts of Jesus, which I was desirous of teaching, were not, I hoped, "opposed to the doctrines held by the mass of real Christians," nor did my language in the Introduction imply the "rejection of those truths which the great body of the learned and pious have concurred in deeming fully contained in the sacred Scriptures."

Notwithstanding all this precaution, however, I could not evade the reproach and censure of the Editor, who not only expressed, in the "Friend of India," No. 20, his extreme disapprobation of the compilation in a manner calculated more to provoke than lead to search after truth but also indulged himself in calling me an injurer of the cause of truth. Disappointed as I was, I took refuge in the liberal protection of the public, by appealing to them against the unexpected attacks of the Editor. In that appeal I carefully avoided entering into any discussion as to the doctrines held up as the fundamental principles of Christianity by the Editor. The language of my first appeal is this: "Humble as he (the Compiler) is, he has therefore adopted those measures which he thought most judicious to spread the truth in an acceptable manner; but I am sorry to observe that he (the Compiler) has unfortunately and unexpectedly met with opposition from those whom he considered the last persons likely to oppose him on this subject." (Page 91). "Whether or not he (the Compiler) has erred in his judgment, that point must be determined by those who will candidly peruse and consider the arguments already advanced on this subject, bearing in mind the lesson particularly taught by the Saviour himself, of adapting his instructions to the susceptibility and capacity of his hearers. John, xvi. 12: 'I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.'" (Page 92.) "What benefit or peace of mind can we bestow upon a Musalman, who is an entire stranger to the Christian

world, by communicating to him, without preparatory instruction, all the peculiar dogmas of Christianity?" (Page 92.) "The Compiler, having obviously in view at least one object in common with the Reviewer and Editor, that of procuring respect for the precepts of Christ, might have reasonably expected more charity from professed teachers of his doctrine." (Page 80.) In reviewing the First Appeal, the Reverend Editor fully introduced the doctrines of the Godhead of Jesus and the Holy Ghost, and of the Atonement, as the only foundation of Christianity; whereby he compelled me, as a professed believer of one God, to deny, for the first time publicly, those doctrines; and now he takes occasion to accuse me of presumption in teaching doctrines which he has himself compelled me to avow.

The Editor assigns, as a reason for entering on this controversy, that after a review of the "Precepts of Jesus, and the First Appeal," he "felt some doubt whether their author fully believed the Deity of Christ," and, consequently, he "adduced a few passages from the Scriptures to confirm this doctrine." He then adds, that this Second Appeal to the Christian public confirms all that he before only feared. (Page 1.) I could have scarcely credited this assertion of the Reviewer's unacquaintance with my religious opinions, if the allegation had come from any other quarter; for both in my conversation and correspondence with as many Missionary gentlemen, old and young, as I have had the honour to know, I have never hesitated, when required, to offer my sentiments candidly, as to the unscripturality and unreasonableness of the doctrine of the Trinity. On one occasion particularly, when on a visit to one of the Reverend colleagues of the Editor, at Serampore, long before the time of these publications, I discussed the subject with that gentleman at his invitation; and then fully manifested my disbelief of this doctrine, taking the liberty of examining successively all the arguments he, from friendly motives, urged upon me in support of it. Notwithstanding these circumstances, I am inclined to believe, from my confidence in the character of the Editor, that either those Missionary gentlemen that were acquainted with my religious sentiments have happened to omit the mention of them to him, or he has forgotten what they had communicated on this subject, when he entered on the review of my publications on Christianity.

In page 503, the Editor insinuates that vanity had led me to presume that "freedom from the powerful effects of early religious

imprsesions" has enabled me to "discover the truths of scripture, in its most important doctrines, more fully in three or four years, than others have done by most unremitting study in thirty or forty." The doctrine of the Trinity appears to me so obviously unscriptural, that I am pretty sure, from my own experience and that of others that no one, possessed of merely common sense, will fail to find its unscripturality after a methodical study of the Old and New Testaments, unless previously impressed in the early part of his life with creeds, and forms of speech preparing the way to that doctrine. No pride, therefore, can be supposed for a moment to have arisen from commonly attainable success. The Editor might be fully convinced of this fact, were he to engage a few independent and diligent natives to study attentively, both the Old and New Testaments in their original languages, and then to offer their sentiments as to the doctrine of the Trinity being scriptural or a mere human invention.

To hold up to ridicule my suggestions in the Second Appeal, to study first the books of the Old Testament, unbiassed by ecclesiastic opinions, imbibed in early life, and then to study the New Testament, the Reverend Editor states, that "could it be relied on indeed," my compendious method "would deserve notice, with a view to Christian education; as," on my plan, "the most certain way of enabling any one to discover, in a superior manner, the truths and doctrines of Christianity, is to leave him till the age of thirty or forty, without any religious impression."—(Page 503) I do not in the least wonder at his disapprobation of my suggestion; as the Editor, in common with other professors of traditional opinions, is sure of supporters of his favourite doctrine, so long as it is inculcated on the minds of youths, and even infants, who, being once thoroughly impressed with the name of the Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity, long before they can think for themselves, must be always inclined, even after their reason has become matured, to interpret the sacred books, even those texts which are evidently inconsistent with this doctrine, in a manner favourable to their prepossessed opinion, whether their study be continued for three, or thirty, or twice thirty years. Could Hindooism continue after the present generation, or bear the studious examination of a single year, if the belief of their idols being endued with animation were not carefully impressed on the young before they come to years of understanding?

Let me here suggest, that, in my humble opinion, no truly liberal and wise parent can ever take advantage of the unsuspecting and confiding credulity of his children to impress them with an implicit belief in any set of abstruse doctrines, and intolerance of all other opinions, the truth or reasonableness of which they are incapable of estimating. Still less would he urge by threats the danger of present and eternal punishment, for withholding a blind assent to opinions they are unable to comprehend. Parents are bound, by every moral tie, to give their children such an education as may be sufficient to render them capable of exercising their reason as rational and social beings, and of forming their opinion on religious points, without ill-will towards others, from a thorough investigation of the scriptures, and of the evidence and arguments adduced by teachers of different persuasions. Judgments, thus formed, have a real claim to respect from those who have not the means of judging for themselves. But of what consequence is it, in a question of truth or error, to know how the matter at issue has been considered, even for a hundred generations, by those who have blindly adopted the creed of their fathers? Surely the unbiassed judgment of a person who has proceeded to the study of the Sacred Scriptures, with an anxious desire to discover the truth they contain, even if his researches were to be continued but for a single twelve-month, ought, as far as authority goes in such matters, to outweigh the opinions of any number who have either not thought at all for themselves, or have studied after prejudice have laid hold of their minds. What fair inquiry respecting the doctrine of the Trinity can be expected from one who has been, on the bosom of his mother, constantly taught to ask the blessing of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, and to hear the very name of Unitarian with horror? Have the doctrines of the Vedanta ever succeeded in suppressing polytheism amongst the generality of Hindoos, brought up with the notion of the Godhead of the sun of fire, and of water, and of the separate and independent existence of the allegorical representations of the attributes of God? Were the sublime works, written by the learned among the Greeks, ever able to shake the early acquired superstitious notions and polytheistical faith of the generality of their countrymen? Nay, even when Christian converts became numerous, did not those who were brought up in the ancient superstition introduce some vestiges of their idolatry into their new persuasion? In fact, nothing

can more surely impede the progress of truth, than prejudice instilled into minds blank to receive impressions; and the more unreasonable are the doctrines of a religion, the greater pains are taken by the supporters of them to plant them in the readily susceptible minds of youth.

The Editor has filled a complete page in proving that, besides early impressed prejudices, there are also other causes of error in judgment—an attempt which might have been dispensed with; for I never limited the sources of mistake in examining religious matters to early impression alone. I attributed only the prevailing errors in Christianity to traditional instructions inculcated in childhood, as the language of my Second Appeal will shew: "Having derived my own opinions on this subject entirely from the Scriptures themselves, I may perhaps be excused for the confidence with which I maintain them against those of so great a majority, who appeal to the same authority for theirs; inasmuch as I attribute their different views, not to any inferiority of judgment compared with my own limited ability, but to the powerful effects of early religious impressions; for when these are deep, reason is seldom allowed its natural scope in examining them to the bottom." (P. 235.) If the Editor doubts the accuracy of this remark, he might soon satisfy himself of its justice, were he to listen to the suggestion offered in the preceding paragraph, with a view to ascertain whether the doctrine of the Trinity rests for its belief on scriptural authorities, or on early religious impressions.

The Editor mentions, ironically, (in page 3,) that my success in scriptural studies was such "as to prove that the most learned and pious in every age of the church have been so completely mistaken as to transform the pure religion of Jesus into the most horrible idolatry." In answer to this, I only beg to ask the Rev. Editor to let me know first what a Protestant in the fifteenth century could have answered, if he had been thus questioned by a Roman Catholic: "Is your success in examining the truths of scripture such as to prove that the most learned and pious in every age of the church have been so completely mistaken as to transform the pure religion of Jesus into the most horrible idolatry, by introducing the worship of Mary the mother of God, and instituting images in churches, as well as by acknowledging the Pope as the head of the church, vested with the power of forgiving sins?" Would not his answer be this, "My success is indeed so

as to prove these doctrines to be unscriptural. As to your inferences, they are no more divine than mine; and though I do not doubt the piety and learning of many Christians of your church in every age, I am persuaded that many corruptions, introduced into the Christian religion by the Roman heathens converted in the fourth and fifth centuries, have been handed down through successive generations by impressions made in the early part of life, and have taken such root in the minds of men, that piety and learning have fallen short of eradicating prejudices nourished by church and state, as well as by the vulgar superstition and enthusiasm." Were this reply justifiable, I also might be allowed to offer the following answer: "I find not the doctrine of the Trinity in the scriptures; I cannot receive any human creed for divine truth; but, without charging the supporters of this doctrine with impiety or fraud, humbly attribute their misinterpretation of the Scriptures to 'early religious impressions.'"

The Editor assigns as a reason for his omission of several arguments, adduced in the Second Appeal, that "we have before us a work of a hundred and seventy-three pages, to an examination of which we can scarcely devote half that number: and while to leave a single page unnoticed, might by some be deemed equivalent to leaving it unanswered, the mere transcription of the passages to be answered, were it done in every instance, would occupy nearly all the room we can give the reply itself. We shall therefore adduce such evidence for these doctrines, as, if sound, will render every thing urged against them nugatory, though not particularly noticed." To enable the public to compare the extent of the Second Appeal with that of the Review, I beg to observe, that the former contains 173 widely printed and the latter 128 closely printed pages, and that if any one will take the trouble of comparing the number of words per page in the two Essays, he will soon satisfy himself that the one is as long as the other. I will afterwards notice, in the course of the present reply, whether or not "the evidence of these doctrines," adduced by the Editor in the Review, has still left a great many arguments in the Appeal quite unanswered.

In his attempt to prove the insufficiency of the Precepts of Jesus to procure men peace and happiness, the Rev. Editor advanced the following position, "that the most excellent precepts, the most perfect law, can never lead to happiness and peace, unless by causing men to take refuge in the doctrine of the cross," (No. 1, Quarterly Series of

the Friend of India, page 111,) without adducing any arguments having reference to the position. I therefore brought to his recollection (in my First and Second Appeals) such authorities of the gracious author of Christianity, as I conceived established the sufficiency of these precepts for leading to comfort, and solicited the Editor "to point out, in order to establish his position, even a single passage pronounced by Jesus, enjoining refuge in the doctrine of the cross, as all-sufficient or indispensable for salvation." (P. 118 of the Second Appeal.) The Editor instead of endeavouring to demonstrate the truth of his assertion as to the insufficiency of the precepts to conduct men to happiness, or shewing a single passage of the nature applied for, introduces a great number of other passages of Scripture which he thinks well calculated to prove that the death of Jesus was an atonement for the sins of mankind. I regret that the Editor should have adopted such an irregular mode of arguing in solemn religious discussion; and I still more regret to find that some readers should overlook the want of connection between the position advanced and the authorities adduced by the Editor. Were we both to adopt such a mode of controversy as to cite passages apparently favourable to our respective opinions without adhering to the main ground, the number of his Reviews, and of my Appeals, would increase at least in proportion to the number of the years of our lives; for verses and quotations of scripture, if unconnected with their context, and interpreted without regard to the idiom of the languages in which they were written, may, as experience has shewn, be adduced to support any doctrine whatever; and the Editor may always find a majority of readers of the same religious sentiments with himself, satisfied with any thing that he may offer, either in behalf of the Trinity, or in support of the Atonement.

Whether Jesus died actually as a sacrifice for the sins of men, or merely in the fulfilment of the duties of his office as the Messiah, as it was predicted. is merely a matter of opinion the truth of which can only be ascertained from a diligent examination of the terms used and doctrines set forth in the evangelical writings. This however has no relation to a proof or disproof of the sufficiency of his precepts for salvation. In order to come to a conclusion, as to the value of the Precepts of Jesus being either really effectual or merely nominal, I deem it necessary to repeat a few passages already quoted in my Appeals, to ask the Editor, whether they demand explicit

belief or are unworthy of credit; and in case he admit the former alternative, I should beg to ask him, whether they confirm the opinion that the precepts preached by Jesus are sufficient to lead men to eternal peace and happiness, or are a set of sentences delivered by him conformably to the principles of his hearers, similar to other codes of moral law written by the ancient philosophers of Greece, Egypt, and India? The passages in question are as follow:

Mark, xii, 29: "Jesus answered him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment. And the second is like unto it, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these." Is there another commandment absolutely enjoining refuge in the doctrine of the cross, so as to shew that these two commandments are insufficient for salvation, and comparatively insignificant?

Matthew, vii. 24: "Therefore, whosoever heareth these sayings of mine," (alluding to the precepts contained in chs. v. vi. and vii.) "and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man who built his house upon a rock," &c. Are not these sayings declared by Jesus to afford a stable foundation, on which may be raised the indestructible edifice of eternal life? John, xv. 10: "If ye keep my commandments ye shall abide in my love." Ver. 14: "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you." I therefore again ask the Rev. Editor to shew a commandment of Jesus directing refuge in the doctrine of the cross, in the same explicit way as he has enjoined love to God and to neighbours, and obedience to his precepts as sufficient means for attaining eternal happiness. Did not Jesus in Matthew, xxv. 31, et seq. by means of a parable in the description of the day of judgment, declare that acts of charity and beneficence toward fellow-creatures will be accepted as the manifestation of love towards God, and be the sufficient cause of eternal life?

With a view to depreciate the weight of the following explicit promise of Jesus, "Do this and thou shalt live," the Editor interprets, (p. 509,) that "Jesus taking him" (the lawyer) "on his own principles, as though he had been, what he vainly imagined himself, a sinless man who needed no saviour, directed him to the whole of the divine law, adding, 'This do, and thou shalt live,' though he knew

that it was utterly impossible for that lawyer to observe his instructions." The Editor, however, quite forgot that by his attempt to undervalue the precepts of Jesus, he was actually degrading the dignity of the author of them; for according to his interpretation, it appears, that as the lawyer tempted Jesus by putting to him a question which he thought the Saviour could not answer, so Jesus, in return, tempted him, by directing him to do what he knew to be impossible for man to perform, though this very teacher forbids others to shew revenge even to enemies. Did Jesus take also the Scribe "upon his own principles," by instructing in these two commandments?*—a man who was never inclined to tempt Jesus, but having heard him reasoning, "and perceiving that he had answered well, asked him, Which is the first commandment of all?† and when he heard the reply of Jesus, he said, "Well, Master thou hast said the truth,"—a man whom Jesus declared to be at least out of danger of hell for his acknowledgment of the truth of his precepts as the means of salvation, telling him, "*Thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven?*" Did Jesus on the Mount take also his disciples "upon their own principle," as though they had been, what they vainly imagined themselves, sinless men who needed no Saviour, in directing them to his precepts, the observance of which he knew utterly impossible, and in holding out promises‡ of eternal salvation as the necessary consequence of their obedience to those sayings?—Were we to follow the mode of interpretation adopted in this instance by the Editor, the Bible would serve only to suit our convenience, and would not be esteemed any longer as a guide to mankind; for according to the same mode of interpretation, would it not be justifiable to explain Matthew, xxviii. 19, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations baptizing them," &c. that Jesus took his apostles "upon their own principle," as firmly persuaded to believe in the sanctification attainable by the baptism introduced by John the Baptist, although he was aware that immersion in water could produce no effect in changing the state of the heart!

In reply to his question, "Did Jesus, who knew the hearts of all, regard this lawyer as perfectly sinless, an exception to all mankind?" (Page 9) I must say that the context seems to me to shew that neither Jesus considered the lawyer to be a sinless, perfect man, (as is evident from his directing him to the scriptures for a guide to

* Mark, xii. 29. † Mark, xii. 28—34. ‡ Matthew, vii. 24, 25.

salvation,) "Do this and thou shalt live," and "Go and do thou likewise:" nor did the lawyer vainly imagine himself "a sinless man who needed no Saviour," though he endeavoured to put the claim of Jesus to that title, to the proof, in these words, "Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life"?

Although I declared (in the Second Appeal, page 116) that by the term "law" in the verse "If righteousness come by the law, Christ is dead in vain," all the commandments found in the books of Moses are understood, yet the Rev. Editor charges me with an unintelligible expression, and intimates his inability to ascertain whether I meant by "law" the ceremonial or the moral part of the books of Moses. (Page 507,) I therefore beg to explain the verse more fully, that the Rev. Editor may have an opportunity of commenting upon it at large. St. Paul, knowing the efficacy of the perfection introduced by Jesus into the law given by Moses, declares, that had the system of the Mosaical law been sufficient to produce light among the Jews and Gentiles without being perfected by Jesus, this attempt made by Christ to perfect it would have been superfluous, and his death, which was the consequence of his candid instructions, would have been to no purpose.

The Editor notices frequently my expression of the neglect of duty on the part of man to the Creator and to his fellow-creatures, nevertheless, he fills up more than two pages in proving this point. He has not, however, attempted to counteract the force of the passages I quoted in both of my Appeals, shewing that the guilt occasioned by the want of due obedience to the precepts in question may be pardoned through repentance prescribed by the author of those precepts as the sure and only remedy for human failure. I therefore beg to ask the Editor to give a plain explanation of the following passages selected from my Appeals, that the reader may be able to judge whether or not repentance can procure us the blessings of pardon for our constant omissions in the discharge of the duties laid down in the precepts of Jesus. Luke, v., 32 : of "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Does not Jesus here declare a chief object of his mission to be the calling of sinners to repentance? Luke, xxiv. 47 : "That repentance and remission of sins should be preached, in his name, among all nations." Did not Jesus, by this commandment to his disciples, declare the remission of sins as an immediate and necessary consequence of repentance? In Luke, xiii. 3, "Except ye

repent, ye shall all likewise perish," the indispensability of repentance for the forgiveness of sins is explicitly declared. Is not also the mercy of God illustrated by the example of a father forgiving the transgressions of his son through his sincere repentance alone, in the parable of the prodigal son ? Those who place confidence in the divine mission of Jesus, or even in his veracity, will not hesitate, I trust, for a moment, to admit that Jesus has directed us to sincere repentance as the only means of procuring pardon, knowing the inability of men to give entire obedience to his precepts ; and that Jesus would have recommended the lawyer, whom he directed to righteousness, to have recourse to repentance "had he gone and sincerely attempted" to obey his precepts "watching his own heart to discern those constant neglects of the duty he owed to the Creator and to his fellow-creatures," and then applied to Jesus for the remedy of his discerned imperfections.

I find abundant passages in the Old Testament also, representing other sources than sacrifice, as sufficient means of procuring pardon for sin. Psalm, li. 17. "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit ; a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Ezekiel, xviii. 30 : "Repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions ; so iniquity shall not be your ruin." Proverbs, xvi. 6 : "By mercy and truth iniquity is purged, and by the fear of the Lord men depart from evil." Isaiah, i. 18 : "Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord. Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow ; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool."

To shew the inefficacy of repentance to procure pardon, the Editor appeals to human justice, which, as he says, "inquires not about the repentance of the robber and murderer, but respecting his guilt. The law, indeed, knows no repentance."—(page 506.) I therefore wish to know whether or not human justice suffers an innocent man to be killed, to atone for the guilt of theft or murder commited by another? It is at all events, more consistent with justice, that a judge who has the privilege of shewing mercy, should forgive the crimes of those that truly feel the pain and distress of mind inseparable from sincere repentance, than that he should put an innocent man to death, or destroy his own life, to atone for the guilt of some of his condemend culprits.

CHAPTER II.

Inquiry into the Doctrine of the Atonement.

In his first Review, the Editor began with what he considered "the most abstruse, and yet the most important of Christian doctrines, the Deity of Jesus Christ." and then proceeded to substantiate the doctrine of his atonement. I therefore followed this course of arrangement in my Second Appeal; but as the Editor has introduced the doctrine of the atonement of Jesus first in the present Review, I will also arrange my reply accordingly.

The Editor quotes first, Genesis, iii., 15:—"I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." From this passage he attempts to deduce the atonement of Jesus for the sins of men, demanding, "What could a reptile feel, relative to the fate of its offspring, through future ages? of what individual serpents did the seed of the woman break the head, so as for it to bruise his heel?" "Jesus, then," he affirms, "is the seed of the woman who suffered from the malice af Satan, while he, on the cross, destroyed his power by atoning for sin and reconciling man to God."—(Page 517.) I admit that a reptile, as far as human experience goes, is incapable of feeling "relative to the fate of its offspring through future ages;" but I wish to know if a mere reptile could have the power of conversation, so as to persuade a woman to adhere to its advice; whether the ass of Balaam could be possessed of the power of seeing exclusively the angel of God, and conversing with its own master Balaam? and whether ravens could diligently supply the wants of Elijah, by bringing him bread and flesh morning and evening? Are not these occurrences equally difficult to reconcile to "common sense" as the case of the serpent is, according to the Editor? Yet we find these stated in the sacred books and we are taught to believe them as they stand. Can we justly attempt to represent the ass, and those ravens also, as either angelical or demoniacal spirits, in the same way as the reptile is represented by the Editor to have been no other than Satan? We might, in that case, be permitted to give still greater latitude to metaphor, so as to take all the facts

found in the Bible as merely allegorical representations; but would not the consequence of such interpretations be most dangerous to the cause of truth? The verse in question, with its context, thus runs:—"And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above* all cattle and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel," Do not the phrases, "Thou art cursed above *all cattte*, and "above *every beast* of the field," shew clearly that the serpent thus addressed was really no spirit in borrowed form, but the animal so denominated? Does not the circumstance of the serpent being condemned to move upon its belly, and to eat dust all the days of its life, evidently imply that the serpent thus cursed was of the same class that we now see subject to that very malediction to the present day? The sins of fathers are declared in the Scriptures to have been visited by God on their posterity; would it not be, therefore, more consistent with scriptural authorities to attribute the misery of serpents to the heinous conduct of their first origin, than to Satan, of whom no mention is made throughout the chapter in question?

But, in fact, has the power of Satan over the seed of the woman been destroyed? The consequences of the sin which our first parents committed by the ill advice of the reptile, and which they implanted in the nature of their posterity, have been, that women bring forth children in sorrow, and are ruled by their husbands, and that the earth brings forth thorns also and thistles to men, who eat the herb of the field with labour, and return at last to dust. (Genesis, iii. 16—19.) If Jesus actually atoned for sin, and delivered men from its consequences, how can those men and women, who believe in his atonement, be still, equally with others, liable to the evil effects of the sins already remitted by the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus?

If, notwithstanding all the above-stated facts and arguments the Editor still insists that Satan should be understood by the reptile mentioned in the verse, and Jesus by the seed of the woman, yet his interpretation cannot apply in the least to the doctrine of the atonement. It would imply only, that, as Satan opposed the power of Jesus to procure salvation for all men, as he intended, so Jesus diminished his power, and disappointed him by leading many to

* מכל Composed of two words, מן and כל i. e., *out of all.*

salvation through his divine precepts. I know not how to answer the question of the Editor, "of what individual serpent did the seed of the woman break the head, so as for it to bruise his heel?" unless by referring him to the reciprocal injuries, which man and serpent inflict on each other.

The Editor refers to the circumstance of the sacrifice offered by Abel, and approved of God in preference to his brother Cain's (Gen., iv. 4,) esteeming it as an illustration of the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus for the remission of sin.—(Page 518.) But I am unable to find out what relation there could exist between the acceptance of the offering of Abel by Jehovah, and the death of Jesus, whether sacrificial or not. The Editor, however, founds his assertion, that Abel having looked forward to the atonement of Jesus, his offerings were accepted by God; upon the circumstance of Abraham's seeing the day of Christ by prophetic anticipation (John, viii. 56); and Moses having esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt, (Heb., xi. 26,*) they all having been "of the same catalogue." I, therefore, should hope to be informed whether there be any authority justifying this reference. On the contrary, we find verse fourth of the same chapter of Genesis points out, that Abel having been accustomed to do well, in obedience to the will of God, contrary to the practice of his brother, righteous Jehovah accepted his offering, and rejected that of Cain; to which Paul thus alludes,—"By faith Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain," (Hebrew, xi. 4,) without leaving us doubtful as to the sense in which that apostle used the word "faith" in the above verse.

"By faith Abel offered unto God," &c. "By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death," &c. "But without faith it is impossible to please him; for he that *cometh to God* must believe that *he is*, and that he is a *rewarder of them* who diligently seek him." Here St. Paul gives us to understand that the "faith" which procured for Abel, Enoch, Noah, and all the other patriarchs, the grace of God,

* (Improved Version of the New Testament,) Gr. "the reproach of Christ," or "of the anointed." The Israelites are called Christs, or anointed, i. e, a chosen and favoured people, Psalm, cv. 15, Heb., iii. 13. "The meaning is," says Dr Sykes in loc. "that Moses looked upon the contempt and indignity which he underwent on account of his professing himself a Jew, as much preferable to all the riches and honours of Egypt." See also Whitby, in loc. Dr. Newcome's Version is, "such reproach as Christ endured which is also the interpretation of Photius, Crellius, and Mr Lindsey, Sequeal, page, 278.

was their belief in the *existence* of God, and in his being their *rewarder*, and in any sacrifice, personal or vicarious. What could prophetic anticipation by Abraham, of the divine commission of Jesus, have to do with Abel's conduct, in rendering his sacrifices acceptable to God, that any one can esteem the one as the necessary consequence of the other? Moses having called himself a Jew, gave preference to the term "anointed," or "Israelite," a term of reproach among the Egyptians in those days, over all the riches and honour of Egypt, which he might have obtained by declaring himself an Egyptian instead of a Jew; or Moses esteemed (according to the English version) in his prophetic power, the reproach to which Christ would be made liable by the Jews in the fulfilment of his divine commission, greater riches than all the grandeur of Egyptain unbelievers.—But neither explanation can support the idea that Abel, or any other patriarch, had in view the sacrificial death of Jesus in rendering their offering acceptable to God.

It is true, as the Editor observes, that sacrifices are divine institutions as a manifestation of obedience to God, through the oblation of anything that may be dear to man, whether common, as an animal, or dearly valuable, as one's own son. But they are not represented in any of the sacred books as means having intrinsically the power of procuring men pardon and eternal salvation. They seem, in fact, intended for men unaccustomed to the worship of God in truth and spirit. The following passages suffice to illustrate this beyond doubt. Micah, vi. 7, 8:—"Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression,—the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord *require* of thee *but to do justly*, and *to love mercy*, and *to walk humbly* with thy God?" Here Jehovah, while shewing his displeasure at mere animal sacrifices, enjoins just actions and humility in lieu of them, as worthy to be accepted by God, without substituting human sacrifices in their stead. Hosea, vi. 6: "For I desired mercy *and not sacrifice*, and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings." Isaiah, i. 11, 16—18: "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord. I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats.—Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to

do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as *white as snow*," &c.—Does not Jehovah here substitute good works alone for sacrifices, as real means of taking away sins? Pslam, l. 8—15: "I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices or thy burnt-offerings to have been continually before me. I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he-goats out of thy folds. For every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. I know all the fowls of the mountains; and the wild beasts of the field are mine. If I were hungry I would not tell thee: for the world is mine, and the fulness thereof. Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Offer unto God thanksgiving; and pay thy vows unto the Most High; and call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." Jehovah, who protests against the idea of flesh of bulls being supposed his food, and the blood of goats his drink, cannot be supposed to have had delight in human blood, the blood of his beloved Son. I Samuel, xv. 22: "And Samuel said, Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." Proverbs, xxi. 3: "To do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice." Eccles., v. 1: "Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God, and be more ready to hear than to give the *sacrifice of fools*; for they consider not they *do evil*."

It is now left for us to ascertain in what sense we should take such phrases as "This man after he had offered one sacrifice for sins:" "Christ hath once appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself;" "Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate;" "I am the living bread;" "If any man eat of this," &c. Whether do these passages imply that Jesus, though he preferred mercy to sacrifice, (Matthew, ix. 13., xii. 7.) did actually sacrifice himself, and offer his own blood to God as an atonement for the sins of others, or do they mean that Jesus, knowing already that the fulfilment of his divine commission would endanger his life, never hesitated to execute it, and suffered his blood to be shed in saving men from sin through his divine precepts and pure example, which were both opposed to the religious system adopted by his contemporary Jews? Were we to follow the former

mode of interpretation, and take all these phrases in their strictly literal sense, we must be persuaded to believe that God, not being contented with the blood of bulls and goats and other animal sacrifices offered to him by the Israelites, insisted upon the offer of the blood and life of his son, as the condition of his forgiving the sins of men; and that Jesus accordingly offered his blood to propitiate God, and also proposed to men actually to eat his flesh! Would not the doctrines of Christianity, in this case, representing God as delighted with human victims, and directing men to cannibalism, appear monstrous to every civilised being? No one, unless biassed by prejudices, can justify such inconsistency as to interpret literally some of the above-mentioned phrases in support of the doctrine of the atonement, and explain the last quoted figuratively, as they are all confessedly alike subversive of every rational idea of the nature of the divine justice and mercy.

To avoid such a stigma upon the pure religion of Jesus, it is incumbent, I think, upon us to follow the latter mode of interpretation, and to understand from the passages referred to, that Jesus, the spiritual Lord and King of Jews and Gentiles, in fulfilment of the duties of his mission, exposed his own life for the benefit of his subjects, purged their sins by his doctrines, and persevered in executing the commands of God, even to the undergoing of bodily suffering in the miserable death of the cross—a self-devotion or sacrifice, of which no Jewish high priest had offered an example.

Ought not this belief in the unbounded beneficence of Jesus to excite superior gratitude, love, and reverence towards our Saviour and King, than the idea that he, as God, above mortal afflictions, borrowed human nature for a season, and offered this fictitious man as a sacrifice for the remission of sin, while he himself was no more afflicted with that sacrificial death than with the sufferings of other human individuals? If there be, in this latter case, any gratitude felt for the afflictions which attached to the death of the cross, it should be manifested to that temporary man Jesus, and not to Jesus the Christ, whom the Editor and other Trinitarians esteem as God, above pain and death.

If it be urged, that it is inconsistent with common justice to pardon sin that requires the capital punishment of death without an atonement for it, it may be replied, that the perfection of divine justice, as well as other attributes of God, should not be measured by

what are found in, and adopted by, the human race. Is it consistent with our common notions of justice to visit the sins of fathers on their descendants, as God ascribed to himself, (Exodus xx. 5)? Is it consistent with our common notions of justice to afflict men with infinite punishment for their finite guilt, as Jesus declares in Matthew, xviii. 8? Even in the present case, would it be consistent with common notions of justice to afflict an innocent man with the death of the cross, for sins committed by others, even supposing the innocent man should voluntarily offer his life in behalf of those others? We can have no idea of the perfection of divine justice, mercy, and wrath, unless from what is revealed to us; and as we find, in the sacred books, that sins have been pardoned in consequence of the intercession of righteous men, without any sacrificial atonement, we should, therefore, be contented with those authorities, and should not entertain doubt as to pardon being bestowed upon those who have had the advantage of the intercession of Jesus, exalted as he was by God over all prophets and righteous men that ever lived.

Numb. xiv. 19, 20: "Moses prayed to the Lord, Pardon, I beseech thee, the iniquity of this people according unto the greatness of thy mercy, and as thou hast forgiven this people from Egypt even until now; and the Lord said, I have pardoned, *according to thy word*." 2 Chron., xxx. 18—20: "For a multitude of the people, even many of Ephraim and Mannasseh, Issachar and Zebulon, had not cleansed themselves, yet did they eat the passover otherwise than it was written. But Hezekiah prayed for them, saying, "The good Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary. And the Lord hearkened to Hezekiah, and healed the peopie." Psalm, cvi. 23: "Therefore he said that he would destroy them, had not Moses, his chosen, stood before him in the breach to turn away his wrath, lest he should destroy them." Did not Jehovah here forgive the sins of Israel from the intercession of Moses, without having the least reference to the offer of animal or human blood? Psalm, xxxii. 5: "I acknowledge my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid; I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou *fargavest* the iniquity of my sin." Were not sins forgiven in this instance also, through confession and humility without blood-offerings? Psalm, cxli. 2: "Let *my prayer be set forth* before thee as incense; and the *lifting up of my hands* as

the evening sacrifice." Isaiah, lv. 7: "Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon." Jer., vii. 21—23: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel. Put your *burnt offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat flesh.* For I spake unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning *burnt-offerings* or sacrifices. But this thing commanded I them, saying, *Obey my voice*, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people," &c. Here we find prayers and obedience preferred to animal sacrifices as means of pardon, and no reference, direct or figurative, to propitiation, to be made by human blood. Such an attempt, therefore, as to represent human blood, or that of God in human form, in lieu of animal blood, as an indispensable atonement for sins, is, I think, unscriptural.

The Editor quotes (page 519.) Heb., x. "It is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins; sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me; in burnt-offerings and sacrifices thou hast had no pleasure." And he attempts thereby to prove that 'sacrifices, considered in themselves, then, were never desired by God: they are approved merely with a view to his making atonement for whom God had prepared a body,' and that "they ceased after he had offered himself a sacrifice for sin." How strange is the idea, that "God who preserves man and beast, nor suffers a sparrow to fall to the ground without his permission;" and by whom sacrifices "were never desired for their own sake," should have caused millions of animals to be slaughtered at different times by men under the mistaken notion of their being an atonement for sins, while he has been remitting iniquity from eternity, referring only to the real and sufficient atonement made by Jesus for the sins of all men that ever lived from the beginning of the world?

How inconsistent is such an idea with the known mercy of that Providence, whose unwillingness to receive human sacrifices was such, that when Abraham had proved his fidelity by binding his son on the altar, God stayed his hand from the sacrifice, and produced a ram unexpectedly before him, which he was graciously pleased to accept as an offering in *the stead of Isaac* (Genesis, xxii. 13.) How can we imagine that God should have received the offering which he himself had thus prepared, with reference solely to the future sacrifice of a

being far superior in excellence to Isaac, whose life he mercifully preserved?

As to the above-cited verses, they rather corroborate the second mode of interpretation, noticed in the preceding paragraphs, than the doctrine of a real human sacrifice in the Christian dispensation; for, in verses fifth and sixth, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews declares the dissatisfaction of God with sacrifices and offerings, in general terms, without limiting them to any particular species, whether of man or of animal. The language of the fifth verse, "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me," confirms the idea that the divine disregard of mere sacrifice led to the preparation of a body for Jesus, through which he could impart to mankind the perfection of the will and laws of God, in a manner consistent with the divine nature, teaching them to yield to God a heart-felt, instead of a ceremonial and outward obedience, and thereby putting an end to the further effusion of blood, as a testimony of humility, gratitude and devotion.

Hence, it appears more consistent with the context and the general tenor of scripture, to understand by the phrase, "The offering of the body of Jesus Christ," (quoted often by the Editor,) the death of Jesus as a spiritual and virtual sacrifice for the sins of all those for whom he became a mediator; inasmuch as by that death the blessed Saviour testified his perfect obedience and devotion to the will of his heavenly Father, and thereby vindicated to himself the unlimited favour of God. During his life he instructed mankind how they might render themselves worthy of the Divine mercy: by his death he qualified himself to be their intercessor at the heavenly throne, when sincere repentance was to be offered by them instead of perfect duty. We may easily account for the adoption by the apostles, with respect to him, of such terms as sacrifice and atonement for sin, and their representing Jesus as the high priest, engaged to take away the sins of the world by means of his blood. These were modes of speech made use of in allusion to the sacrifices and blood-offerings which the Jews and their high priest used to make for the remission of sins; and the apostles wisely accommodated their instructions to the ideas and forms of language familiar to those whom they addressed.

How inconsistent would it be, in the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to declare in one place, that God would not have sacrifice

and offering; and again to announce, almost at the same moment, that he was so pleased with sacrifice, even with a human sacrifice, that for its sake he would forgive the sins of the world. Besides, in the Christian dispensation, sacrifice implies a spiritual offering required by God, not only from the author of this religion, but also from his disciples and followers; a fact which may be illustrated by sacred authority, 1 Peter, ii. 4, 5: "To whom coming, as unto a *living stone*, disallowed indeed of men, but *chosen of God and precious*, ye also, as *lively stones*, are built up *spiritual sacrifices* acceptable to God by Jesus Christ."

I am not at all disposed to dispute the assertion of the Editor, (p. 532,) that "a priest without atonement, however, had no existence in the Old Testament;" but I must say that a priest without atonement has existence in the New Testament, and refer the Editor to the following verses, excluding those that are applied to Jesus. Rev., i. 6: "And hath made us kings and priests unto God;" xx. 6: "But they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years;" 1 Peter, ii. 5: "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, and holy priesthood." Moreover, in explaining such phrases as "I am the living bread,"—"If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever,"—"The bread that I will give is my flesh,"—"Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man,"—and, "Unless ye eat his flesh, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you,"—"My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed;" Protestant commentators take upon themselves to interpret, that these phrases are in allusion to the manner of sacrifice, and that the eating of the flesh of Jesus, and drinking his blood, must be understood in a spiritual, not in a carnal sense. If these writers make so direct an encroachment upon the literal sense of those phrases, in order to avoid the idea of cannibalism being a tenet of Christianity, why should I not be justified upon the same principles, and on the authority of the apostle, in understanding by sacrifice, in the language of the apostle, a virtual oblation—that Christianity may not be represented as *a religion founded upon the horrible system of human victims?*

The Editor first refers (page 520) to "Noah's sacrifice on his coming out of the ark:" whence he concludes that all the genuine religion of the new world was founded on the future atonement made by Christ. He again mentions God having made a promise to Abraham, that in

him "shall all the families of the earth be blessed"—a blessing which came to the Gentiles through Jesus. He considers this circumstance of the communication of blessing as fully foretelling the atonement of Jesus. The Editor has also quoted the passage in Job "I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand in the latter day upon the earth;" being of opinion that the term redeemer being applied to Christ proves either his atonement or his deity. I must confess my inability to find out the connection between these authorities and the conclusion drawn by the Editor from them. Did God, who, according to the Rev. Editor, had no delight even in animal sacrifice, anticipate great delight in human sacrifice when Noah made an offering to him?

May we not admit, that the divine promise to Abraham has been fulfilled in the blessings we enjoy, derived from the sacred instructions of Jesus, without assuming that other advantages have been reaped by us from the circumstance of his having shed his blood for us, exclusively considered? If not, how can Jesus assure us of the divine blessing merely through the observance of his instructions? Matthew, v. 3—11. Luke, xi. 28. "But said he (Jesus) yea, rather blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it."

Could not Job or any one call another his redeemer or deliverer without having allusion to his blood? Cannot one being redeem another without sacrificing his own blood? How is it, then, we find Jehovah, the Father of all, called redeemer, though in that capacity not considered even by Trinitarians to have had his blood shed as an atonement? Isaiah, lxiii, 16: "Thou, O Lord, art our father, our redeemer." lx. 16: "Shalt know that I Jehovah am thy saviour and thy redeemer."

I wonder at the assertion of the Editor, that "the Messiah is not termed a redeemer merely on account of his teaching or his example." "These" he says, "could be of no value to Job, who lived so long before the appearance of Christ in the earth." I wish to know whether Job, an inspired writer, is to be considered as possessed of a knowledge of future events or not? as, in the former case, the circumstances of Christ's atoning for sin, according to the Editor, and the nature and import of his divine instructions, were equally known to him, and he could call the Messiah redeemer in either view. In the latter case, (i. e. if he was unacquainted with future events while writing this passage) then the doctrine of the atonement, and the saving truths inclucated by Christ, were, of course, equally hidden from him, and

neither, consequently, could be of any value to Job, "who lived so long before Christ's appearance in the earth." The fact is, the verse of Job quoted by the Editor has no such obvious reference to the Messiah that any one can be justified in applying to Jesus the term "Redeemer," found in the same verse. I therefore quote it with its context, that my readers may have a better opportunity of considering the subject in question. Job, xix. 24—26:—"That they (my words) were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever! For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day* upon the earth. And though after my *skin worms destroy* this body, yet in my flesh shall *I see God.*"

The Editor having urged in his first review, (page 101,) that the circumstance of the term "lamb" being twice applied to Jesus by John the Baptist, shewed that Jesus came into the world to sacrifice his life as an atonement for sin, I observed to the Editor in my Second Appeal (page 162) that such terms as "lamb" and "sheep" were applied in scripture to the disciples of Jesus also; many of whom likewise suffered death in their attempt to withdraw men from sin, yet in their cases no allusion to the sacrificial lamb has ever been made; and that it might be therefore safely inferred that the epithets "lamb" and "sheep" are merely figurative terms for innocence subjected to persecution. The Editor however without noticing this observation, quotes in his present review (page 522) some verses of the apostles of Peter and John, in which the apostles use the same epithet "lamb" applied to their gracious master. It is obvious from what I stated in my Second Appeal, that I did not dispute the application of that term to Jesus in the scriptural books. I only maintained that no Christian, whether primitive or modern, could ever apply the word "lamb" in its literal sense to Jesus; who, as being above the angels of God, is of course far above the nature of a "lamb," and that under this consideration it must have been used for innocence subjected to persecution, as we find the use of the word "lamb" very frequent elsewhere when applied to man. John, xxi. 15: (already quoted in the Second Appeal) "feed my lambs." Luke, x. 3: "Behold I send you forth as lambs among wolves." Genesis, xxii. 7, 8: "And he (Isaac) said, Behold the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering? and Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering?"

* אחרון signifies properly *afterwards* without any reference to a particular day.

Wherein Abraham doubtless meant his innocent son about to be subjected to a violent death; hiding the commandment of God from him, as appears from the following verses;—"And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built an altar there, and laid the wood in order and bound Isaac his son and laid him on the altar upon the wood: and Abraham stretched forth his hand and took the knife to slay his son." Jeremiah, xi. 19: "But I was like a lamb or an ox that is brought to slaughter."

Upon the same principle the apostles generally used "blood" for condescension to death; and "sacrifice" for a virtual one; as I noticed fully in the preceding paragraphs.

The Editor relates, (page 524) that the priest used to lay his hands on the head of a living goat, "and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, putting them on the head of the goat, and by the hand of a fit person to send it away into the wilderness as *an atonement* for *all their sins* in every year." He then infers, from this circumstance, that "commandments like these did more than merely foretell the atonement of Christ." Were we to consider at all the annual scape-goat as an indication of some other atonement for sin, we must esteem it as a sign of Aaron's bearing the iniquities of Israel, both the scape-goat and Aaron having alike borne the sins of others without sacrificing their lives; but by no means can it be supposed a sign of the atonement of Christ, who, according to the author, bore the sins of men by the sacrifice of his own life, and had therefore no resemblance to the scape-goat or Aaron. Exodus, xxviii. 38:—"And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead that Aaron may bear the iniquity of the holy things which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts; and it shall be always upon his forehead, that they may be accepted before the Lord." I wonder that the Rev. Editor himself notices here that the iniquities of Israel were forgiven by confession over the scape-goat, without animal or human victims and yet represents the circumstance of the *scape-goat*, as a prediction of the sacrificial *death* of Christ, and insists upon the forgiveness of sins being founded upon the effusion of blood.

The Rev. Editor now begins with Psalm, ii. 1, (p. 527,) stating that in Acts, iv. the apostles lifted up "their voices with one accord to God in the very words of the Psalms," adding, verse 27, "For of a truth, against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were

gathered together." Secondly, he quotes Psalm, xvi. 8—11, comparing them with Acts, ii. 25—27; 3rdly, Psalm, xxii. 1, comparing it with Heb., ii. 10—12; 4thly, Psalm, xxxi. 5, while he repeats Psalm, xl. 6—8, comparing them to Hebrews, x. 4; 5thly, Psalm, xlv. 6—7, comparing them with Hebrews, i. 8—12; 6thly, Psalm, lxviii. 18, applying it to Ephesians, iv. 8—11; 7thly, Psalm, lxix. 1, 2, comparing them with John, ii. 17, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up;" and with Romans, xv. 3, "Even Christ pleased not himself; but, as it is written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me;" 8thly, Psalm, lxxii. 7—11, 17; 9thly, Psalm, lxxxix. 19—37; 10thly, Psalm, cii. 4, 5, 10, quoting immediately after this, Heb., i. 7, without comparing one with the other; 11thly, Psalm, cxviii. 22; 12thly, Psalm, cx. 1, 4. After having filled up more than six pages (527—533) with the quotations of the above Psalms, the Editor observes, that, "notwithstanding the abundant evidence of the atonement, and even the deity of Christ, already adduced from the Pentateuch and the Psalms," &c. But I regret that none of these Psalms appear to me to bear the least reference to the principle of vicarious sacrifice, as an atonement for sin, except Psalm fourteenth in which a declaration of the displeasure of Jehovah at sacrifice in general is made, and which I have fully examined in the preceding paragraphs. I therefore beg my readers to look over all the Psalms introduced here by the Editor, and to form their opinion whether these are properly applied to the discussion of the doctrine of the atonement; and should they find them having little or no relation to a proof of the atonement, they may then judge whether the frequent complaint of the Editor, of *the want* of *room*, is or is not well-founded.

I will examine his attempt to prove the deity of Jesus, from some of these Psalms, in a subsequent chapter on the Trinity, but cannot omit to notice here two or three remarks made by the Editor, in the course of quoting these Psalms, on some of my assertions in the Second Appeal, leaving a decision on them to the free judgment of the public. The Editor having quoted Psalm, xl. 6—8, and compared these verses with Hebrews, x. 4—7, 9, thus concludes; (p. 528) "By these declarations various facts are established. They inform us that the grand design of the Son in becoming man was that of being a sacrifice; which fully refutes our author's assertion, (p. 58) that the sole object of his mission was to preach and impart divine instructions." The Editor, I am sorry to say, following a frequent practice of his other

orthodox brethren, omits the immediately following verses, which thoroughly explain whether "the will of God," mentioned in ver. 8 of the Psalm quoted by the Editor, implies sacrifice or divine instructions:—"I delight to do thy will, O my God: yea, thy *law* is within my heart.—*I have preached* righteousness in the *great congregation*: lo, I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, thou knowest. *I have not hid* thy righteousness within my heart; *I have declared thy faithfulness and the salvation: I have not concealed thy loving kindness and thy truth* from the great congregation." It is now left to the public to judge whether Psalm, fortieth, quoted by the Editor, establishes that "the grand design of the Son in becoming man was that of being a sacrifice," or of preaching the righteousness of God to the world, and declaring his truth and salvation to them. The preparing of the body for the Son, as found in Hebrews, x. 5, implies, of course, the necessity of his being furnished with a body in preaching the will of God to mortal men; a body which, in the fulfilment of his commission, Jesus never valued, but exposed to danger, and virtually offered as a sacrifice.

It is worth observing, that the Editor, though he affirms positively that the grand object of the Son's appearing in this world was to be a sacrifice, and not to inculcate divine instructions and thinks it proper to rest his position upon a comparison of the above Psalm with Hebrews, yet never attempts to reconcile to this notion the verses pointed out in page 155 of my Second Appeal, proving that the object of his mission was to preach and impart divine instructions. Are we to place greater reliance on his bare affirmation, or on the authority of Jesus himself, the Lord and King of Jews and Gentiles?

Not finding a single assertion in the Scriptures that can support his above notion, the Editor lays stress upon John, x. 17: "Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again." Do these words imply anything more than his attributing the love of the Father towards the Son, to his implicit obedience, even to the loss of his own life, taken by the rebellious Jews? Should a general inform his fellow-soldiers, that his king is attached to him, in consequence of his being ready to give up his life in the discharge of his duty, can we thence infer that the grand design of the king, in appointing him general, is his death, and not his reconciling rebels to their merciful king, through friendly entreaty and offers of amnesty, which we know he has employed?

The second conclusion of the Editor from the above quoted Psalm and Hebrews is, that " they also demonstrate that the Son delighted in offering himself a sacrifice ; which refutes that dreadful assertion, that Jesus declared great aversion to the death of the cross, and merely yielded to it, as knowing that the will of his Father rendered such death unavoidable." I find no mention made in Hebrews, x, much less in Psalm, xl. of the Son's " delighting in offering himself as a sacrifice ;" on the contrary, it is evidently found in Hebrews x, that whatever the Son performed with the body prepared him was entirely through his implicit obedience to the will of the Father. Verse 7 : " Then said I," (the Son) " Lo, I come to do thy will, O God." " Then said he," (the Son) " Lo, I come to do thy will, O God," ver. 9 ; an assertion which is thoroughly confirmed by what I quoted in my Second Appeal, (p. 158,) part of which I am necessitated to repeat here, to shew that Jesus, (whether as man or God, let the Editor decide,) declared great aversion to death, yet yielded to it in common with many other prophets, knowing that the will of his Father rendered such death unavoidable. Matthew, xxvi. 37—39, 42 : " And he took with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy. Then said he unto them my soul is *exceeding sorrowful even unto death.* And prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup" (meaning death) " pass from me ; nevertheless, *not as I will,* but as thou wilt. He went away again the second time, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done." Mark, xiv. 36 : " And he said, Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee ; *Take away this cup from me :* nevertheless, not what I will, but what thou wilt." Luke, xxii. 42, 44 : " Saying, Father, if thou be willing remove this cup from me : nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done. And being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly ; and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground."

Now, let the Editor find out a set of verses, or even a single passage, which may evince that Jesus, so far from feeling aversion to death, delighted in it, as he has attempted to prove ; and let him take upon himself to reconcile such gross contradictions between those two sets of passages, (if there be any such,) or reject one set of them.

The third conclusion of the Editor, from the above Psalm, and the compared passage of Hebrews, is, that " they furnish a complete answer to the declaration (p. 62,) that it would be a piece of gross

iniquity to afflict one innocent being, who had all the human feelings, and who had never transgressed the will of God, with the death of the cross for the crimes committed by others," and (p. 63) that "the iniquity of one's being sentenced to death, as an atonement for the fault committed by another, is such, that every just man would shudder at the idea of one's being put to death for a crime committed by another, even if the innocent man should willingly offer his life in behalf of that other." The Editor then maintains, that the texts quoted (Psalms and Hebrews) refute the above positions, stating, that "this iniquity, if it be such, the Father willed, since he prepared the Son a body in which to suffer this palpable injustice." In this I perfectly coincide with the Editor, that the death of the innocent Jesus took place, like that of many preceding prophets, by the unsearchable will of God, who hath ordained that all the sons of men shall die, some by a violent and painful death, others by an easy and natural extinction; nor do I require the evidence of the text quoted ("Thou hast prepared me a body") to convince me of the fact, declared by Jesus in his agony in the garden, that his sufferings in particular were, like those of mankind in general, conformable to the will of God. But I cannot find anything in these words that warrants an inference so contrary to our ideas of justice, as that the pain thus suffered by Jesus was inflicted on him, though innocent, by God, as an atonement to himself for withholding merited punishment from the truly guilty. And this is the real point in discussion. The Editor will admit that the ways of God, in bestowing happiness on some, and leaving others, in our eyes more worthy of divine favour, to wretchedness and misery, are inscrutable; yet, on the bare fact, that the innocent Jesus was ordained to die on the cross, he pretends to rest the conclusion, as the only possible one, that this death he suffered to satisfy the justice of his Maker. Was it for this that John the Baptist was beheaded? Was it for this that Zechariah was slain? Was it as an atonement for the sins of the rest of mankind, that Jerusalem was suffered to "stone the prophets and kill those who were sent to her"? The Editor will not admit that it was; yet the proposed inference from the bare fact would be as legitimate in these cases, as in that of Jesus. The plain and obvious conclusion to be drawn from the text is, that God prepared for Christ a body, that he might communicate a perfect code of divine law to mankind, and that he loved him for the devotion with which he fulfilled his divine

commission, regardless of the comfort or safety of that body, and his readiness to lay it down when it suited the purpose of the Maker.

The Rev. Editor expresses his indignation at the mode of reasoning adopted by me, in the passages above quoted ; saying, "should not a creature, a worm of the dust, who cannot fully comprehend the mysteries of his own being, pause before he arraign his Maker of gross injustice, and charge him with having founded all religion on an act of palpable iniquity ?" (Page 529.)

There appears here a most strange mistake on the part of the Editor. It is he who seems to me to be labouring to prove the absurdity that God, the Almighty and All-merciful, is capable of a palpable iniquity—determined to have punishment, though he leave quite unpunished ; inflicting the marks of his wrath on the innocent *for the purpose* of sparing those who justly deserve the weight of its terrors. If he mean to object to the rashness of applying the limited capacity of the human understanding to judge the unsearchable things of the wisdom of God, and therefore denies my right, as a worm of the dust, to deduce anything from human ideas inimical to his view of the divine will, I can only say that I have for my example that of a fellow-worm in his own argument to shew the necessity that the Almighty laboured under to have his justice satisfied. For I find this very Editor in his endeavour to prove the doctrine of the atonement arguing (page 506) thus : "He who has kept the law has not broken it, and he who has broken it cannot have kept it : that the same man, therefore, should incur its penalty for violating it, and also deserve its reward for keeping it, is an *outrage on common sense*." "This will clearly" appear, if we refer to human laws, imperfect as they are. "Apply this to the divine law." "For him, therefore, to be rewarded as one who had kept the divine law would be directly contrary to righteousness." "Human judges inquire not [about the] repentance of the robber or murderer, but respecting his guilt."

From these passages does it not appear, as if the Editor were of opinion that it is quite right and proper to apply human reason as a standard by which to judge what must be the will of God, when he thinks it supports his views of the ways of Providence ; but that, on the contrary, it is blasphemous and rebellious against the divine majesty to deduce, from human reason, conclusions from the scriptures contrary to his interpretations of them ? The Editor has not

attempted to dispute that, applied to human affairs, the motive to which he assigns the will of God, in ordaining the death of Jesus on the cross, would be palpably iniquitous. Should not this induce him to pause, and permit nothing but the most express and positive declaration, couched in language not capable of being explained in a metaphorical sense, to sway him to a belief so irreconcilable to common sense? Yet he is willing to assume at once this conclusion, on the bare fact that Jesus was provided with a body.

Do not orthodox divines often offer it as a reason for the necessity of an atonement being made for the crimes of men, that it would be inequitable in the perfect nature of the just God, to remit sin, without some sort of punishment being inflicted for it, as a satisfaction to his justice? Do they not, in consequence, represent the death of Jesus *as an atonement* for the sins of *mankind*? If they do, and are allowed to do so, I think myself also authorized to urge, in reference to human notions of justice, that "it would be a piece of gross iniquity to afflict one innocent being, who had all the human feelings and who had never transgressed the will of God, with the death of the cross, for crimes committed by others, especially when he declares such great aversion to it." But if the Editor abandon this mode of reasoning, and confess the unsearchable, inscrutable nature, both of divine justice and of divine mercy, I am perfectly ready and willing to do the same.

The Editor now refers to the prophets, (p. 533,) saying, that Isaiah, in ch. vii. "predicting the birth of Christ, identifies his divine and his human nature." As Isaiah, vii. 14, and ix. 6, have no relation whatever to the doctrine of atonement, I deem it proper to defer the notice of them to the subsequent chapter on the Trinity.

The Editor, in his next quotation from Isaiah, first introduces ch. xi. 3. "And he shall make him" (Jesus) "of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord:" but my limited capacity has failed to enable me to ascertain what he really means to establish by the quotation of this passage, (p. 536.) The Editor was in the course of an attempt to prove the deity and the atonement of Jesus Christ, but the force of truth would appear to have induced him here to cite a verse which, containing such phrases as—"make him of quick understanding," and "the fear of the Lord," go to prove his created nature. In like manner, I must confess my inability to discover

any allusion whatever to the atonement, in his next quotation from Isaiah, xix. 19, 20.

The Editor having endeavoured, in his former Review, to prove the doctrine of the atonement from the application of the term "Saviour" to Jesus, I noticed in my Second Appeal, that "we find the title Saviour applied frequently in the divine writings to those who have been endued with the power of saving nations, whether in a spiritual sense, by the imparting of the divine will, or by affording temporary protection to them; although none of those saving prophets or princes atoned for the sins of their fellow-creatures by their death;" and, that "all those who have been instrumental in effecting the deliverance of their fellow-creatures, from evils of whatever nature, were dependent themselves upon God, and only instruments in his hand." The Editor, though unable to deny this fact, thus turns away the subject; saying, "It surely required but little knowledge to discern, that a man's delivering his country does not elevate him to an equality with God, or, that to overcome an invading enemy is an act totally different from saving sinners from their sins." But the force of truth again makes the Rev. Editor quote here the following passage, ("and he *shall send them* a Saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them,") which does not only refute his own position, but proves that I advanced in my Second Appeal; that is, Christ and others, who saved people at different times, in their peculiar capacities, were dependent themselves upon God, and only instruments in his hands. Is it not possible for God, who could raise, as the Editor confesses, personages to save men, by their miraculous strength, from the grasp of their enemies, to raise one to save mankind from sin through his divine instructions? If not, how should we reconcile such disavowal of the power of God to the following assertion of the evangelist Matthew, that the people "glorified God, who had given such power to men"? (ix. 8). And if Jesus was not entitled to the appellation of a saviour from the saving power of his divine instructions, in what sense should we understand those declarations of Jesus himself, to be found even in a single Gospel. John, v. 24, vi. 63, xv. 3?

To his question, "When, previously to Christ's coming, did the Egyptians cry to Jehovah for deliverance, and when, previously, was Israel the third with Egypt and the Assyrians," my answer must be in the negative; that is, neither previous to Christ's coming did the

Egyptians cry to Jehovah and join the Assyrians and Israel, a blessing in the midst of the land, nor have they subsequently to the coming of Jesus, up to this day, cried to the God of Israel, or joined Israel and the Assyrians in asking a divine blessing.

The Editor says, (p. 537,) that "in ch. xxxv. the blessings of Christ's kingdom are declared in the most glowing language." I do not dispute it in the least. If verse 10 ("the ransomed of the Lord shall return," &c.) have any allusion to Jesus, it must have reference to his implicit obedience to the will of Jehovah, even to the laying down of his own life for the safety of mankind, as explained in my Second Appeal, (p. 166). Any one who has a tolerable knowledge of the idiom of Hebrew or Arabic, or even of Persian, must be aware that the word "ransom" תדיןם or فدا is often used to express extreme attachment or obedience, without implying an actual sacrifice as an atonement for sins.

He again quotes Isaiah, xlii. 2, 21, "He shall not cry," &c. "The Lord is well pleased for his righteousness' sake," but I am unable, also to discover what these quotations have to do with Christ's atoning for sin as a sacrifice in lieu of goats and bullocks. So, 2 Corinthians, v. 21, "For he hath made him to be sin," &c. has no reference to the atonement, which the Editor insists upon: it implies no more than "God hath made him subject to sufferings and death, the usual punishment and consequence of sin, as if he had been a sinner, though he were guilty of no sin; that we, in and by him, might be made righteous, by a righteousness imputed to us by God." See Locke's works, Vol. viii, page 232.

The Rev. Editor now refers to ch. liii. of Isaiah, laying great stress upon such phrases as the following, found in that chapter: "Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows," "He was wounded for our transgressions," "The Lord hath laid on him the iniquities of us all;" "He shall bear their intiquities." Do these sentences prove that he, like a sacrificial "lamb" or "sheep," atoned for the sins of others? Did ever a sacrificial lamb or goat bear the iniquities of men? The scape-goats are stated to have borne the iniquities of Israel—a circumstance far from being applicable to Christ, even typically; for he, as was predicted, made no escape from the hands of his enemies. My readers may peruse the whole of ch. liii. and may find that it conveys but the idea that Jesus, as a prince, though innocent himself, was to suffer afflictions, or rather

death, for the transgressions of his guilty people, while interceding for them with a king mightier than himself.

To this question of the Editor, "Is our repentance sufficient to make atonement with the All-merciful?" my answer must be in the affirmative, since we find the direct authority of the author of this religion, and his forerunner, John the Baptist, requiring us to have recourse to repentance as the means of procuring pardon for sin. (*Vide* page 24.) Had the human race never transgressed, or had they repented sincerely of their tranrgressions, the Son of God need not have been sent to teach them repentance for the pardon of their sins, to lay before them the divine law, calculated to prevent their further transgressions, the fulfilment of which commission was at the cost of his life.

As I have already noticed (in page 46 et. seq. Final Appeal) the Editor's reference to human ideas of justice in support of the doctrine of atonement, and his censuring me for the same mode of reference to natural equity, I will not renew the subject here.

The Editor seems contented with the quotation of only two passages of Jeremiah, viz., ch. xxiii. 5, "Behold, the days come, saith Jehovah, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch," &c. and ch. xxxi. 31, 33, as being quoted in Heb., viii. 8, 10, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the land of Judah. I will put my law in their inward parts," &c. The Editor then quotes (p. 539) 1 Cor. i. 30, "Christ is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." But what these quotations have to do with the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, I am again at a loss to perceive; being able to discover in them nothing more than a prophecy and its fulfilment, that Christ was to be sent to direct mankind to sincerity in worship, righteousness in conduct, sanctification in purity of mind, and salvation by repentance.

The Editor then advances, that "Ezekiel also predicts the promised Redeemer in ch. xxxiv. 23. He says, 'I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; and he shall be their shepherd,'" I never denied, in any of my publications, that Jesus was sent as the promised Messiah, nor did I ever interpret the above passages, as some Jewish writers, that the Messiah would be not only of the race of David, but also of his spirit. How is it, then, that the Editor thinks it necessary to attempt so often to prove the kingdom and redemption of Jesus as the promised Messiah

in the course of his arguments in favor of the atonement? He afterwards quotes Daniel, ix. 26—"Shall the Messiah be cut off, but not for himself." There is no term in the original Hebrew passage answering to the words "*but*" or "*himself*," found in the English version. We find in the Hebrew ואיןלו, "No person or nothing for him;" that is, "Shall Messiah be cut off, and no one be for him." The translators used the term "but," instead of "and," as in the Hebrew, and the term "himself," in lieu of "him." In illustration I shall here cite the same phrase found in other instances, both in the original Hebrew Scriptures and their translation also, in the English version. Exodus, xxii. 2, איןלודמים "No blood be shed for him." Numbers, xxvii. 4, איןלוכו, "He hath no son." Psalm, lxxii. 12, ואין עןד כר, "And him that hath no helper." Daniel, xi. 45, ואיןעוןדלו, "And none shall help him." But, even were we to admit this mistranslation or perversion of the original Scriptures, the words, "Shall the Messiah be cut off, but not for himself," would, to my mind, convey nothing more than that the Messiah should be cut off, not for any guilt he committed himself, but the fault of his subjects, who continued to rebel against the divine law, though instructed by their intercessor, even at the hazard of his own life.

The Editor quotes Hosea, iii. 5, "Afterward shall the children of Isreal return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king," &c.; and Joel, ii. 28, "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy," &c.; and also Amos, ix. 11, "In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David which is fallen," &c. Had he been pleased to shew the tendency of these quotations to the proof of the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus, I would endeavour to examine the connection between them: as he has omitted to do so, and their relation to the question is certainly not obvious, I must spare myself the trouble.

The Rev. Editor says, (p. 541,) "Nor does Obadiah, in his short prophecy, wholly omit the Redeemer's kingdom. He alludes thereto in verse 21: 'And saviours shall come up on Mount Zion to judge the Mount of Esau: and the kingdom shall be Jehovah's,'" To justify the application to Jesus of the noun "saviours," though found in the plural form, he thus argues: "Should he" (the author of the Appeals) "reply, that as the plural number 'saviours' is used, this cannot refer to Christ; we ask him whether he has not affirmed, that the plural form is often used in a singular sense, as of his masters, meaning, his master, has

given him a wife' "? The Editor, as a diligent student of the Scriptures, should have known that the noun in question, "saviours," being accompanied with the plural verb ועלו, "they shall come up," is by no means an analogous case to that of the term "masters" as found in Exod., xxi, 4, which is connected with the verb singular יתן whereas, in Neh., ix. 27, the term "saviours" is associated with the verb in the plural form and the past tense, as well as with the pronoun plural.

I must, therefore, maintain the correctness of reading "saviours" in Obadiah as required in the former alternative of the question put by the Editor, (page 541, line 34,) finding myself unable to "acknowledge the triune God," as proposed by him in the latter alternative: for having relinquished the notion of the triune, quadrune, and decimune gods, which I once professed, when immersed in the grosser polytheism prevailing among modern Hindoos, I cannot reconcile it to my understanding to find plausibility in one case, while the same notion is of acknowledged absurdity in another. The Editor admits (p. 536) the application of the term Saviour to human individuals, as pointed out by me, (Second Appeal, p. 248,) but he is anxious to prove the doctrine of the atonement by the application of that very term to Jesus.

The Editor says, (p. 542,) that "Micah, in ch. iv., describes Christ's kingdom nearly in the same terms with Isaiah, and in ch. v., he repeats the place of his birth: 'Thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, out of thee shall he come forth unto me—whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting.' The testimony to the eternal deity of Christ, given in connection with his birth as man, it is wrong to overlook." Any testimony relating to the birth of Jesus having nothing to do with his atonement, is not in place here; but I will examine the verse here cited in the subsequent part of this discussion, when we come to the subject of the Trinity.

He quotes again Nahum, i. 15, for the purpose of proving Christ's kingdom, which is a subject totally foreign to that of the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus. "Habakkuk" (says the Editor p. 542) "was evidently no stranger to the doctrine founded on the atonement;" and he then quotes the passage, "The just shall live by his faith," as corroborated by Paul, Rom., i. 17, and Gal., iii. 2; and "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of Jehovah," &c. But what faith in, and knowledge of, God, as well as faith in the perfection of his attributes, and in prophets sent by him, has to do with the atonement, I am at a loss to discover. Does the bare mention of faith by Habakkuk of other

prophets prove his or their familiarity with the sacrificial death of Jesus?

He quotes the passage of Haggai, ii. "Thus saith Jehovah; the desire of all nations shall come and will fill this house with glory—the glory of this latter house shall be greater than that of the former, saith Jehovah of hosts," which the Editor thinks affords decided proof respecting both the atonement and the deity of Christ. It is however too deep for my shallow understanding to discover from this passage an allusion to either of these doctrines, much less that it is a decided proof of them. Were we to understand by the word "temple" in both instances in the verse a *material* one, which, it is evident from its context in the prophecy, was alone in the contemplation of Haggai, we must be persuaded to believe that the latter temple was more magnificently built by Zerubbabel and Joshua, in the reign of Darius than the former built by Solomon. Should the *spiritual* temple be understood by the latter term in the above, it would be regarded naturally superior to a material one without the necessity of "Jehovah's coming into it clothed in our nature."

He quotes Zechariah, iii. 8 and 9, and vi. 12 and 13, wherein there is not the slightest mention of the atonement. As to his attempt to prove the deity of Jesus from these passages, I will notice it in a subsequent chapter. The phrase found in the verse ("I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day") does not attribute the removal of the iniquities of the land of Israel to the sacrificial death of Jesus, so as to justify the Editor in quoting it as a proof of the doctrine of the atonement. Besides, the verse can by no means be applied to the death of Jesus, whether vicarious or accidental, since, after the day of his crucifixion, the Israelites, so far from being freed from sins, continued more vehemently than ever to pursue sinful conduct in their violent persecution of Christians. So the Jews have been punished to this day, as Christians believe, on account of their outrages upon the body of Jesus, and their disobedience to him. The remaining passage of Zechariah (pages 543—548,) and verse 1st of Ch. III. of Malachi, (page 548,) quoted by the Editor in support of the deity of Jesus, I will notice afterwards.

I am sorry I cannot agree with the Editor in his assertion (page 549) that "had our Lord himself made no direct declaration respecting the design of his death, his referring his disciples to those predictions already named would have been sufficient, particularly in

their circumstances;" for it would be strange to suppose that Jesus should have omitted to inculcate so important a doctrine, and so fundamental for salvation, (according to the Editor) both before and after his resurrection, while he was constantly enjoying love to God, to neighbours, and to each other, and also repentance, in case of failure in obedience. How is it possible to think, unless biassed by early prejudices, that a teacher, a truly divine teacher, who, by declaring himself publicly the son of God,* and the king of the Jews,* as predicted, brought death upon himself, should have kept concealed the doctrine of the atonement, if such were the main source of salvation, from his own apostles, even after his resurrection, and have left them to deduce so material a point from the obscure predictions of the prophets, which are susceptible of so many different interpretations?

The Editor then affirms, that "it is evident that direct intimations of his nature were not withheld: such were, his declaring to them" (his apostles) "that he came to give his life a ransom for many—his conversing with Moses and Elias, (Luke, ix. 31,)—his declaring that the Son of Man should be betrayed into the hands of men, and be killed, and rise again the third day—that he was about to give his flesh for the life of the world, and to lay down his life for his sheep—and his discourse with them, 'This is my body, which is broken for you;' 'This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins;' 'Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day.'" As the Rev. Editor quoted some of these verses in his former Review, I noticed them in the Second Appeal. Entirely overlooking my observations, however, he has thought proper to repeat them here, with some additions. This is indeed a strange mode of conducting a controversy; but it lays me under the necessity of again adducing my remarks in the Second Appeal on those passages. They are as follows:—"Do these passages reasonably convey anything more than the idea that Jesus was invested with a divine commission to deliver instructious leading to eternal beatitude, which, whosoever should receive, should live forever? And that the Saviour, foreseeing that the imparting of those instructions would, by exciting the anger and enmity of the superstitious Jews, cause his life to be destroyed, yet hesitated not to persevere in their promulgation; as if a king, who

* John, xix. 7, 12.

hazards his life to procure freedom and peace for his subjects, were to address himself to them saying, 'I lay down my life for you.' This interpretation is fully confirmed by the following passages. Luke, iv. 43: 'And he said unto them, I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also; for therefore I am sent.' Ch. ii. 47—49: 'And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers. And when they (his parents) saw him, they were amazed: and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?' Wherein Jesus declares, that the sole object of his commission was to preach and impart divine instructions. Again, he instructed his disciples in the divine law and will, as appears from the following text: 'For I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me; and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from thee, and they have believed that thou didst send me.' (John, xvii. 8.) Jesus, in communing with God, manifests that he had completed the object of his commission by imparting divine commandments to mankind. 'I have glorified thee on the earth, *I have finished* the work which thou gavest me to do.' Had his death on the cross been the work, or part of the work for the performance of which Jesus came into this world, he, as the founder of truth, would not have declared himself *to have finished* the work prior to his death." I now beg that the Editor will be pleased to reconcile all the above passages to his position, that the death of Jesus on the cross was the sole object of his appearance in this world, and that his precepts were a mere code of morality inadequate to procure salvation. Had not Jesus disregarded his life, and suffered his blood to be shed, as predicted, in the delivery of the will of the Father, the whole of the Jews would have still remained sunk in superstition, and the Gentiles in idolatry, and there would have been no perfect security for the remission of sins and the attainment of eternal comfort in those sayings. Hence the gracious benefactor alludes to this act of delivery from sins, through divine instructions, even at the expense of his own life, and not to an actual sacrificial death as an equal value or compensation for the sin pardoned, since the New Testament declares that God forgives mankind *freely*, without any equivalent. Romans, iii. 24, "Being justified *freely*, (*δωρεαν*, *gratis*) by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ."

So Romans, viii. 32, 15, 16, 18, confirms the idea of justification by the free grace of God. For the further illustration of this subject, I quote the paraphrase on the above cited verse, (Rom., iii. 24,) by Locke, one of the greatest men that ever lived, and his notes on its different expressions. Locke's Works, Vol. viii. p. 304, Paraphrase on verses 24 and 25: "Being made righteous gratis, by the favour of God, through the redemption which is by Jesus Christ; whom God hath set forth to be the propitiatory, or mercy-seat, in his own blood, for the manifestation of his (God's) righteousness, by passing over their transgressions, formerly committed, which he hath bore with hitherto, so as to withhold his hand from casting off the nation of the Jews, as their past sins deserved."

Note on the word Redemption, verse 24: "Redemption signifies deliverance, but not deliverance from every thing, but deliverance from that to which a man is in subjection or bondage. Nor does redemption by Jesus Christ import, there was any compensation made to God, by paying what was of equal value, in consideration whereof they were delivered; for that is inconsistent with what St. Paul expressly says here, viz. that sinners are justified by God gratis, and of his free bounty. What this redemption is, St. Paul tells us, Eph., i. 7, Col., i. 14, 'even the forgiveness of sins.' But if St. Paul had not been so express in defining what he means by redemption, they yet would be thought to lay too much stress upon the criticism of a word, in the translation, who would thereby force from the word, in the original, a necessary sense which it is plain it hath not. That redeeming, in the sacred Scripture language, signifies not precisely paying an equivalent, is so clear that nothing can be more. I shall refer my reader to three or four places amongst a great number, Exod., vi. 6, Deut., vii. 8, xv. 12, and xxiv, 18. But if any one will, from the literal signification of the word in English, persist in it, against Paul's declarations, that it necessarily implies an equivalent price paid, I desire him to consider to whom; and that, if we strictly adhere to the metaphor, it must be to those whom the redeemed are in bondage, and from whom we are redeemed, viz. Sin and Satan. If he will not believe his own system for this, let him believe St. Paul's words, Tit., ii. 14:—'Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity.' Nor could the price be paid to God, in strictness of justice, (for that is made the argument here,) unless the same person ought, by that strict justice, to have both the thing redeemed, and

the price paid for its redemption; for it is to God we are redeemed, by the death of Christ; Rev., v. 9: 'Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood.'"

Note upon the word mercy-seat, verse 25: "ἱλαστηριον signifies propitiatory, or mercy-seat, and not propitiation, as Mr. Mede has rightly observed upon this place, in his discourse on God's house."

The Editor fills about a page and a half (a part of 550 and the whole of 550) with quotations from the writings of the apostles, to substantiate the doctrine of the atonement, beginning with Rom., iii. 24, already quoted by me; but as those teachers merely illustrated the sayings of their gracious Master, their writings must be understood with reference only to what had been taught by him. I will, therefore, not prolong the present subject of discussion by examining those passages separately, especially as I have already noticed some of them in the course of the examination of the Psalms and Prophets. Being desirous to shew that my interpretation of these is fully supported by scriptural authorities, I will only refer to a few texts explanatory of the terms sacrifice, ransom, offering, and the taking away the sins of the world, as ascribed to Jesus. Rom., v. 10; Heb., ii. 17; Eph., v. 2; Heb., v. 1, viii. 3, ix. 14, 23, 26; Tit., ii. 12—14; Heb., xiii. 12; Rev., i. 5; Eph., i. 7; Luke, i. 77; Matt., xx. 28; Mark, x. 45; i Tim., ii. 6.

Now I beg that my reader will be pleased to determine whether it would be more consistent with the context, and with the benevolent spirit of the Christian dispensation, to understand such words literally, and thus found the salvation attainable by Christianity, upon flesh and blood, human or divine; or whether it would not rather be thoroughly reasonable and scriptural, as well as consistent with the religion of Jesus, to take them in a spiritual sense as explained by the apostles themselves.

As the Editor's illustrative remarks upon the atonement (pages 552 and 553) rest entirely on the arguments previously adduced I will leave them unnoticed, having already examined those in the preceding chapters, except only his queries, "What shall we say to his impugning" (p. 108) "the doctrine of Christ's divine and human nature, even after having acknowledged it in chapter the second; and to his ridiculing his intercession?" &c., to which I must reply. It is perfectly optional with the Editor to say for or against any one whatever his conscience may permit; nevertheless

I shall, from the dictates of my own conscience, reject absolutely such unaccountable ideas as a mixed nature of God and man, as maintained by the Editor, as I have previously rejected the idea of a mixed nature of God, man, and lion, (नृसिंहावतार) in which Hindoos profess their faith. I have not the most distant recollection of acknowledging Christ's divine and human nature, and shall therefore feel obliged if the Editor will have the goodness to point out in what passage of chapter second of my Appeal I acknowledged this mystery. I have never, so far as I am aware, ridiculed, even in thought, the intercession of Jesus for mankind: I therefore hope that Christian charity will restrain the Editor from imputing to me in future such a charge. I only intended to refute the argument adduced by Trinitarians, that no being can intercede with another being for a third one, unless the mediator be possessed of the nature of the being with whom, as well as of those for whom, he intercedes.

To this assertion of the Editor, "the blood of no *mere creature* could take away sin," I add the assertion also maintained by the Editor that, "the Creator is not composed of blood and flesh," and leave to him to say, if the blood of Jesus was not that of a creature whose blood it was. It is evident from the circumstance of the blood of a creature being unable to take away sin, and the Creator having no blood, that the taking away of sin can have no connection with blood or a bloody sacrifice.

The Editor declares, (p. 554,) that "no one but Jehovah, the unchangeable God, could atone for sin, justify the sinner, and change his heart: the Father himself witnesses that it is Jehovah whom he hath appointed to this glorious work." "He humbled himself by becoming in our nature the Mediator between God and men." Nothing that I can conceive, but prejudice in favour of the Trinity, can prevent the Editor from perceiving gross inconsistency between his declaring Jesus to be the unchangeable Jehovah, and also to have been appointed by Jehovah, according to whose will the former Jehovah humbled himself in becoming in our nature a Mediator. How could the unchangeable Jehovah be endued with a new honour which he had not prior to his appointment by the latter Jehovah? How could the unchangeable God change his condition by assuming a new nature? If the acceptance of a new state of honour, the assuming of a new nature, or the alteration of properties, such as magnitude and other conditions, be not considered as changes in an object,

all phonomena may safely, according to the Editor's maxim, be called unchangeable; and consequently the application of the term "unchangeable" being common to Jehovah, and those who are not Jehovah, can imply no peculiar ground of distinction or reverence for Jehovah. The Editor says, (p. 545,) "Nor does it" (the Scripture) "give us the least hint that God ever has imparted any one infinite perfection to a finite creature. This, indeed, is impossible in its own nature." I therefore beg to ask, whether or not, on the same ground, it is not impossible in its own nature that the whole of the omnipresent God should be brought into a circumference of a small space subjected to all human feelings, and clothed at one time with two opposite natures, human and divine?

The Rev. Editor, in the concluding part of the subject of the atonement, attempts to prove the infinite perfection of Jesus, forgetting, perhaps, the denial made by Jesus himself of omniscience, as well as omnipotence as narrated in the evangelical writings. He entirely avoids here noticing what I stated in proof of the finite effects of Christ's appearance in the world; which I now repeat, and beg that the Editor will favour me with a reply thereto. My argument is, "That the effects of Christ's appearance on earth, whether with respect to the salvation or condemnation of mankind were *finite*, and therefore suitable to the nature of a finite being to accomplish, is evident from the fact, that to the present time millions of human beings are daily passing through the world, whom the doctrines he taught have never reached, and who of course must be considered as excluded from the benefit of his having died for the remission of their sins" (Second Appeal, p. 170,). Besides, it is worth observing, that an avowal of the beginning of creation, and of its end, amounts to a proof of the finite number of creatures, however numerous they may be; therefore atonement even for the remission of the sins of all of them must be of a finite nature.

Should it be alleged that the sins committed by a single individual, in the limited period of his life, though they are finite in themselves, yet are committed against the infinite God and thereby they are infinite, and that an atonement on the part of an infinite being is therefore necessary for their remission; I shall reply—In the first place, the assertion that the guilt committed against an infinite Being is infinite in its consequences, is entirely unsupported by reason or proof, and is contrary to scriptural authorities; for we find that

the Israelites were, from time to time, afflicted with finite punishment for the sins they committed against the infinite God. 1 Chronicles, xxi. 12; "So God came to David, and said unto him, Thus saith the Lord, choose thee either *three years' famine, or three months* to be destroyed before thy foes, while that the sword of thine enemies overtake thee; or *else three days* the sword of the Lord, even the pestilence, in the land, and the angel of the Lord destroying throughout all the coasts of Israel," &c. Ver. 15: "And God sent an angel unto Jerusalem, to destroy it; and as he was destroying, the Lord *beheld, and he repented him of the evil,* and said to the angel that destroyed, It is enough, stay now thine hand," &c. Judges, xiii. 1: "And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord: and the Lord delivered them into the hand of the Philistines *forty years.*"

In the second place, were we to admit the truth of this argument, we must, upon the same ground, as far as reason suggests, esteem a good act, done for the honour of the commandment of the infinite God, or a prayer offered to propitiate the Divine Majesty, to be also worthy of infinite reward as its effect. Under these circumstances we cannot help observing, that among those that believe in any revelation, either true or received as true, there is, probably, no man that has not performed, at least, one single righteous act during the whole period of his life; but as he is a mortal and imperfect being, he cannot be supposed to have escaped every sin in this tempting world: every man, then, must be both guilty of infinite sin and an agent of infinite virtue. If we suppose that this very person is to be punished for eternity, according to the Editor, for the infinite sin he has committed, there will be no opportunity of his enjoying an infinite reward for his good work; but, according to the position, he must be either rewarded for his good or punished for his evil actions for eternity, while justice requires that he should experience the consequences of both. Would it be consistent with the perfect nature of the just God, to afflict one with eternal punishment for his guilt, leaving, at the same time, his good deeds unnoticed entirely, though performed with a view to the glory of God? Is it not, therefore scriptural as well as reasonable, that all men should be judged, after death, according to their good and evil works; and then, that through the intercession of one who stands as a mediator between God and man, those who have, through Christ, truly repented, shall be

admitted to enjoy infinite beautitude by the free bounty of the Father of the universe, to which they are not entitled by their own merit?

As to such phrases as *everlasting fire, or everlasting punishments*, found in the English version, I beg to refer my readers to the original Greek, in which the term αιωνιος, being derived from αιων, denotes, frequently, *duration* or *ages;* that is "durable fire," or, "durable punishments." Besides they may find the term "everlasting," when applied to an object *not divine*, implies long duration. Gen., xvii. 8: "And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession," &c., xlix. 26: "The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors, unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills," &c. Habakkuk, iii. 6: "He stood and measured the earth: He beheld and drove asunder the nations; and the everlasting mountains were scattered, and the perpetual hills did bow." *Vide* Note in the Second Appeal, p. 234.

CHAPTER III.

INQUIRY INTO THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

SECTION I.

The Pentateuch and Psalms.

I NOW proceed to examine the doctrine of the Trinity, a term which, although it is frequently introducted both in orthodox writings and conversation, as the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, yet is not once found in any part of the sacred book.

The first position the Editor advances, in support of the deity of Jesus, (556), is, that the angel, who is said in Gen., xlviii. 16, to have redeemed Jacob, was Jesus himself, as he appears, " in the Scripture, distinct from the Father and able to redeem," and that the same redeeming being was the angel who spoke to Jacob in a dream, "I am the God of Bethel," (Gen. xxxi., 13 :) and appeared to Moses " in a flame of fire, out of the midst of an unconsumed bush," (Exodus iii. 2,) and who came up from Gilgal to Bochim, and said, "I made you go up out of Egypt," &c. (Judges, ii. 1,) and called unto Abraham out of the heaven, and said, " Thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me," Gen. xxii. 12,) whence the Editor concludes, that Christ being the redeeming angel, and that redeeming angel being the angel that spoke of himself as God in other instances, Christ is God. The Editor, although he fills more than two pages with this argument, yet never thinks of producing a single authority for his inference, that the angel who redeemed Jacob, was Christ, or for his identifying that angel with those angels whom the Editor considers as Jehovah, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The only reason he assigns for his first supposition is, that the angel appeared " distinct from the Father and able to redeem ; " hence he was Christ who is represented as the redeemer of his people. Can the circumstance of the performance of similar acts, by two persons, identify one with the other? If so, we must, on the same ground, identify God with the human race, the Scriptures having ascribed to them both, such attributes as mercy, wrath, reward, and punishment ; and we also, on the same principle, must maintain the identity of Jesus with all those that are said in the sacred books to have redeemed people at different times. Isaiah, lxiii. 9 : "In all their affliction he was afflicted, and

the angel of his presence *saved* them; in his love and in his pity he *redeemed* them, and he bare them, and carried them all the days of old." Ruth, iv. 14: "And the woman said unto Naomi, Blessed be the Lord who hath not left thee this day without a *redeemer*,* גאל that his name may be famous in Israel." Neh. v. 8: "We, after our ability, have *redeemed* our brethren the Jews, who were sold unto the heathen."

Were we to admit, for a moment, that the angel who redeemed Jacob was indeed Jesus, it would necessarily follow, according to the Editor, that there was Christ-man-Jesus, God-Jesus, and Angel-Jesus; that is, that Christ is possessed of a three-fold nature, and to be esteemed as an obedient servant in his human capacity, as a faithful messenger in his angelical nature, and as an independent master and employer in his divine essence!

If it be alleged that the term angel is here only figuratively applied to Jesus, I shall reply, that we find nothing in the verse that can prevent the application of the term "angel" to the angel of God in its literal sense; no one, under such a circumstance, can be justified in adopting a metaphorical meaning; nevertheless we will, in conformity to the spirit of the sacred writings, maintain the opinion that God is the only true redeemer, and that his Christ, his angels, and his prophets, are redeemers in a secondary sense; that is they are the instruments in the hand of God in his works of redemption. If the scriptures do not scruple to call angels, like Jesus, "Gods," and "Sons of God," in a metaphorical sense, we should not wonder if we find the term "redeemer" applied to any angel of God, in an inferior sense.—Psalm, xcvii. 7: "Worship him, ye gods." Judges, xiii. 21, 22: "Then Manoah knew that he was an angel of the Lord, and Manoah said unto his wife, We shall surely die, because we have seen God."—Job, i. 6: "The sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord." As to his latter supposition, that the angel who redeemed Jacob was the same that appeared to him in a dream, and to Abraham and to others, on different occa-

* In the English Bible the term kinsman is here employed. This, however, is inaccurate, which will appear by referring to the context. It is thereby made evident that, before the birth of this son, Ruth and Naomi had Boaz and others as their kinsmen, and therefore the expression "who hath not left thee this day without a kinsman" cannot have reference to the child then born. Besides the synonymous term "restorer of thy life" used in verse 15th for the child, sufficiently determines the meaning.

sions, the Editor neither attempts to assign reasons nor does he endeavour to shew any authority for his assertion. He might, perhaps, lay stress on the definite article prefixed to the word "angel," in several of these instances, in the English version, (which he cannot do without total disregard to the idiom and use of the Hebrew language,) and thereby might attempt to substantiate the identity of one angel with the other. He would however, in this case, soon perceive his own error, if he should refer to Judges xiii. 16, where *the* angel (with the definite article in the common version) says to Manoah, "Though thou detain me, I will not eat of thy bread; and if thou wilt offer a burnt-offering, thou must offer it unto the Lord," declaring himself unworthy of the worship due to God alone; or if he should turn to 2 Samuel, xxiv. 16, where the angel is represented as an obedient messenger of God, a destroying instrument in the hands of Jehovah. Many other instances might be cited of a similar nature. How, then, can Jesus if he be the being termed *the* angel, speak of himself, (as the Editor supposes,) as God in one instance, while in others he renounces his own deity, and even declares, that he destroys the lives of thousands by the command of a superior being?

Let us now examine whether or not the prophets as well as the angels of God, in the delivery of his message and his will, did not often speak in behalf of God, as if God himself had spoken I confine my notice to the prophets; for were I to point out any angel speaking in behalf of Jehovah, without distinction of persons, the Editor might attempt to deduce from this very circumstance, that that angel was God the Son.

Instances similar to the following abound in the Old Treatment. Isaiah x. 4—7: "Without *me* they shall bow down under the prisoners, and they shall fall under the slain. For all *this his* anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still. O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is my indignation. I will send him against an hypocritical nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets. Howbeit *he* meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy and cut off nations not a few." Ch. xxix. 1—3: "Woe to Ariel, to Ariel, the city where David dwelt! add ye year to year; let them kill sacrifices; yet I will distress Ariel, and there shall be heaviness and sorrow: and it shall be unto me as Ariel. I

will camp against thee round about, and will lay seige against thee with a mount, and I will raise forts against thee." Micah, iv. 13: "Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion, for I will make," &c. Ch. v. 1: "Now gather thyself in troops, O daughter of troops; he hath laid siege against us: they shall smite the judge of Israel with a rod upon the cheek. But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel," &c. Now I presume, the Editor will not propose to identify those prophets with the Deity; yet he must admit that his argument, if it has any weight at all, must force us to submit to that monstrous conclusion.

In the course of this argument the Rev. Editor asserts, that "Christ also, in John, viii., declares himself to be precisely what Jehovah declares himself in Exodus, iii. 14: 'Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, *I am* hath sent me unto you.' John viii. 24: 'If ye believe not that I am (*he* being supplied') ye shall die in your sins;' and ver. 58, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am.'" How is it possible that the Editor, a diligent student of the Bible for thirty or forty years, can have made such a palpable mistake as to assert, that the declaration of Jehovah, in Exod., iii., and that of Jesus, in John, viii., are *precisely the same*? It is but his zeal to support the doctrine of the Holy Trinity that can have prevented him from examining the phrases found in these two chapters. In Exod., God says, "Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, אשֶׁר אהיה אהיה* 'the being who *is* being' that sent me unto you;" a phrase in Hebrew, which implies Him who alone can be described as only mere being or existence, and which is translated in the Greek Septuagint, though not† very correctly, "εγω ει ι ο ων" "I am the being." But in the Gospel of John (viii. 24) the words are, "I am," (*he or Christ,*) and the original Greek "εαω ειμι" "I am," without the addition of "ο ων" "the being," as is found in the Septuagint. In the Hebrew translation of John, viii. 24, אני הוא or "I he," is found. So in ver. 58, we find only "εγω ειμι' or "I am." In John, viii. 24, the word

* אהיה is the future tense of היה to be, which literally implies "I shall be," and is used for "I am," that is, "I am and I shall be;" equivalent to the "eternal being." The Jews consequently count this term among the names of God, as is evident from its being used in agreement with a verb in the third person, as in the above-cited verse.

† I say not very correctly, because we find in the Septuagint, the term אהיה, rendered ο ωι, or the being, in one instance, and εαω ειμι in lieu of the same term אהיה in the other.

"χριστος' 'is of course supplied in comparing with Matt., xxiv. 5, "I am Christ," and with John, iv. 25, 26. I would then ask, Is אהיה אשר אהיה. or "the being who *is* being," a phrase precisely the same with "εγω ειμι or "I am"? If so, it must require a mode of argument to prove it, equally beyond my comprehension with the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, which it is brought to support.

From the circumstance of Jesus' having announced "before Abraham was I am" (v. 58.) the Editor concludes that "the Jews at once understood him to declare himself God and took up stones to stone him: nor did Jesus hint that they had mistaken him;" a silence which the Editor thinks amounts to the tacit acknowledgment by Jesus of his deity. But from the context of verse the 58th, it appears clearly that the indignation of the Jews arose from the idea that Jesus declared himself not merely the contemporary of Abraham, but even gave out that before Abraham, he was; and that it was for this they attempted to stone him. It is not the only instance in which Jesus left the Jews to labour under a misconception of his meaning, for we find the same to have been the case in several other instances. Thus: John, ii. 19 and 21, "Jesus answered and said unto them: destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up. Then said the Jews: Forty and six years was this temple in building and wilt thou rear it up in three days? But he spake of the temple of his body." John, vi. 53 and 66, viii. 26—27. "I have many things to say and to judge of you, but he that sent me is true; and I speak to the world those things which I have heard of him: they understood not that he spake to them of the Father."

The Editor mentions (559) that "Job also testifies that the redeemer is God;" and quotes Job, xix. 25—26, "For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God." I fully coincide with the Editor in this declaration: not Job alone but all the other writers of the sacred books testify that the true redeemer is God; and they all expected him to cast his mercy upon them, both at the last moment of their life, and at the last period of the world. I am at a loss to know what expression in the passage in question has induced the Editor to refer to the other texts cited, "would we know whether by God, Job means some inferior deity, neither creature nor creator;" for there can be no doubt that the term redeemer is frequently in the sacred writings applied in its strict sense to the Most High God; and that the phrases,

"He shall stand at last," and "I shall see God," which are also found in the above passage, are often spoken of the Supreme Being, without implying any necessity of understanding them as applicable to an inferior deity, either creature or creator. Exodus, xxxiv. 5: "And the Lord descended in the cloud, and stood with him there," &c., Zech., xiv. 3, 4: "Then shall the Lord go forth and fight against those nations, as when he fought in the day of battle. And his feet will stand in that day npon the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem" Numb., xiv. 14: "That thou art seen face to face." Matt., v. 8: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." The phrase, "at the latter day," found in ver. 25, is incorrectly rendered in the English version as the translation of the Hebrew אחרון, as has been already noticed in page 37. [Note.]

The Editor refers his readers to Psalm, ii. last verse, "Kiss the son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are they who trust in him,"—leaving the context carefully out of sight. I therefore deem it proper to cite the preceding verses here, that the public may judge whether the verse referred to by the Editor be directly applicable to Jesus or to David. David thus relates the circumstance of the hostile disposition of the heathen kings against God and against his anointed David himself, in verses 1—3, and the despite of God at their vain boast, in verses 4—6. He then mentions, in verses 7—9, how God afforded him consolation: "I will declare the decree: The Lord hath said unto *me*, thou art my son; THIS DAY HAVE I BEGOTTEN THEE. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt *break* them with a *rod of iron;* thou shalt *dash them in pieces* like a potter's vessel. David lastly mentions what God recommended those heathen kings to do for their safety, verses 10—12: "Beware now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth! Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the son, lest he be angry," &c. Here Jehovah, in verse 7, calls David, "*My son, this day have I begotten thee,*" corresponding with Psalm, lxxxix. 27, "Also, I will make him (David) my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth." I must again say, that nothing except the violent force of early-acquired prejudice can lead any one to the direct application of the term "son" (found again in verse 12 of the same Psalm, relating to the same subject) to another than David. God again assures David,

in verses 8, 9, that he would have the heathen for his possession, and that he would break the heathens and dash them to pieces. So we find in 1 Chron. xiv. 8: "When the Philistines heard that David was* anointed king over all Israel, all the Philistines went up to seek David and David heard of it; and went out against them." Ver. 16, 17: "David therefore did as God commanded him: and they smote the host of the Philistines from Gibeon even to Gazer. And the fame of David went out into *all lands*; and the Lord brought the *fear of him upon all nations*." And ch. xviii. 1—8: "Now after this it came to pass, that David smote the Philistines, and subdued them, and took Gath and her towns out of the hand of the Philistines. And he smote Moab; and the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts. And David smote Hadarezer, king of Zobah, unto Hamath, as he went to establish his dominion by the Euphrates. And David took from him a thousand chariots, and seven thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand footmen: David also houghed all the chariot horses, but received of them an hundred chariots. And when the Syrians of Damascus came to help Hadarezer, king of Zobah, David slew of the Syrians two-and-twenty thousand men. Then David put garrisons in Syria-damascus, and the Syrians became David's servants, and brought gifts. Thus the Lord preserved David *whithersoever* he went. And David took the shields of gold that were on the servants of Hadarezer, and brought them to Jerusalem. Likewise from Tibhath, and from Chun, cities of Hadarezer, brought David very much brass, wherewith Solomon made the brazen sea, and the pillars, and the vessels of brass." And also ch. xx. 2, 3: "And David took the crown of their king from off his head, and found it to weigh a talent of gold; and there were precious stones in it; and it was set upon David's head: and he brought also exceeding much spoil out of the city. And he brought out the people that were in it, and *cut them with saws, and with harrows of iron, and with axes*. Even so dealt David with all the cities of the childern of Ammon. And David and all the people returned to Jerusalem." Do not such denunciations as "Thou shalt break them with a *rod of iron*," "Thou shalt dash them in pieces," found in ver. 9 of the above Psalm correspond with 1 Chron. xx., "David smote the Philistines;" "he smote Moab;" "David smote Hadarezer;" "David slew of the Syrians two and twenty thousand

* *Vide* Psalm ii. 2, "against his anointed."

men;" "David took the crown of their king from off his head;" "and cut them" (the citizens) "with saws, and with harrows of iron"? Are not these directly suitable to the history of David the conqueror, called by God, his son, rather than to the office and nature of the meek and lowly Jesus, who, though most exalted among the sons of God, was himself the victim of the rage of unbelievers? Even upon the Trinitarian system, do not such sentences as "*Ask* I shall give thee the heathen for an inheritance," corresponding with the passages in *Chronicles*, "The Lord brought the fear of him" (David) "*upon all nations*," "Thus the Lord preserved David whithersoever he went," admit of better application to David, whose glory depended from time to time upon his supplications to God, than to Jesus, who, as God himself, according to the Editor. was possessed of infinite power and glory from eternity, and needed not to ask of another? Does not such address to the heathen kings as "Kiss the son, lest he be angry," &c., agree with the circumstances mentioned in 1 Chron., xviii. xx: "The Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts;" "the Syrians became David's servants, and brought gifts;" "and he brought out the people—and cut them with saws, and with harrows of iron, and with axes. Even so dealt David with all the cities of the children of Ammon?"

The opponents whom David broke "with a rod of iron," were his political enemies; consequently the assertion of the Editor, that "the destruction to spiritual enemies is no where in scripture described as arising from the wrath of a mere creature," has no applicability to the subject in question. As to his assertion, "Prophets denounced on men the wrath of God, and pronounced on them a curse in his name," I only refer the Rev. Editor to 2 Kings, v. 26, 27, in which Elisha is said, when displeased at the conduct of his servant, to have miraculously punished him with leprosy, without pronouncing on him verbally any curse in the name of God; and also to Exod., xxiii. 21, wherein he will find that the angels of God, if provoked, have the power of keeping away pardon from men.

It may, however, be fairly concluded from the authority and acts of Jesus himself, that both the angel and the prophets of God, in performing miracles, either of punishment or reward, according as they were disposed, applied always to God for power, though they sometimes omitted to express such applications verbally, John, xi. 41, 42: "And Jesus" (in raising Lazarus from the dead) "lifted up

his eyes and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me; and I knew that thou hearest me *always*."

From the words, "who trust in him," found in the second Psalm, the Editor attempts to prove the deity of the Son on the supposition that the phrase "to trust in" is exclusively applicable to God, and corroborates his opinion by Jer., xvii. 5, forgetting that this term, though it is often used with reference to God, yet is applied sometimes to created beings. Prov., xxxi. 11: "The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall have no need of spoil." Isaiah, xiv. 32: "The Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it." As to Jer., xvii. 5, quoted by the Editor, "Thus saith Jehovah, Cursed be he that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from Jehovah," it, of course, implies that he who trusts in man, independently of God, should be cursed, as appears from the last sentence of the same verse, "whose heart departeth from Jehovah"

The Editor quotes Psalm, xxiv. 1, 2: "The earth is Jehovah's and the fulness thereof, the world, and they that dwell therein; for he hath founded it upon the sea, and established it upon the floods," and compares it with John, i. 3, "All things were made by him, (the Word,) and without him was not any thing made which was made. The inference which he draws from this comparison is, that "In creating power, Christ is equal to Jehovah." Were we to overlook the mistranslation of this verse* in the English version, (which it is almost impossible not to notice,) and to understand the passages as it stands in the orthodox translation, we should esteem Jesus as the cause of all created things. But we should be in this case naturally inclined to ascertain whether Jesus was an efficient or an instrumental cause.

* [All things were done by him.] "All things were made by him and without him was not any thing made that was made." Newcome: who explains it of the creation of the visible material world by Christ, as the agent and instrument of God. See his notes on verses 3 and 10. But this is a sense which the word ξλξνξτο will not admit. τινομαι occurs upwards of seven hundred times in the New Testament, but never in the sense of create. It signifies in this gospel, where it occurs fifty-three times, to be, to come, to become, to come to pass; also, to be done or transacted, Chapter xv. 7; xix. 36. It has the latter sense, Matt., v. 18; vi, 8; xxi, 42; xxvi, 6. "All things in the Christian dispensation were done by Christ" i, e, by his authority, and according to his direction; and in the ministry committed to his apostles, nothing has been done without his warrant. See John xv, 4, 5: "Without me ye can do nothing," Compare verses, 7, 10, 16; John, xvii, 8; Col., i. 16, 17; Cape, ibid, (Improved Version.)

of those things; since the preposition "by," found in the verse, signifies either a principal agent of an action, or an instrument therein. We find Heb., 1. 2, (as it stands in the English version,) deciding the question beyond a doubt; "(God hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, *by whom* also *he made the worlds*." Eph., iii. 9: "Who (God) created all things by Jesus Christ." Here all the worlds are represented as made by Jesus as an instrument in the hands of God. It is hoped that after reflecting upon this decision, by the author of these epistles, the Editor may, perhaps, retract his assertion, that "in creating power, Christ is equal to Jehovah", and be of opinion that the world was made by the will of one being. Could not Jehovah, to whom the Editor ascribes omnipotence, create this world independently of another omnipotent being, equal to him "in creating power"? If not, the world must be, in this case, the joint production of Jehovah and Christ, as well as of the Holy Ghost, (whom the Editor here omits to notice,) and each of them must depend upon the others in creation, like joint managers of a concern. Can the Editor point out any set of men, or any nation professing a grosser polytheism than this? The only difference that he can shew between his notion and that of avowed polytheists, must consist only in respect of the increase or decrease of the supposed number of Creators—a distinction which will amount to nothing intrinsic. I must now leave the subject to the sound judgment of my reader.

The Editor further proceeds, saying, "With reference to Christ, Paul adds (1 Cor., x. 25, 26,) "Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, *that* eat: For the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." He then concludes, "If this Psalm, (xxiv. 1) then, speak of Jehovah the Father, the same absolute dominion over the earth is here ascribed to the Son as to the Father; if the Son, he is there termed Jehovah,"— St. Paul here justifies the eating of whatever is sold in the shambles, referring to Psalm xxiv. 1, as his reason for such justification, without the most distant allusion to Jesus: I am, therefore, at a loss to discover the ground upon which the Editor founded his foregoing conclusion. For further illustration I quote the paraphrase by a most eminent personage on the above verses of Corinthians: "Eat whatever is sold in the shambles, without any inquiry or scruple, whether it had been offered to any idol or no. For the earth and all therein are the good creatures of the true God, given by him to men for their

use."—(Locke, Vol. viii.) If the Editor still insists, in defiance of St. Paul's reference, of common sense, and of the above paraphrase, that in 1 Cor., x. 26, St. Paul alludes to Jesus, I should take upon myself to refer him to Hebrews, i. 2, (the Son) "whom he (God) hath *appointed heir of all things*"; and the John, iii. 35, "The Father loveth the Son, and *hath given all things* into his hand." These I hope will convince him that all the power and possession of the Son, in heaven and on earth, are derived from the gift of the Father of the universe.

The Editor quotes 1 Cor., x. 22: "Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?" whence he infers that "the Lord then is capable of being provoked by the worship of idols equally with God." Granting that St. Paul means Jesus by the term "Lord," and by the pronoun "he," in verse the 22nd, (a position which is unsupported by proof,) we still find nothing in the passage elevating Jesus to equality with his Father. The apostle may, according to the Editor's interpretation, be supposed to have prohibited Christians from provoking Christ to jealousy, by partaking of the cup and table of devils, instead of those of Christ, of which their Master required them to partake, as appears from the immediately preceding verse—"Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils. Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils." Is it not natural that Jesus, who enjoined the apostles to observe the Lord's Supper, would be provoked to jealousy by his followers partaking both of his table, and of the sacrifice offered to idols, without his thereby equalizing himself with God? I find that the prophets of God are declared in more pointed terms to have been jealous of the dishonor manifested to God; but no one has ever felt disposed to ascribe to them equality with his Divine Majesty. 1 Kings, xix. 10: "And he said, I have been very jealous for the Lord God of hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, and thrown down thy altars," &c.

I will repeat *verbatim* the Editor's quotation of Psalm, xxiv. 8, and Eph., iv. 8, and his inference of the Deity of Jesus from the comparison of the one with the other, that my reader may perceive how violently prejudice can operate upon the human mind. He says (561) that "in verse 8th one is about to enter heaven as the king of glory; who is called 'Jehovah,' mighty in battle." In Eph., iv. "Jesus *elsewhere* styled the Lord of glory, ascends, having led

captivity captive, which implies battle and victory.* Here also the son is either described as equal in might to Jehovah, or as Jehovah himself." There are not in verse eighth nor in the whole Psalm, xxiv. such phrases as "captivity captive" or "ascend on high" as found in Eph., iv. 8; nor are there, in the whole Chapter iv. of Ephesians, the terms "king of glory," or even "Lord of glory," or "mighty in battle," as we find stated in the above Psalm. The Psalm commences by a declaration of God's sovereignty over the earth- proceeds, to state the virtues that must belong to those who seek his presence and desire his blessing—and concludes with an exhortation to Jerusalem to receive him as the king of glory—the Lord of Hosts. But the subject of the above verse of the Epistle to the Ephesians is Jesus, who ascended on high to give divine gifts to men, after he had *descended first into the middle of the grave*, as is evident from the immediately following verse: "Now that he ascended, what is it, but that he also *descended* first *into the lower parts of the earth*," and so on;—a descent which cannot be ascribed to God. Verse the 8th of iv. Eph. is an obvious reference to Psalm, lxviii. 18, a fact which is acknowledged even by Mr. Brown and Mr. Jones, and many other Trinitarian writers: "Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive, thou hast received gifts for men; yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them." But the Editor omits here to compare the passage in Ephes. with the last mentioned Psalm, though both contain almost the same words that he dwells upon; perhaps in consideration of the latter phrases of the Psalm being inconsistent with his object. "Thou *hast received gifts* for men that *the Lord God might dwell among them*," which clearly shows the subordination of the son to his heavenly father. In further explanation I repeat the note of Mr. Locke on verses 9 and 11 of Ephesians in his paraphrase of this Epistle, (p. 477.) Note on verses 9, 10: "St. Paul's argumentation, in these two verses is skillfully adapted to the main design of his Epistle. The converted gentiles were attacked by the unconverted Jews, who were declared enemies to the thoughts of a Messiah that died. St. Paul, to enervate that objection of theirs, proves by the passage out of the Psalms, v. 8, that he must die and be buried. Besides the unbelieving Jews,

* This term "to lead captivity captive" is not synonymous to "mighty in battle" nor equivalent in application. For one may be mighty in battle without leading captives; so one may lead captive by miraculous or artful means without being mighty in battle.

several of them, that were converted to the Gospel, or at least professed to be so, attacked the gentile converts, on another ground, persuading them, that they could not be admitted to be the people of God under the kingdom of the Messiah, nor receive any advantage by him, unless they were circumcised and put themselves, wholly under the Jewish constitution. He had said a great deal, in the three first chapters, to free them from this perplexity, but yet takes occasion here to offer them a new argument, by telling them, that Christ, the same Jesus that died, and was laid in his grave, was exalted to the right hand of God, above all the heavens, in the highest state of dignity and power, that, he himself being filled with the fulness of God, believers, who were all his members, might receive immediately from him, their head, a fulness of gifts and graces, upon no other terms but barely as they were his members."

After having compared Psalm, xxxvi. 6, "O Jehovah, thou preservest man and beast," with Col., i. 17, "By him (by Jesus) all things consist," and with Hebrews, i. 3, "He upholds all things by the word of his power," the Editor thus concludes, "The Son, then, is either equal to Jehovah in preserving power, or Jehovah himself." In the first place, in some ancient manuscripts, instead of "by him all things consist," there is the phrase "all things are united in him," which of course bears no comparison with the above Psalm, "O Jehovah, thou preservest man and beast." In the second place, he may perceive from the context, that by the term "all things," the apostle could have meant only the things concerning the Christain dispensation: for we find, in the verse immediately following, Jesus is declared to be "the head of the body, the church," and in the preceding verse,* "the things" are enumerated as orders and ranks in the religious and the moral world, and not natural substances. In the third place, admiting even the interpreta-

* "That the apostle does not here intend the creation of natural substances, is evident; for 1st, he does not say, that by him were created heaven and earth, but things in heaven and things on earth; 2ndly, He does not, in descending into detail, specify things themselves, viz, celestial and terrestrial substances, but merely states of things, viz., thrones, dominions, &c., which are only ranks and orders of beings in the rational and moral world; 3rdly, It is plain, from comparing ver. 15 and ver. 18, that Christ is called the first-born of the whole creation, because he is the first who was raised from the dead to an immortal life; 4thly, The creation of natural objects, the heaven, the earth, and sea, and all things therein, when they are plainly and unequivocally mentioned, is uniformly and invariably ascribed to the Father, both in the Old Testament and the New. Hence, it follows, that the creation, which the Apostle here ascribes to Christ,

tion of the Editor, that all natural substances consist by Jesus, we cannot help yielding conviction to the repeated avowal of Jesus, manifesting that the support of all things, or the things of the new dispensation by Jesus, is entirely owing to the power vested in him by the Father of all things, without which he is totally unable to support them. John, xvii. 2: "Thou hast *given him*" (the Son) "power over all flesh." Ch. v. 30: "I *can* of mine own self *do nothing*," &c., As to the term "all things," *τα παντα* found in Heb., i. 3, just quoted by the Editor, it signifies also, all the things belonging to the Christian dispensation, as I observed before. But if the Editor again insists upon his mode of interpretation, as meaning all natural objects by that term, he, by referring to John, xiv. 24, "The *word* which ye hear *is not mine but the Father's*" and Matt., xxviii. 18, "*All power is given unto me* in heaven and on earth," must be convinced that the word of power, by which Jesus upholds or rules all things, is, in fact, belonging to the Father.

In his attempt to prove the deity of Jesus, the Editor repeats (p. 561) Psalm, xlv. 6, as quoted in Heb., i. 8, "Thy throne, O *Jehovah*, is forever and ever." My reader may observe, that to apply to Jesus the term "Jehovah," the peculiar name of God, the Editor perverts the verse in question by placing the word "Jehovah" instead of "God," a term which is in the Scriptures, commonly used, not only for the Creator, but for other superior existences. He at the same time, neglects entirely the original Psalm in Hebrew אלהים, "Thy throne, O God." and also the original Epistle to Hebrews, in Greek θεος "The throne of thee, O God." I now beg to ask the Editor to let me know his authority for this unaccountable change. I should for my own part, be indeed very sorry and ashamed of my opinions if I found myself to make perversions of scriptural passages, and to set aside the suggestions of common sense, to support the doctrines that I may have been persuaded to profess. It is

expresses that great chaage which was introduced into the moral world and particularly into the relative situation of Jews and Gentiles, by the dispensation of the gospel. This is often called creation, or the new creation, and is usually ascribed to Jesus Christ, who was the great prophet and messenger of the new covenant. See Eph., i. 10, ii, 10—15, iii. 9, iv, 24; Col., iii. 10; 2 Cor., v. 17. This great change the apostle here describes under the symbol of a revolution, introduced by Christ amongst certain ranks and orders of beings, by whom, according to the Jewish demonology, borrowed from the oriental philosophy, the affairs of states and individuals were superintended and governed. See Mr. Lindsey's Sequel, page 477, and Wetstien in loc." Improved Version.

again worth observing, that the Editor quotes the above passage of Psalm, xlv., omitting entirely to notice my remarks on it in the Second Appeal. I am therefore, induced to repeat them, in the hope that he may reply to them, and adopt a regular mode of argumentation. After stating that Moses was also called God in the Scriptures, I thus proceed: "On what principle, then, can any stress be laid in defence of the deity of the Son, in the prophetic expression quoted in Hebrews from Psalm xlv. 6. 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever'; especially when we find, in the very next verse, words that declare his subordinate nature, 'Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness, therefore, God, *thy God,* hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above *thy fellows*'"? (p. 138.) "But it deserves particularly to be noticed, in this instance, that the Messiah, in whatever sense, he is declared God, is, in the very same sense, described in verse 7, ('God thy God,') as having a God *superior to him,* and by whom he was appointed to the office of Messiah." (P. 243.)

In the third place, no scripturalist ever hesitated to apply Psalm xlv. directly to Solomon, after his marriage with the daughter of Pharoah, as is evident from the context: "My heart is inditing a good matter: I speak of the things which I have made touching the king: my tongue *is* the pen of a ready writer. Thou art fairer than the children of men: grace is poured into thy lips: therefore God hath blessed thee for ever. Thy throne, O God, *is* for ever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom *is* a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness: therefore God, thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows. Kings' daughters *were* among the honourable women: upon thy right hand did stand the queen in gold of Ophir. Hearken, O daughter, and consider and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house: so shall the king greatly desire thy beauty: for he *is* thy Lord, and worship thou him. Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth." If the application of the word "God" in an accommodated sense, entitle Jesus to deity how much more properly should the direct application of the same word, "God" to Solomon, according to the Editor, exalt him to a participation in the divine nature.

The Editor afterwards quotes, in defence of the deity of Jesus, Psalm, cii. 25—27, referred to by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, (i. 10—12,) "Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the

foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thy hand. They shall perish; but thou remainest: and they all shall wax old as doth a garment: and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail." The construction here admits of two interpretations: one is that verses 10—12, are, in continuation of verses 8, 9, addressed to the Son by God, supposed by the Editor: the other is, that the author of the Epistle to Hebrews invokes his Divine Majesty by quoting Psalm, cii. 25—27, after he has, in the preceding verse, introduced the name of God, as anointing the Son above his fellows to shew the continual duration of the honour bestowed on the Son, as flowing from the unchangeable and preserving power of the bestower of that honour. To ascertain which of these two intepretations the apostle had in view, let us now refer to the context. One's exaltation above his fellows by another, on account of his merit, as stated in the preceding verse (9) is quite inconsistent with the immutable character mentioned in verses 10—12, and, therefore, these two opposite qualities can by no means be ascribed to the same being. Again in the following verse, (13), the apostle, to prove the superiority of the Son over angels, asks, "To which of the angels said he at any time, Sit on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool?" Here common sense dictates, that if such expressions as "Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth," &c.; "As a vesture shalt thou fold them up;" and "Thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail," had been meant by the apostle as applicable to Jesus, he would not, in setting forth the dignity of the Son, have added the words, "Sit on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool"; which imply a much inferior nature to that attributed in the preceding passage, and which, indeed, may be parallelled by other expressions found in Scripture, applied to *mere human* beings. Deut., xxxii. 10: "He (Jehovah) kept him as the *apple of his eye.*" Isaiah, xlix. 16: "Behold, I have graven thee upon *the palms of my hands.*" Psalm, xlvii. 3: "He (Jehovah) shall subdue the people under *us*, and the nations under *our* feet." In describing the superior courage and the strength of a man who is reported to have overpowered a lion, and also a dog, no one, endued with common sense, would after stating the former fact, adduce the latter as an additional proof of courage and strength, as it is evident that to kill a dog is a feat by no means of so wonderful a nature as that of overcoming a lion. My reader may recollect Matt., xxii. 45:

"If David then call him (the Messiah) Lord, how is he his son?" which tells us that Jesus disproves the assertion of the Messiah being the son of David, on the ground that no father could consistently call his son "Lord," much less could he apply to his son the term "My Lord." Were we to admit the first interpretation, upheld by the Editor, and to consider the passage, "Thou, Lord, in the beginning, &c., as a part of the address of Jehovah to Jesus, we must, in conformity to the argument used by Jesus himself, in Matt., xxii. 45, relinquish the commonly-received doctrine, that Jesus is the Son of God, and actually admit his superiorty to the Father of the universe, who, according to the Editor, addresses him as "Lord" in Heb., i. 10. Either, therefore, the Editor must abandon the opinion that God the Father addresses Jesus as Lord, in the passage referred to, or he must cease to consider him as the "Son of God."

The Editor again uses the word Jehovah in verse 10, and reads, "Thou, Jehovah, in the beginning," &c., instead of "Thou, Lord, in the beginning," &c., without assigning any reason for his deviating from the English version, as well as the Hebrew and Greek originals. For in the original Hebrew there is no "Jehovah" mentioned in Psalm, cii. 25, and, consequently, in the Greek passage, Heb., i. 10, which is a quotation of the same verse of the Psalm, the term *κυριε* cannot be supposed to be intended as a translation of the word Jehovah. So in the English version the verse stands thus, "Thou, *Lord*, in the beginning," &c. I shall, however, feel obliged to the Rev. Editor, if he can point out to me any authority for his substitution of the word "Jehovah" for Lord, in the verse in question.

With a view to weaken the strength of the evidence found in 1 Cor., xv. 24, as to the changeable nature of Christ, the Editor says, (p. 562) "His original throne as Jehovah God, is for ever and ever; his mediatorial throne remains for a season, and ceases." I have already noticed, in pages 139 and 234 of the Second Appeal, and in the foregoing chapter of this work, that the term *for ever*, or similar terms, when used for a creature, or a begotten son, signify, in scriptural idiom, long duration of time. My reader, therefore, by referring to those instances, will be convinced that neither Solomon, to whom Psalm, cii. 25, is directly applied, nor Jesus, to whom the apostle applies the said verse in the above Psalm, in an accommodated sense, can be supposed to be endued with a throne or kingdom

that never will cease;—a question which St. Paul decides in the most plain and positive terms, in 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25: "Then cometh the end, when he shall have *delivered up the kingdom* to God, even the Father; when he shall have laid down all rule and authority and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet." (Verse 28:) "And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the *Son also himself* be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." Here the apostle declares, that Jesus will in the end *deliver up his kingdom to God the Father*, and not to God composed (as the Editor maintains) of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that the Son himself, unlimited to any particular capacity, whether mediatorial, human, or divine, shall be subject to the Father, that God alone may be all in all. Is there in this passage, or in any other part of the Scriptures, any authority for saying that the Son's mediatorial throne *alone* shall be delivered up to the Father? On the contrary, neither he nor any one, can in a mediatorial capacity exercise a kingdom; but Jesus, as the king of our faith, the anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows, has a kingdon and throne, and that kingdom only can he deliver up in the end of the world, that God may be all in all. Besides the above verse (28) asserts, that he, as the *Son*, the highest title that Jesus is honoured with, will be subject to him who has exalted him above all creatures. No one, besides, unbiassed by early prejudice, can ever venture to pronounce such an opinion as that a being can lose his kingdom in any capacity whatsoever, and yet be unchangeable.

As some orthodox divines had attempted to prove the deity of Jesus from the circumstance of the term "shepherd" being applied to God, in Psalm, xxiii. 1, and to Jesus, in John, x. 16, I pointed out (p. 249 of the Second Appeal), that the same term "shepherd" is used for Moses, (in Isaiah, lxiii. 11. "With the shepherd of his flock,") and for the leaders of Israel, (Jer., xxiii 4, "I will set up shepherds over them,") yet that none of those persons is supposed to have been united with God.

The Rev. Editor, although he acknowledged the accuracy of my above assertion, yet tries to draw from it an argument against me by means of one or two strange questions. One is, (p. 562,) "But did he" (the author) "never read of a chief shepherd, who, when he shall appear, will give the under-shepherds a crown of

glory?" The other is, "But was our author ignorant that David was also one of Christ's fold, and Moses, and Abraham?" In answer to which, I must confess that I am ignorant of David, Moses, and Abraham, having been of Christ's fold: and although Jesus is styled "a chief shepherd," yet such avowal of his superiority above other messengers of the Deity neither places him on a level with Jehovah, nor does it prove his unity with the Most High God. Can a chief among the generals of a king be ever supposed equal to, or identified with, the king, his employer? With respect to the argument founded on referring to Jesus Christ, Ezek., xxxiv. 23, "I will set one shepherd, even my servant David," I observed in my Second Appeal, (p. 249,) that even in this case, "they must still attribute his shepherdship over his flock to divine commission, and must relinquish the idea of unity between God the employer, and the Messiah his servant," to which the Editor makes reply, "We must relinquish a unity of nature between the Divine Father and the Messiah whom he sent, just as much as we do between Cyaxares and Cyrus, employed to lead his armies, between Vespasian and Titus, between George the Third and his son, now George the Fourth." In this passage, it must be confessed that we have something like a clear definition or exposition of the nature of the Trinity, in which the Editor professes his belief;—that is, he conceives the God-head to constitute a genus like angel, man, fowl, fish, &c., God the Son being of the same nature with God the Father, just as the man George the Third is of the same nature with the man George the Fourth, though of a separate will, inclination, and passion, and distinct existence—a conception which is certainly compatible with an idea of unity of nature between the Father and the Son, but which is entirely inconsistent with that of co-evality between them; and implies, that, as the difference of existence, &c., between man and man, is the origin of the plurality of mankind, so the difference of existence, &c., between God and God, must cause plurality in the Godhead. Can there be any polytheistical creed more clear and more gross than this? Yet the Editor will take it amiss if charged with Polytheism. It is worth observing, that the orthodox, so far from establishing the unity of the Messiah with God by means of the above passage, "I will set one shepherd over them, even my *servant David*," can at most but prove unity between the Messiah and God's *servant David*.

In the course of this argument, the Editor says, that "he had adduced many other passages in which the Son is called Jehovah." I wonder at this assertion. I find hitherto only two places in which he applies the word Jehovah to Jesus, "Thy throne, O God!" &c., "And thou, Lord, in the beginning" &c. The Editor takes upon himself to use the term Jehovah instead of "God" in the former, and instead of "Lord" in the latter instance, as before noticed, and now he gives out his own perversion of those texts as authority!

Mr. Jones having attempted to deduce the deity of Jesus by a comparison of Ephes., iv. 18, with Psalm, lxviii. 18, "Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive: thou hast received gifts of men; yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them,"—I observed, (p. 256, Second Appeal,) that, "from a view of the whole verse, the sense must, according to this mode of reasoning, be as follows:—The person who ascended on high, and who *received* gifts for men, that the Lord God might dwell among them is the Lord God,—an interpretation, which, as implying that the Lord God ascended, and received gifts from a being of course superior to himself, in order that he might dwell among men, is equally absurd and unscriptural." The Editor entirely omits to notice the foregoing observation, and only refers to the context, inferring thence that different persons of the Godhead are addressed in the course of the Psalm. (P. 564.) "The Psalm," he observes, (lxviii.) "commences with an address to God in the third person. At verse 7th he is addressed in the second person: the second person is retained till verse 11th, and is resumed again in this, the 18th verse. If one person be not addressed from the beginning, therefore, it is certain that he who ascended on high, indentified by Paul as Christ, is God, who went forth before the people through the wilderness." How is it possible, that the Editor, a diligent student of the Bible for thirty or forty years, should not know that, in addressing God, the third person and also the second are constantly used in immediate sequence, and that this variation is considered a rhetorical trope in Hebrew and Arabic, as well as in almost all the Asiatic languages, from being supposed to convey notions of the omnipresence and pervading influence of the Deity? To prove this assertion, I could quote a great many instances, even from the single book of Psalms, such as Psalm, iii. 3—5, &c. and in a single ch. 2 Samuel, xxii. 3, 49, in which God is addressed both in the second and third persons; but as the Editor

might perhaps, allege in those cases, though in defiance both of the idiom of the Hebrew and of common sense, that in all these instances David in spirit meant the first and the second persons of the Godhead by the variety of persons, I shall quote the translation of some lines of the Qoran, by Sale, and of a Jewish prayer, in which the same variety of persons is used, and where it cannot be imagined that different persons of the Godhead are meant to be therein addressed. Alqoran, ch. I.: "Praise be *to God the Lord* of all creatures, the most merciful, the King of the day of judgment. *Thee* do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious; not of those against whom thou art incensed, not of those who go astray." Can Mohammad here be supposed to have alluded in spirit to the first and second persons of God, or has he not rather used those phrases according to the common practice of the language? The following lines are from a Jewish book of prayers, written in Hebrew, and translated into English.* "*Sabbath morning service.* 'Therefore, all whom God hath formed, shall glorify and bless him; they shall ascribe praise, honour, and glory, unto the King who hath formed all things; and who, through his holiness, causeth his people Israel inherit rest on the holy Sabbath. *Thy* name, O Lord our God! shall be sanctified.'" "*Morning service.* 'His words also are living, permanent, faithful, and desirable for ever, even unto all ages; as well those which he hath spoken concerning our ancestors, as those concerning us, our children, our generations, and the generations of the seed of Israel, *thy* servants, both the first and the last.'" A thousand similar instances might be adduced.

In the Qoran, it is further remarkable that the same change of person is adopted when God is represented as speaking of himself. *Alqoran*, ii. 5: "Set not up, therefore, any equals unto *God* against your own knowledge. If ye be in doubt concerning that revelation, which *we* have sent down unto our servant, produce a chapter like unto it, and call upon your witnesses besides *God*, if he say truth." Moreover we find in the Jewish Scriptures, that in speaking of a third party both the second and the third personal pronouns are sometimes used. Hosea, ii. 15—17: "And I will give her her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a door of hope; and she shall sing

* Compiled by the Rev Solomon Hirschell, translated by Messrs. Justins, Barnet, and Joseph, and printed in London by E. Justins, 1803.

there, as in the days of her youth, and as in the day when she came up out of the land of Egypt." "And it shall be at that day, saith the Lord, *that* thou shalt call me Ishi; and shalt call me no more Baalim." "For I will take away the names of Baalim out of her mouth, and they shall no more be remembered by their name." Ver. 19: "And I will betroth thee unto me for ever; yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness, and in judgment, and in loving-kindness, and in mercies." The public may now judge what weight the argument of the Editor ought to carry with it, and whether I adduced only a "Jewish dream" in applying verse 18 originally to Moses, or whether the Editor rather has not founded his position on the ground of mere imagination. To me, as an Asiatic, nothing can appear more strange than an attempt to deduce the deity of Jesus from an address by David to the omnipresent God, couched in both the second and third persons. I will, moreover, confidently appeal to the context, to satisfy any unprejudiced person that the Psalmist, in verse 18th, had Moses alone in view. The Psalm, it will be recollected, was written on the specific occasion of the removal of the ark, which was done according to the instructions delivered to Moses by God on Mount Sinai. David accordingly recapitulates in the preceding verses of the Psalm, the wonderful mercies of God in delivering Israel from the Egyptians, and leading them towards the promised land. In verses 15—17, Sinai is thus mentioned: "The hill of God is as the hill of Bashan; an high hill, as the hill of Bashan. Why leap ye, ye high hills? This is the hill which God desireth to dwell in; yea, the Lord will dwell in it for ever. The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels: the Lord is among them, as in Sinai, in the holy place." In verse 18, immediately after mention of the word Sinai, the holy place, he goes on, "Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive: thou hast *received gifts* for men; yea, for the rebellious also, *that the Lord God might dwell among them*;"—the very reason to which, in the book of Exodus, the construction of the ark, whose removal was taking place, is assigned. From this it appears evident, that the gifts alluded to were those granted on Mount Sinai; and the only question that remains is, Who was it that received those gifts for men? I leave this to be answered by the candid reader. There are, besides, many other passages in the writings of the Psalmist, where David, after addressing the Supreme Father of the universe, abruptly addresses himself to creatures, such as in Psalms,

lxviii. 28; iv. 1, 2; ix. 5, 6, 10, 11; lxvi. 15, 16; xci. 13, 14. There is nothing, therefore, unusual or strange in applying the verse in question, though originally relating to Moses, in an accommodated sense to Jesus.

To prove the figurative application of the term God to Jesus, and to other superior creatures, from the authority of the Saviour himself, I quoted (Second Appeal, p. 138) John, x. 34, "Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are Gods?" With a view to invalidate this argument, the Editor puts three questions (p. 564). The first is, "What creatures of a superior nature are here termed Gods? Those that die like men." To this I answer, Yes; the term "God" is here applied to those chiefs of Israel who were men, and who consequently died like men; and from the very circumstance of their having had the appearance of man, and having been endowed with human feelings, as well as their having been, like men, liable to death, we are under the necessity of inferring that the application of the term "God" to them is figurative, and that it is by no means real, though we find them exalted by the terms, "the sons of the Most High" (Psalm lxxxii. 6*); "the first-born of God" (Exodus iv. 22); the "peculiar people of God, above all nations" (xix. 5) the "kingdom of priests, an holy nation (ver. 6); and even by the most glorifying title of "Gods" (Psalm, lxxxii. 6). Upon the same ground and the same principle, we must consider (if not biassed by prejudice) the use of the word "God," and "the Son of God," for Jesus, to be figurative, as he himself explained (John, x. 34) for although Jesus was honoured with abundantly high titles, yet he was in the appearance of man, and possessed of human feelings, and liable to death, like those chiefs of Israel, as is evident from the following, as well as many other facts recorded in the Scriptures: "She brought forth her first-born son" (Jesus). Luke ii. 7.) "And when *eight days* were accomplished for *circumcising* of the *child*, his name was called Jesus." (Ver. 21.) "And the child *grew*, and waxed *strong* in spirit, filled with wisdom, and *the grace of God upon him.*" (Ver. 40.) "When he was *two years old.*") Ver. 42.) "And was subject unto them" (his parents.) (Ver. 51) "Jesus increased in wisdom and *stature.*" (Ver. 52.) "The Son of Man came *eating* and *drinking,*" &c. (Matt. xi. 19.) "And when he looked round about on them with

* In the original hebrew, the word בני, signifying sons, is found instead of ילדי or children, as found in the English version.

anger, being *grieved*." (Mark iii. 5.) "Jesus, therefore, being *weary* with his journey." (John iv. 6.) "Now is my *soul troubled*." (xii. 27.) "And began to wash his disciples' feet." (xiii. 5.) "He was *troubled in spirit*." (Ver. 21.) "And being in an *agony*, he *prayed more earnestly*." (Luke xxii, 44.) "And (Jesus) saith unto them, *My soul is* exceedingly *sorrowful, unto death*." (Mark xiv. 34.) "Jesus, when he had *cried again* with a loud voice, *yielded up the ghost*." (Matt. xxvii. 50) "And became *obedient unto death*, even the death of the cross." (Philip. ii. 8.) Ought not the consideration of the foregoing circumstances relating to Jesus Christ, to have prevented the Editor from inquiring, "What creatures of a superior nature are here termed Gods? Those (Israelites) that die like men?" For if the circumstance of being men, and dying like men, must preclude the chiefs of Israel from being supposed to be creatures of a superior nature, notwithstanding they are called *Gods*, the highest of all the honorary terms with which any being can be exalted; how can the same argument fail of proving the common humanity of Jesus, who was, like them, in the shape of a man, and died as a man? If the Editor say, that Jesus, though he died like man, yet was raised again from the dead, I shall remind him, that Enoch, one of the sons of men, and Elijah, a Jewish prophet, never tasted death at all, like other men;* that the dead, who happened to touch the body of Elisha, revived and stood up;† and, that a dead boy was also raised by him:‡ and then ask the Editor, are not these circumstances more wonderful than Christ's being raised after death? Is not the fact of Elijah's not having died at all, more conclusive evidence of a superior nature, according to the mode of reasoning employed by the Editor, than the resurrection of Christ after his death on the cross?

In case the Editor should have recourse to the generally-adopted argument, that Jesus was possessed of a two-fold nature, the nature of God and the nature of man; the former, because he is termed God in scripture, and the latter, because he was in the shape of man; I would ask, is there any authority in the sacred writings for alleging that Jesus was possessed of such two-fold nature?—a question which, indeed, I took upon myself to put to the Editor in the Second Appeal, (p. 211,) but which he has avoided to answer. Are not Moses and the chiefs of Israel termed, in like manner, Gods,§ as well as men?||

*2 Kings ii 11. † 2 Kings xiii. 21 ‡ 2 Kings iv. 34, 35 § Exod., vii. 1. || Deut., xxxiii. 1; Ezek., xxxiv. 31.

Did not they perform wonderful miracles, as raising the dead and commanding wind and water, * as well as the sun and moon? † Did not some of them talk of themselves in a manner suitable to the nature of God alone? ‡ Are we, from these circumstances, to represent them as possessing a two-fold nature, divine and human? If not, let us give up such an unscriptural and irrational idea, as attributing to Jesus, or to any human being, a double nature of God and man, and restrain ourselves from bringing Christianity to a level with the doctrines of heathenish polytheism. Is it not a general rule, adopted to preserve concordance between all the passages of scripture, and to render them consistent with reason, that when terms, phrases, or circumstances, which are applicable to God alone, are found ascribed to a created being, either man or angel, these are to be interpreted in an inferior sense? Were we to deviate from this general rule and take these terms to be real, Judaism and Christianity would be but systems of Polytheism, and unworthy of adoption by rational beings. Such an attempt as to shew that Moses and the chiefs of Israel having been types and shadows of Jesus, are called gods, is totally inadmissible; for we find no authority in the Scriptures for such an assertion: moreover, had there been any authority declaring Moses and others to have been types of Jesus, it could not depreciate the honour which scripture confers upon them, by the application of the terms "gods" and "sons of God" to them, any more than the fact, that Christ was the Saviour of mankind, in consequence of his having been of the seed of Abraham§ and house of David, as well as the rod of the stem of Jesse,|| could lower the dignity of the Messiah, or could exalt the rank of Abraham, or of David, above Christ.

Such an apology as ascribes birth, growth, and death, to the material body of Christ, and immortality and divinity to his spirit, is equally applicable to those Israelites that are termed gods.

The second question of the Editor is, "To whose nature is their's (Israel's) superior? only to that of the brutes!" In answer to which I refer the Editor to the passages already cited, to wit, Psalm, lxxxii. 6, Exod., iv. 22, xix. 5, 6, as well as to Exod., xxv. 8, "God was dwelling among them;" Deut. vii. 6, "That he has chosen them from all the nations," x. 15, "He loved them, he chose them only;" xiv. 1,

* I Kings, xvii. 1, xviii. 44, 45; and 2 Kings, ii. 22. † Joshua, x. 12, 13. ‡ Deut., xxvii. 1., xxxii., 1. § Genesis, xxii. 18. || Isaiah, xi. 1.

"They are the sons o! God;" and to numerous passages of a similar description, whence the Editor may judge whether Israel was superior to the brutes only, or to the rest of mankind. The third question is, "If other gods die like men, must Jehovah, who made heaven and earth, whose throne is forever?" My answer must be in the negative, because Jehovah is not a man-god that shall die; but he, as the God of all gods, and the Lord of lords must regulate the death and birth of those who are figuratively called gods, while he himself is immutable. Deut., x. 17: "Jehovah your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords." John, xx. 17: "To my God and your God." Psalm, xlv. 7: "God, thy God, hath anointed thee."—Let us now again refer to the context of John, x. 34. In ver. 33, the Jews assign it as the reason for their attempting to stone Jesus, that he made himself equal to God, by* calling himself the Son of God, as they supposed, in a real sense, which was, according to their law, blasphemy: Jesus, therefore, pointed out to them, in ver. 34, that even the term "god" is found figuratively applied to the chiefs of Israel, in scripture, without meaning to imply thereby, their equality with God; in ver. 35, he reminds them of their applying, according to the Scriptures, the same divine term to those chiefs; and lastly, he shews their inconsistency in calling their chiefs gods, and, at the same time, rejecting Christ's declaration of his being the son of God, in the same metaphorical sense, as being "sanctified" and "sent" by God. Is not this argument, used by Jesus, an evident disavowal of his own deity, and manifestation of his having called himself "the Son of God," only in a metaphorical sense? I am sorry to observe, that the Editor seems to have bestowed little or no reflection upon these texts.

In answer to my observation on the attempt of orthodox Christians to prove the deity of Jesus from 1 Cor., x. 9, "Neither let us tempt Christ as some of them also tempted," the Editor quotes first, an observation of my own, to wit, "How far cannot prejudice carry away men of sense! Are we not all, in common with Jesus, liable to be tempted both by men and Satan? Can the liabilty to temptation, common to God, to Jesus, to Abraham, and all mankind, be of any avail to prove the divinity and unity of those respective subjects of temptation?" He then declares, that I was not correct in the statement of my opponent's doctrine on this subject, and denies any one's, "having

* As is evident from the reply of Jesus, (ver. 36,) "Thou blasphemest; because I said am the Son of God."

attempted to prove the deity of Christ merely from his being tempted." To shew the accuracy of my statement, however, I beg to refer the Editor to Mr. Jones's work on the nature of Christ. The Editor lastly asserts, that "it is the apostle's declaring that Christ was he who was tempted in the wilderness, and hence, the Most High God, described by the Psalmist as tempted, which is here adduced." But I do not find in the verse in question, nor in any preceding or following verse, "the apostle's declaring that Christ was he who was tempted *by Israel* in the wilderness." If the Editor has met with such a declaration elsewhere, he should first point it out, and then build his argument upon it. But unless he first shew, that being tempted by the devil, and being tempted by Israel, mean the same thing, I cannot admit any relation between the declaration of the apostles and that of the Psalmist.

Relative to Psalm cx. 1, "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool," I observed, in my Second Appeal, (p. 223,) that "this passage is simply applied to the Messiah, manifesting, that the victory gained by him over his enemies, was entirely owing to the influence of God!" To this the Editor replies, "After the Son had humbled himself, so as to assume our nature and be appointed to the combat, it was not to be expected that the Father would *forsake him.* But that Jesus had no might of his own which our author would fain prove, is not a fact." Is it not most strange, that the Son whom the Editor considers the *immutable, almighty* God should be supposed by him again to have *humbled* himself, and to have been *appointed* by another to a combat, in which that other assisted him to obtain success? Are not these two ideas quite incompatible with each other? If such positive disavowal of his *own* power, by Jesus himself, as "I can of mine own self, do nothing," "All that the Father giveth shall come to me," has failed to convince the Editor that Jesus had no power of *his own,* no argument of mine, or of any other human being, can be expected to make an impression upon him.

The Editor afterwards endeavours to prove the omnipotence of Jesus by quoting Isaiah, lxiii. 5 : "Mine own arm brought salvation unto me," and Rev., i. 8 : "I am Alpha and Omega; the beginning and the end, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." Supposing these two last-mentioned passages to be actually ascribed to Jesus, conveying a manifestation of his own omnipotence, would they not be esteemed as directly contra-

dictory to his positive disavowal of omnipotence, found in the foregoing, and in hundreds of other passages? How then, are we to reconcile to our understanding the idea that the Author of true religion disavows his almighty power on one occasion, and asserts it on another? But, in fact, we are not reduced by the texts in question to any such dilemma; for the passage quoted from Isaiah (lxiii. 5) has no more allusion to Jesus than to Moses or Joshua. Whence, and under what plea, the Editor and others apply this passage to Christ, I am quite at a loss to know. The prophet here speaks of the destruction of Edom and Bozrah, under the wrath of God, for their infidelity towards Israel. These places were inhabited by the sons of Esau, (the brother of Jacob,) who was also called Edom. Gen., xxv. 30: "And Esau said to Jacob, Feed me, I pray thee, with the same red pottage, for I am faint: therefore was his name called Edom." So Jeremiah prophesies the destruction of Edom and Bozrah (xlix. 7, 8): "Concerning Edom, thus saith the Lord of hosts; Is wisdom no more in Teman? Is counsel perished from the prudent? Is their wisdom vanished? Flee ye, turn back, dwell deep, O inhabitants of Dedan; for I will bring the calamity of Esau upon him, the time that I will visit him." Ver 13: "For I have sworn by myself, saith the Lord, that Bozrah shall become a desolation, a reproach, a waste, and a curse; and all the cities thereof shall be perpetual wastes." And also the whole of Obadiah's prophecy foretells the slaughter of Edom by the wrath of God. I quote here only one or two verses (8, 9): "Shall I not in that day, saith the Lord, even destroy the wise men out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau? And thy mighty men, O Teman, shall be dismayed, to the end that every one of the mount of Esau may be cut off by slaughter." Ver. 11: "In the day that thou stoodest on the other side; in the day that the strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into his gate, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even thou wast as one of them." What expression does Isaiah make use of in chap. lxiii., that the passage can be interpreted as speaking the language of Jesus? Nothing of the kind that I can perceive. It contains rather such denunciations as are considered totally inconsistent with the office and character of the meek and lowly Jesus, the messenger of peace on earth, and good-will in heaven towards men. Can the following expressions, "I will tread them in my anger," "Their blood shall be upon my garment," (ver. 3,) be ascribed to Jesus, who so far from treading down the inhabitants of

Edom and Bozrah, or of any other land, and sprinkling their blood upon his garment, came to reconcile them to God, and laboured in behalf of them, and of all men; even suffering his own blood to be shed, rather than refrain from teaching them the way of salvation? What particular connexion had Jesus with the destruction of the Sons of the children of Edom, to justify the Editor in referring chap. lxiii. to the Messiah? I should expect to find such language as is used by Isaiah in that chapter referring to God; for in the poetical language of the prophets, similar expressions are abundantly ascribed to the Most High in an allegorical sense. Isaiah, lix, 15—17: "And the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no judgment. And he saw that there was *no man*, and wondered that there was no *intercessor*: therefore his arm *brought salvation unto him*, and his righteousness it sustained him. For he put on righteousness as a breast-plate, and an helmet of salvation upon his head; and he put on the *garments of vengeance* for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak." Dan., vii. 9: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow."

As to Rev., i. 8, let us refer to the contexts, commencing with verse 4. In this, John, addressing the seven churches of Asia, says, "Grace be unto you, and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; *and* from the seven spirits which are before his throne; *and* from Jesus Christ." He proceeds to describe Christ as a "faithful witness, the first-begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the kings of the earth," adding, "Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him. Even so. Amen." Having thus stated what Christ had done, and is to do, John reverts to the declaration of the eternity of God with which he commenced: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, saith the Lord; which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." All this appears so very plain; the eternal attributes of the Almighty, in verse 4, are so distinct from the description of the character and office of Christ in verses 5—7; the identity of the definition of God in ver. 4, with that in ver. 8, is so obvious, that I should have thought it impossible for any one not to perceive how totally unconnected verse 8 is with that

which precedes it, and how far it was from John's intention to declare the Almighty and his faithful witness, to be one. Moreover, we find the term "Almighty" in the book of Revelation mentioned seven times, besides in verse 8, and referring *always* to God ; at the same time, notwithstanding the frequent mention of the Lamb or Jesus, throughout the whole book, neither the term "Almighty," nor the designation "who is, and who was, and who is to come," equivalent to the term "Jehovah," is *once* ascribed to the Lamb. Let the candid reader judge for himself.

The Editor again introduces the subject of the angel of Bokim, (p. 565,) quoting Psalm, lxxviii. 13, "He divided the sea, and caused them to pass through, and made the waters to stand in a heap," &c. Whence he concludes that the Son was with Israel in the wilderness as their God. But what allusion this Psalm has to Christ, situated either in the wilderness, or in an inhabited land, my limited understanding is unable to discover. As I have already noticed the argument adduced by the Editor respecting angels, in the beginning of this chapter, I will not renew the subject but beg my reader's attention to that part of my treatise.

The Editor quotes Psalm, xcv. 6, 7, "For Jehovah is a great God, and a great King above all gods. O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel before Jehovah our Maker; for he is our God, and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand ;" and justifies the application of this passage to Jesus, upon the ground that, in John, i. 3, Jesus is declared equally with the Father to be the Maker of all things. I wonder at the Editor's choosing this passage as being applicable to Jesus, on such a basis ; for should this reason be admitted as well-founded, all the passages of the Old Testament, in which Jehovah is mentioned, would be interpreted as referring to Jesus without selection. As I noticed this verse of John, i. 3, and one of two similar verses in p. 82, I will not recur to them here.

Having also noticed Psalm ii. 12, (Pages 77, 78,) "Blessed are all they who trust in him," I will abstain from reiterating the same subject, though I find the Editor repeating his arguments here in his usual manner.

To my great surprise I observe that the Editor again quotes John, x. 30, "I and my Father are one," to shew that God and Jesus, though they are two beings, yet are one, without any attention to all the illustrations I adduced to explain this passage in the Second

Appeal (pp. 132, 133.) I will, however, elucidate this passage still more fully in its proper place. I thank the Rev. Editor for quoting such passages as Psalm, lxxxi. 9, 10, and lxxxiii. 18, which, in common with all other authorities of the sacred books, decidedly prove the unity of the Supreme Being, and that no other being, except him, is worthy to be called Jehovah.

In the course of the quotation from the Psalms, the Editor cites Heb , iii. 3, 4 : "For this man was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch as he who hath builded the house is worthy of more honor than the house. For every house is built by some man ; but he who built all things is God." Upon which he comments, that it was Christ that built the house understood, (as he supposes,) from the phrase "all things" in the verse in question. I will not prolong the discussion by pointing out the errors appearing in the English version. I only repeat verse 6, explaining what the apostle meant by the house of Christ, which the Editor omitted to mention ; to wit, "But Christ as a *son over his own house, whose house are we.*" Hence it is evident, that the house which Christ built by the will of the Father is the Christian church ; and that God, the Father of Jesus, and of the rest of the universe, is the author of all things whatsoever.

SECTION II.

The Prophets.

IN introducing the Prophets, the Rev. Editor commences with Proverbs; saying, "If in this book Christ be represented under the character of wisdom, as divines have thought, and as seems implied in Christ's saying, Matt., xi. 19, 'But wisdom is justified of her "children'; and Luke, xi. 49, 'Therefore said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets,' fresh proof is here furnished to the eternal deity of the Son." He then quotes Prov., viii. 1, 22, 27, 30: "Doth not wisdom cry?—'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old —When he prepared the heavens, I was there.—I was by him, as one brought up * with him: I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him.'" It is. indeed, astonishing to me how the strong prejudice of other learned divines, as well as of the Editor, in favour of the doctrine of the Trinity, has prevented them from perceiving that the identification attempted to be thus deduced by them from those passages of the book of Proverbs, instead of proving the "eternal deity" of Jesus, or his self-existence, would go to destroy his distinct existence altogether; for Christians of all denominations agree that *wisdom, understanding,* and all other attributes of God, have been from eternity to eternity in the *possession* of the almighty power, without either or any of them having been endowed with a separate existence; and were we to attribute to each of the properties of God self-existence, we must necessarily admit that there are besides God numerous beings, (his attributes,) which possess, like God himself, eternal existence—a doctrine which would amount to gross Polytheism. But the expression, "The Lord *possessed* me in the beginning of his way," (ver 22, quoted by the Editor,) proves that the wisdom there alluded to was considered as *in possession* of Jehovah, just as his other attributes are. If Jesus, then, be meant here by wisdom, he must, so far from being esteemed as Jehovah himself, be supposed to have been *possessed by Jehovah* as an attribute. If this doctrine be admitted as orthodox, how then are the primitive Christians to be justified in condemning Sabellius on account of

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* אמון in the original Hebrew does not signify "brought up." It means "steaded," stabled, or established, as qualities with substances See Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon.

his maintaining the same doctrine? We find that, consistently with the same prophetical language, the inspired writer of Proverbs directs us to call wisdom *a sister*, and understanding *kinswoman*, (vii. 4,) instead of bestowing on her such epithets as, Jehovah, the everlasting God, that are insisted upon by the Editor as properly applied to Jesus. In fact, the book of Proverbs meant only to urge, in the usual poetical style of expression, the necessity of adhering to wisdom, both in religious and social life, strengthening the exhortation by pointing out that all the works of God are founded upon wisdom. If such poetical personifications as are found in the Prophets, as well as in profane Asiatic works in common circulation, were to be noticed, a separate voluminous work would, I am afraid, fail to contain them. And if the abstract attributes of God, such as wisdom, mercy, truth, benevolence, &c., are to be esteemed as separate deities, on account of their being sometimes personified, and declared eternal and associating with God, this mode of literal interpretation would, I admit, be so far advantageous to the cause of the Editor as respects the refutation of the doctrine of the unity of God, but would not be precisely favourable to the doctrine of the Trinity, as it would certainly extend the number of personified deities much beyond three. Take, for example, the following passages, which personify the attributes of God, and ascribe to them eternity, and association with God. Psalm, cxxx. 7: "With the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption." lxxxv. 10: "Mercy and truth are *met* together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Numbers, xvi. 46: "There is wrath gone out from the Lord." Here we have mercy, redemptiou, truth, and wrath, all spoken of as separate existences. Are we, therefore, to consider them as persons of the Godhead? As abstract qualities are often represented in the Scriptures, and in Asiatic writings generally, as persons and agents, to render ideas familiar to the understanding, so real existences are intended sometimes under the appellation of abstract qualities, for the sake of energy of expression. In 1 John iv. 8. God is declared to be mere *Love*. John, i. 1, Jesus is called word, or revelation. 1 Cor., i. 24, 30, Christ is represented as power and wisdom, &c. 2 Cor., v. 21, true Christians are declared to be wisdom in Christ; and Israel is said to be an *astonishment* in Deut., xxviii. 37, and *curse* in Zech., viii. 13; Abraham to be *blessing* in Gen., xii 2; and Jehovah is declared to be *glory* in Zech., ii. 5. But every unprejudiced mind is convinced

that these allegorical terms neither can alter the fact, nor can they change the nature of the unity of God, and of the dependence of his attributes.

After this no further remark seems necessary on the passages quoted by the Editor, from Matthew and Luke, where, as in many other passages in which the word Wisdom is to be found, the sense neither requires, nor even admits, of our understanding Jesus to be meant under that appellation.

The Editor quotes Isaiah vi. 1, 10, relating to the Prophet's vision of God; he then comments, "As this glorious vision, wherein the Prophet received his commission, represented either the Father or the Son, we might have expected that it should be the Son, who had undertaken to redeem men." The Editor afterwards quotes John xii. 41, "These things said Isaiah, when he saw his glory and spoke of him," and considers these words as decisive testimony of the opinion, that it was the Son who was seen by the Prophet in the vision.

Let us first impartially refer to the context of verse 41 of John. We find in the verse a personal pronoun used three times. The first, "he," in the phrase "when he saw," though understood in the Greek verb ειδε; the second, "his," connected with the words "glory;" and the third, "of him," after the verb "spoke;" thus—"when *he* saw *his* glory and spoke *of him.*" The first prononun, "he," of course refers to Isaiah, mentioned just before it. The second and the third, "his" and "of him," can have no reference to Isaiah, for the words "when Isaiah's glory, and spoke of Isaiah," could bear no sense whatever. These two last pronouns must, therefore, have reference to some pronoun or noun to be found in the immediately preceding part of the passage. We accordingly find, from the preceding verse, 40, that these pronouns refer to Jehovah, the God of hosts, mentioned twice in verse 38, whose glory Isaiah saw, and in whose behalf he spoke, without mention of the Son being once made between verses 38 and 41. The passage thus stands, (ver. 38,) He (Isaiah) spoke, "*Lord,* who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the *Lord,* been revealed?" 39, "Therefore they could not believe, because that Isaiah said again," 40, "*He* hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart;" 41, "These things, said Isaiah, when he saw *his* glory, and spake *of him.*" Isaiah must have then seen the glory of him in whose behalf he spoke; a fact which neither party can dispute; and as it is evident from the preceding verse, 40, and from Isaiah vi. 10, that he spoke of God, who *blinded*

the *eyes* of the Jews and *hardened* their hearts, it necessarily follows, that he saw the glory of that very being spoken of by Isaiah. For further illustration of God's being often declared to have blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts, I quote Rom. xi. 7, 8: "What then? Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were *blinded.* (According as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber; *eyes* that they should *not see* and *ears* that they should not *hear,*) unto this day." Isaiah, lxiii. 17: "O Lord, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways, *and hardened* our heart from thy fear? Return for thy servants' sake, the tribe of thy inheritance." From verse 38 to 41, as already observed, there is not a single noun or a pronoun that can have allusion to Jesus. But we find, in verse 42, the pronoun "him," implying the Son as absolutely required by the sense, in reference to verse 37, and in consistence with verse 44, in which the name of Jesus is found mentioned. As all the Pharisees believed in God, as well as in Isaiah, one of their prophets, the text could convey no meaning, if the phrase "Nevertheless among the chief rulers also many believed in him" were admitted to bear reference either to God or Isaiah.

If it be insisted upon, in defiance of all the foregoing explanation, that the two last-mentioned pronouns, in verse 41, "When he saw his glory and spake of him" are applied to Jesus, the passage in the evangelist would be, in that case, more correctly explained by referring to John, viii. 56, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day." which cannot be understood of ocular vision, but prophetic anticipation; whereas the glory seen in the vision of Isaiah was that of God himself in the delivery of the command given to the prophet on that occasion, as I observed in the Second Appeal (p. 244.) With a view to invalidate this interpretation, the Editor inquires, (p. 569,) "what has Abraham's day to do with Isaiah's vision?". In answer to which I must allow, that Abraham's day had nothing to do with Isaiah's vision, except that as Abraham saw the day of Christ (properly speaking the reign of Christ,) by prophetic anticipation, and not through ocular vision, (John, viii. 56,) so Isaiah, as another prophet of God, must have seen the glory of Christ (if he had seen it at all) through the same prophetic anticipation, and must have spoken of Christ's commission (if he had spoken of him at all) through the same prophetic power: the reference, therefore, is one which goes to prove, that whenever the prophets, such as Abraham, Isaiah, or

any other prophets, are declared to have seen or spoken of future events, they must have seen or spoken of them through the prophetic power vested in them by God. I never attempted to prove, that the words "day," and "glory" are synonymous, nor did I declare that Isaiah saw the day of Christ, that the Editor should have occasion to advance that "it is not the day of Christ which the Evangelist describes Isaiah as having seen, but his glory." However, I cannot help being of opinion, that in such phrases, on particular occasions, as "He saw the day of the king Messiah," or "He saw the glory of the king Messiah," the words "day" and "glory" amount almost to the same thing. My limited understanding cannot, like the Editor's, discover how "Isaiah fixes the time when he thus saw Christ's glory, even when it was said, 'he hath blinded their eyes,'" &c., for I find the Jews were from time to time charged, by several of the prophets, with disobedience, and with having been blinded and hardened. Deut., xxviii. 28: "The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and *blindness*, and astonishment of heart." xxix. 4: "The Lord hath not given you an heart to perceive, and *eyes to see*, and ears to hear, unto this day." 1 Kings, xviii. 37: "Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may know that thou art the Lord God, and that thou hast *turned their heart back again*." Isaiah, lxiii. 17, as noticed before.

The Editor refers to the prophet Isaiah, (pp. 533, 570,) saying, that Isaiah, in ch. vii. "predicting the birth of Christ, identifies his divine and his human nature, 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.' This passage the Holy Spirit applies to Christ in Matt., i. 22, 23," He regrets my applying the above verse to Hezekiah, in an immediate sense, though totally unable to reject the proof of such application, deduced by me, in my Second Appeal, from its context, and from the sacred history. He rests his rejection entirely upon the phrase, "A virgin shall conceive," found in the English version, as being used in the future tense, on the ground that "Hezekiah could not have been the child at the time about to be conceived by the virgin, for this plain reason, that God never fortells past things. The birth of Hezekiah was not then a thing to come; for, he was at least six years old when this prophecy was spoken.—This our author will see by merely comparing the fact, that Ahaz reigned sixteen years, and Hezekiah began to reign when he was five and twenty years old. Hezekiah must then have been six, if not seven years old when this prophecy

was delivered." The editor, then, charges me with having expended in vain, 12 pages on this, as well as on the passage in ch. ix. of Isaiah. Here we find again a new instance, in which a diligent study of the Bible, for thirty or forty years, but accompanied with early religious prejudices, has not been able to save the student from making such an error as to take the term הרה "pregnant," in the original verse, in Hebrew, as meaning absolutely, "shall conceive," and to declare, unthinkingly, that "Hezekiah could not have been the child at the time to be conceived." How will the Editor render the same term הרה found in Gen., xvi. 11, "Thou hast conceived, or art with child"? Will he, on his adopted principle, interpret it, "Thou shalt conceive"? He must, in that case, overlook verses 4th and 5th of the same chapter, which testify Hagar's having already conceived before the angel of the Lord had seen and spoken to her, in verse the 11th. "He went in unto Hagar, and she conceived; and when she saw she had conceived," &c. (4) "And Sarai said unto Abraham, My wrong be upon thee : I have given my maid unto thy bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived," &c. (5). Did not the Editor ever reflect upon Jer., xxxi. 8, containing the same terms הרה or "pregnant," and וילדת or "bearing" as are found in Isaiah, vii. 14?—a passage which might have suggested to the Editor the propriety of not making so positive an assertion, that "Hezekiah" could not have been the child at the time to be conceived. Did the Editor entirely overlook the same term הרה signyfying pregnant, in 2 Sam., xi. 5, and Isaiah, xxvi. 17; Gen., xxxviii. 24, 25; Exod., xxi. 22; 2 Kings, viii. 12; Amos., i. 13? The fact is, that we find in the original Hebrew, העלמה signifying "the virgin," which, if not referred to a particular person before-mentioned, implies, in the figurative language of the Scripture, either a city, or the people of a city, as I noticed in pages 229, 230, and 238, of my Second Appeal; and also we find הרה synonymous with the participle "conceived," instead of "shall conceive." The verse, therefore thus runs: "Behold, the virgin (the city of Jerusalem, or the nation) is pregnant and is bearing a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." (14.) "For before the child* shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the

* In the 17th year of the reign of Pekah, the king of Israel, Ahaz was born; and twenty years old was Ahaz when he began to reign in Jerusalem, and he reigned sixteen years. 2 Kings, xvi. 1, 2. Hence it appears that he lived thirty-six years only; and as Hezekiah began to reign after the death of his father Ahaz, when he was twenty and five years old, (2 Kings xviii. 2,) he must have been born when his father Ahaz was ten, or at most, eleven years of age, which was rather contrary to the common course of nature.

good, the land that thou (Ahaz) abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings," (16,) i. e. Rezin, the king of Syria, and Pekah, the king of Israel, who, at that time had besieged Jerusalem, as is evident from the preceding verses; and such personifying phrases as "oppressed virgin," and "bring forth children," are found also applied to the city, or the people of the city, in the prophets, in other instances similar to that of Isaiah vii. 14, in question. Micah iv. 10: "Be *in pain*, and *labour to bring forth, O daughter of Zion*, like a woman in travail." Isaiah xxiii. 12: "And he said, Thou shalt no more rejoice, O thou oppressed virgin, daughter of Zion." But unless orthodox authors changed "the virgin" into "a virgin," and "conceived" into "shall conceive," they could not apply the verse in a direct sense to Mary, the mother of Christ, and to Christ himself; and consequently, to suit their convenience, they have entirely disregarded the original scripture, the context, and the historical facts.

In noticing my explanation of the העלמה* "the virgin," in the Second Appeal, the Reverend Editor states, that "it is true, ה, the emphatic of Hebrew, is generally rendered in the Septuagint by the Greek article: that they are by no means equivalent in value, however, he may convince himself by referring to that excellent work on the Greek article for which the learned world is indebted to Dr. Middleton, the Bishop of Calcutta." I am really sorry to observe that the Editor should have given such an evasive answer to so important a point; he however, was obliged to do so, knowing that ה in Hebrew, before a noun, as ل in Arabic, is invariably a definite article. In his attempt to remove the inconsistency between his maintaining the idea of the deity of Jesus and applying to him verses 15 and 16 in Isaiah vii., by which he is declared subject to total ignorance, the Reverend Editor attributes (p. 534) such ignorance to the human nature of Jesus, forgetting what he, in common with other orthodox Christians, offers as an explanation of such passages as declare all power in heaven and earth to have been given to Jesus by the Father of the universe, which is, that all power was given him in his human capacity, while in his divine capacity he enjoys independent omnipotence. Is not the power of distinguishing good from evil included in all power *given* to Jesus, according to the Editor,

* In Isaiah lii. 2, the city, or the people of the city, is one called "a captive daughter;" in ch. liv. 1, it is once styled "barren" עקרה; "a harlot" in Ezek, xvi. 35, and in other instances.

in his *human* capacity? How then, can the Editor be justified in maintaining the idea that, in his human nature, he though possessed of all power in heaven and earth, was unable, before the age of maturity, to distinguish the good from the evil, as found in verses 15 and 16? I beg also the attention of the Editor to Luke ii. 46—50, shewing that Jesus was possessed of knowledge of his divine commission even in his early youth, and also to the Editor's own declaration, (page 536,) "The spirit of the Lord was to rest upon him as the spirit of wisdom and understanding." Nothing but early prejudice can persuade a man to believe that *one* being at *one time* should be both subject to total ignorance and possessed of omniscience—two diametrically opposite qualities.

Let us now refer to the context of the verse in question. The first verse of the same chapter speaks of the king of Syria and the king of Israel having besieged Jerusalem; verses 3 and 4, of the Lord's having sent Isaiah the prophet to Ahaz the king of Jerusalem to offer him consolation and confidence against the attacks of these two kings; 5 and 6, of the two kings having taken evil counsel against Ahaz and of their determination to set the son of Tabeal on his throne; 8 and 9 foretell the total fall of Ephraim (the ten tribes of Israelites who separated from Judah which comprised the two remaining tribes) and of Samaria within three score and five years; 10 and 11 mention the Lord's offering to Ahaz a sign, which he (verses 12 and 13) declined; 14, 15 and 16 contain the Lord's promise to give spontaneously a sign of the destruction of Ahaz's enemies in the person of the son borne by the virgin of Jerusalem; the delivery of Judah from these two kings before the child should become of age; 17 and following verses, foretell what was to happen in Judah, bringing the king of Assyria in opposition to the kings of Syria and of Israel, who were then inimical to the house of David. The first four verses, of chap. viii. speak of the birth of a son to Isaiah, the prophet, and of the depradations by the Assyrians on the land of Damascus, the capital of Syria, and on the land of Samaria, the head of Ephraim, before that son should have knowledge to cry, "My father and my mother." Hence it is evident that the child mentioned in chap. vii. verse 14, called Immanuel, was much older than the child mentioned, ch. viii. 3; for the attacks upon Syria and Israel by the Assyrians took place only before the former became of age to know right from wrong, but while the latter was still unable to pronounce a single word.

Verse 6, speaks of the army of Rezin, and of the son of Remaliah, the kings of Syria and Israel, having refused the soft waters of Shiloah,[*] a river in Judah, figuratively meaning peace; 7 and 8, of the Lord's declaring that he would bring into the land of Immanuel, upon these invaders, the strong waters of the river, that is, the armies of the king of Assyria; 9 and 10, of the combination of the people against the king of Judah, which turned to their own destruction, for the sake of Immanuel. It is worth noticing, that the last word in verse 10, is translated in the English version, "God is with us," instead of leaving it, as it is in the original Hebrew, "Immanuel," though in two other iustances, ch. vii. 14, and ch. viii. 8, the word "Immanuel" is left unchanged as it stands in the original. Verses 11—17, pronounce the Lord's displeasure at the disobedience of the tribes of Israel, advising them to fear the Lord, and not fear the confederacy of the kings of Syria and Israel. Verse 18 declares the Lord's having given the prophet and the children for signs and for wonders in Israel; and the remaining verses of this chapter speak of false prophets, of the miserable situation of the Israelites—a fact which is fully related in the book of 2 Kings, xvi. 5: "Then Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, son of Remaliah, king of Israel, came up to Jerusalem to war and they beseiged Ahaz, but could not overcome him." Verse 6: "At that time Rezin, king of Syria, recovered Elath to Syria, and drove the Jews from Elath; and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there unto this day." Ver. 7: "So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son. Come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me." Ver. 8: "And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria." Ver. 9: "And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him: for the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin."

It is now left to the public to reflect seriously on the above circumstances stated in the context and to pronounce whether thereby it appears that verse 14 is originally applied to Hezekiah, the son and

[*] Shiloh, found in Gen., xlix. 10, implying a redeemer, differs in signification, and also in spelling, from the word "Shiloah" herein mentioned as signifying rivers: in Genesis שילה; in Isaiah viii. 6, שלח.

heir of Ahaz, king of Jerusalem, a child born before the defeat of his enemies, the Immanuel, whose land was Judah; or to Jesus of Nazareth, born at least 500 years afterwards: and also to decide whether or not the land which Ahaz abhorred, had been forsaken by the king of Syria and of Israel, from the interference of the king of Assyria, before Hezekiah came to years of discretion; or whether that event took place only after the birth of Jesus. As to the application of verse 4 to Jesus Christ, by St. Matthew, my language in the Second Appeal was, that "the evangelist Matthew referred in his Gospel to ch. vii. 14 of Isaiah, merely for the purpose of accommodation; the son of Ahaz and the Saviour resembling each other, in each being the means, at different periods, though in different senses, of establishing the throne of the house of David. In the same manner, the apostles referred to Hosea xi. 1, in ch. ii. 15 of his Gospel, and in many other instances." Nevertheless, the Rev. Editor charges me with having blasphemed against the word of God, by attempting to persuade him and others, in my explanation of the above verse, "that the evangelist Matthew ought not to be credited." I, indeed, never expected such an accusation from the Editor. To acquit myself of the charge, I entreat my readers to refer to the translation of the four Gospels by Dr. Campbell, a celebrated Trinitarian writer, in whose notes (page 9) that learned divine says, "Thus ch. ii. 15, a declaration from the prophet Hosea xi. 1, which God made in relation to the people of Israel, whom he had long before called from Egypt, is applied by the historian *allusively* to Jesus Christ, where all that is meant is, that with equal truth, or rather, with much greater energy of signification, God might now say, *I have recalled my son out of Egypt.* Indeed, the import of the Greek phrase, as commonly used by the sacred writers, is no more, as Le Clerc has justly observed, than that such words of any of the prophets may be applied with truth to such an event."

Did these orthodox writers also attempt to persuade people to discredit the evangelical writings by applying Hosea xi. 1, originally to Israel, and allusively to Jesus Christ? The Editor will not, I presume, get the sanction of the public to accuse those learned divines of blasphemy. I did no more than adopt their mode of expression in examining Isaiah vii. 14, compared with Matt. i. 22, 23, and Hosea xi. 1, with Matt. ii. 15; yet I am charged with blasphemy against the authority of the Gospel of Matthew. I must repeat the

very words I used in the Second Appeal, in comparing the book of Hosea with the Gospel, Matthew (p. 220), that the public may judge whether the language of the Editor, as to my attempt to discredit the Gospel, is just and liberal. "Thus Matt. ii. 15, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son,' the evangelist refers to Hosea xi. 1, which, though really applied to Israel, represented there as the son of God, is used by the apostle in reference to the Saviour, in consideration of a near resemblance between their circumstances in this instance:—both Israel and Jesus were carried into Egypt and recalled from thence, and both were denominated in the Scriptures the 'Son of God.' The passage of Hosea thus runs from ch. xi. 1—3: 'when Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt. As they called them, so they went from them: they sacrificed unto Baalim, and burnt incense to graven images. I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms; but they knew not that I healed them;'—in which Israel, who is represented as a child of God, is declared to have secrificed to Baalim, and to have burnt incense to graven images—circumstances which cannot justly be ascribed to the Saviour."

The Reverend Editor, likewise, in opposition to my explanation, applies Isaiah ix. 6 to Jesus: "For unto us a child is born; unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace;" and all that he says (p. 534) in support of his referring this verse to the Deity of Jesus, is in these words: "To secure to Hezekiah that passage in ch. ix., our author gives us a translation or rather a paraphrase of it by Jonathan, in his Targum, to which we shall merely oppose that given by Bishop Louth." Can the interpretation of the Old Testament given by Jonathan and other celebrated Jewish writers, some of whom lived prior to the birth of Jesus, be discredited from the authority of one, or one thousand, Christian Bishops, to whom, at any rate, Hebrew is a foreign language? Can a Trinitarian, in arguing with one not belonging to the orthodox sect and establishment, quote with propriety, for the refutation of his adversary, the authority of a Trinitarian writer? The public may be the best judges of these points. As these Jewish writings are not unprocurable, the public may refer to them for their own satisfaction. Is there any authority of the sacred writers of the New Testament, authorizing the Editor to apply Isaiah, ix. 6, even in

an accommodated sense, to Jesus? I believe nothing of the kind:—it is mere enthusiasm that has led a great many learned Trinitarians to apply this verse to Jesus. The Editor avoided noticing the context, and the historical circumstances which I adduced in my Appeal to prove the application of the verse in question to Hezekiah. It may be of use, however, to call his attention again to the subject. I, therefore, beg of him to observe those facts, and particularly the following instances. Ch. ix. 1, promises that Israel shall not suffer so severely from the second as from the former invasion of the king of Assyria, when he invaded Lebanon and Naphtali and Galilee beyond Jordan. So we find it mentioned in 2 King, xv. 29: "In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, took Ijon, and Abel-Beth-Maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried Israel captive to Assyria." But in the reign of Hezekiah, so far from reducing Israel to captivity, the king of Assyria was compelled to return to his country with great loss, leaving Israel safe in their places. (2 Kings, xix. 35, 36.) Verses 2 and 3 declare the joy which Israel were to feel at their delivery from the hands of their cruel invaders, and verse 4, at throwing off the yoke and rod of the oppressor. We find accordingly, in 2 Kings, xviii. 7, that Hezekiah rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not. Verse 5 foretells the destruction of the army of the invaders. So we find, 2 Kings, xix. 34, 35, that the angel of the Lord slew a great part of the army of the Assyrian invaders. Verses 6 and 7 speak of the illustrious son who was then to reign with justice and judgment. So we find in 2 Kings, xviii. 3—7, that Hezekiah during his reign did what was right in the sight of God, so that, after or before him, there was none like him among the kings of Judah; and that the Lord was with him wheresover he went. Verses 9 and 10 speak of the displeasure of the Lord at the pride and stoutness of heart of Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria, the enemies of Hezekiah and his father. So we find in 2 Kings, xviii. 10, 11, that the people of Samaria were defeated and made prisoners by the Assyrians in the sixth year of Hezekiah. Verse 11, of the Lord's setting up the adversaries of Rezin, the king of Syria, against him. So we find in Isaiah, vii. that Rezin, the king of Syria, who, with Ephraim, besieged Jerusalem at the time the city had borne the child mentioned in ch. vii. 14, was defeated by his adversaries. Verses 12—20 describe the anger of God, as occasioned by the wickedness of Israel. Verse 21,

of Ephraim and Manasseh having joined together to invade Judah. Ch. x. 1—6, denounce punishment to the wicked people of Judah by the hands of the Assyrians. So we find in 2 Kings, xviii. 13, that in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, the great king of Assyria came against Judah, and took all her fenced cities. Verses 8—14, of the boasting of the king of Assyria as to his power snd conquests of many kingdoms, and his destruction of the gods of different nations, and of his contempt for the living God of the Jews in Jerusalem. So we find in 2 Kings, xviii. 33—35, and xix. 11—14, that the king of Assyria boasted of his great power, and of having subdued the gods of the nations; and that he despised Jehovah, the true, living God, even blaspheming him in a message to Hezekiah. Verses 12—26, promising to punish the king of Assyria, and to bring ruin upon him, for his high boastings, and for his contempt against the Lord. So we find in 2 Kings, xix. 21—34, that the Lord encouraged *the* virgin, the daughter of Zion, and the daughter of Jerusalem, to despise the king of Assyria, whom he had determined to punish for his disrespect; and promised safety to the inhabitants of Jerusalem on the prayer offered by Hezekiah. So also we find in 2 Kings, xix. 35, and 2 Chron., xxxii. 21, that the Lord sent his angel into the camp of the king of Assyria and slew his mighty men, leaders and captains. Verse 27 promises the king of Judah's liberation from the yoke of the king of Assyria. So we find, 2 Kings, xviii. 7, that Hezekiah rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not afterwards. It was not Hezekiah alone that, in the beginning of his reign, acknowledged dependence upon the king of Assyria, but his father Ahaz also confessed the superiority of the king of Assyria, and sued to him for protection against the kings of Syria and of Israel when Hezekiah was only a child. (2 Kings, xvi. 7 and 8.)

The public may now judge whether or not the above circumstances, and the contents of chapters vii. and viii. noticed in the preceding paragraphs, determine the application of verses 6 and 7 of Ch. ix. of Isaiah to Hezekiah, who "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord;" "removed high places;" "broke the images and cut down the groves;" "trusted in the Lord God of Israel;" "clave to the Lord, and departed not from following him;" "with whom the Lord *was*;" who "prospered whithersoever he went:" and prior and subsequent to whose reign, "was none like him among all the kings of Judah." (2 Kings, xviii. 3—7.) And they may also decide

whether the delivery of Israel from the attack of the Assyrians, and the punishment inflicted upon the king of Assyria in the prescribed manner, took place in the reign of Hezekiah, or that of Jesus Christ. If my readers compare minutely Chapters vii.—x. and xxxix. of Isaiah with 2 Kings, xv, xvi, xviii, xix, and xx, they will, I trust, have a still clearer view of the subject.

In common with the son mentioned in Isaiah, ix. 6, who was called Hezekiah, "*God my strength,*" "*Immanuel,*" "*God with us,*" "Wonderful, Counsellor, mighty God, the Father of the everlasting age, the Prince of Peace" human beings, and even inanimate objects, were designated by the same terms, or similar epithets, as noticed in pp. 240, 242, 243, 275 and 276 of my Second Appeal without being held up as the most high Jehovah.

Moreover, the difference between "to be" and "to be called" is worth observing, as I noticed in the note at p. 275, Second Appeal, to which I beg to refer my readers. As to the phrases "no end," "for ever," or "everlasting," found in Isaiah, ix. 6, 7, these, when applied to creatures, are always to be taken in a limited sense, the former signifying plenteousness, the latter, long duration, as I observed in note, p. 234 of the Second Appeal. *Vide* Gen., xlix. 26 ; Heb., iii. 6.

St. Matthew, in an accommodated sense, applies Isaiah, ix. 1, 2, to Jesus, whose spiritual reign delivered also the inhabitants of Zebulun, and the land of Naphtalim and Galilee, from the darkness of sin, in the same way as in Hezekiah's reign their inhabitants were saved from the darkness of foreign invasion.

As the Editor and many orthodox Christians lay much stress on the application of the term Immanuel to Jesus, I offer the following observations. The sum total of their argument is derived from the following verse, Matt., i. 23 : "And they shall call his name Immanuel, which, being interpreted, is God with us." This name is composed of three Hebrew words, "Emma" עִם with ; "noo," נוּ us ; "el," אֵל God ; that is, with us God ; hence the advocates for the Trinity conclude that Jesus is here called God, and that he must therefore be God. But let us ascertain whether other beings are not, in common with Jesus, called by designations compounded with *el*, or God, in the sacred writings, or whether the term *el* is exclusively applied to Jehovah and Jesus, and then direct our attention to the above-stated conclusion. Gen., xxxii, 24 : "And Jacob was left alone, and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day."

Verse 30: "And he (Jacob) called the name of the place פניאל, Peni*el*: for I have seen *God* face to face, and my life is preserved." Here the place is called the face of *el* (God,) and the angel who wrestled with and blessed Jacob, and whom he saw there, is styled *el* (God.) Verse 28: "And he (the angel) said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Isra*el*; for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast *prevailed*." As Jacob in wrestling with the angel, shewed him his power and prevailed, he was called Israel, the prince of God, or, properly speaking, the prince of the angel; for it would be the grossest blasphemy to say that Jacob wrestled with the Almighty God, and prevailed over him. So we find in Gen. xlvi., 17, "Malchi*el*," that is, "my king God;" Dan., viii. 16, "Gabri*el*," "mighty God;" 1 Chron., xv. 18, "Jaazi*el*," "strong God;" verse 20, "Jehi*el*," "living God;" 1 Sam., viii. 2, "The name of his first-born was Jo*el*," that is, "Jehovah God."

Moreover, the very term Immanuel is applied immediately in Isaiah, vii. 14, to the deliverer of Judah from the invasion of the king of Syria, and that of Israel, during the reign of Ahaz; but none esteemed him to be God, from the application of this term to him. Besides, by referring to Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, on the explanation of the word *el*, (or God,) we find "that Christian Emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries would suffer themselves to be addressed by the style of "*your divinity*," "*your Godship*." And also by referring to the Old Testament we find the terms [*] אל *el*, אלהים *elohim*, or God, often applied to superiors. No one, therefore, can be justified in charging the apostle Matthew with inconsistency, on account of his having used, even in an accommodated sense, the phrase "Immanuel," for Jesus, appointed by God as the Lord of the Jews and Gentiles.

The Editor denies the truth of my assertion in the Second Appeal, (p. 241,) that David is also called the holy one of Israel, in Psalm lxxxix. and insists that Jehovah and the future Messiah only are styled the holy one. I therefore beg to refer my readers to the whole context of the Psalm in question, a few passages of which I here subjoin. (Ver. 19.) "Then thou spakest in vision to *thy holy one*, and saidst (ver. 20) I have found *David*, my *servant*; with my *holy oil*

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[*] Ezekiel, xxxi. 11; אל גוים "The mighty one of the Heathen." Exod, xv. 15: אלי מואב "The mighty men of Moab." 1 Sam, xxviii 13: אלהים דאיתי "I saw God," that is Samuel. Exod., xxii. 8. אל תאלהים "To the Gods;" that is the Judges.

have I *anointed* him." (Ver. 26) "He shall *cry* unto me, thou art my Father, *MY GOD*, and the rock of *MY SALVATION*. (Ver. 27) Also I *will* make him my first-born." (Ver. 35) "Once I have sworn by my holiness, that I will not lie unto *DAVID*." (Ver. 38) "But thou hast cast off and *abhorred*, thou hast been *wrath* with *thine anointed*." (Ver. 39) "Thou hast made *void* the covenant of thy servant." (Ver. 44) "Thou hast made his glory to cease." (Ver. 45) "Thou hast covered him with shame." The public now may judge whether the above sentences are applicable to king David, or to Jesus, whose *glory* never *ceased*,—with whom God has never been *wrath*, and who cannot be supposed to have been covered with *shame*. Besides, it is evident from this passage, that the term "holy one" is applied to one constantly styled a servant.

The Editor inquires, (p. 570,) what instances I bring that these names, peculiar to God, such as Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, were applied to certain kings in Israel; I therefore beg to refer him to the passages mentioned in pp. 156 and 157 of the Second Appeal, in which he will find the same epithets given to human beings, and even to inanimate objects.

With a view to deduce the Deity of Jesus Christ from the comparison of Isaiah, xxviii. 16, with Isaiah, viii. 13, and with 1 Peter, ii. 8, the Rev. Editor thus comments (p. 570): "The declaration is, that Jehovah of hosts shall be for a stumbling stone, and for a rock of offence to the two houses of Israel: but after the delivery of his prophecy, was he this to them prior to the coming of Christ? As the house of Israel was carried away captive a few years after the delivery of this prophecy, if not a year or two before, it is doubtful whether they ever saw this prophecy while in their own land; but Christ has been a stone of stumbling and rock of offence to all of every tribe for nearly eighteen centuries, while he has been a sanctuary to all who trusted in him." I need not prolong the discussion by pointing out, that Isaiah delivered this prophecy in the reign of Ahaz; that the captivity of one of the houses of Israel took place in the reign of Hezekiah, his son, and that of the other house, in the reign of Zedekiah, the 9th king of Judah, from the time of Ahaz. As the Editor acknowledges the fact of the house of Israel being "carried away captive a few years after the delivery of this prophecy," he will undoubtedly be persuaded to confess also, the circumstance of their

distress and misery just before, as well as during the time of captivity, by an attentive reference to the sacred histories, 2 Kings and 2 Chron. The necessary consequence, then, will be, that he will clearly perceive that the above-stated prophecy of Isaiah had been duly fulfilled long before Christ's birth, the Lord of hosts having become for a stumbling-stone and for a rock of offence to the two houses of Israel, soon after the prophet's declaration; and that 1 Peter, ii. 7, and 8, ("The stone which the builders disallowed, the same *is made* the head of the corner. And a stone of stumbling, and rock of offence, even to them who stumble at the word, being disobedient,") is but a general statement of the ill consequences attached to disobedience, whether on the part of Israel, or of the Gentiles, to the *word* delivered to them by Jesus in his divine commission. Jesus is here represented as a stone, rejected by men but chosen by God; and, consequently, he must be a stumbling-stone to those who reject him, stumbling at his word. Common sense, if not biassed by early prejudice, is sufficient to decide, that a stone, which is chosen and made the head of the corner by a maker, must not be esteemed as the maker himself.

The Editor comments, however, on the phrase, "made the head of the corner," in verse 7, saying "As to his being made the head of the corner by his heavenly Father, this can no more affect his unchangeable Deity, than his being made flesh." This is as much as to say, that the circumstance of his being made the head of the corner is as *much* a proof of his changeable nature as the fact of his being made flesh; for were we to admit, that the circumstance of an object being made flesh, or matter, which he was not before, does not evince the changeableness of the nature of that object, we must then be at a loss to discover even a single changeable object in the world. If one's being made flesh, and his growth and reduction, in the progress of time, should not be considered as an evidence of a change in him, every man might claim the honour of an immutable nature, and set up as God made flesh.

The Editor says, (p. 571,) that I "attempted to evade Isaiah, xi. 3, ('The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a high-way for our God,') by coupling it with Malachi iii. 1, ('Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me; and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come into his temple, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in; behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts,')

and confining his animadversions to the latter." I trust, the Editor, by referring to Mark, i. 2, 3, will find, that in coupling the above verses, I did no more than follow the example of that Evangelist, who also coupled them in his Gospel. As the explanation, adopted by me, of the prophecy of Malachi, fully explains the passage of Isaiah, I confined my animadversion to the former; for, "we find in the book of that prophet, distinct and separate mention of Jehovah, and of the Messiah, as the messenger of the covenant: John, therefore, ought to be considered as the forerunner of both, *and as the preparer of the way of both*; in the same manner as a commander, sent in advance to occupy a strong post in the country of the enemy, may be said to be *preparing 'the way* for the battles of his king, or of the general, whom the king places at the head of his army." (Second Appeal, pp. 243, 244.) On which explanation the Editor observes, that "The fact is, that Malachi does not mention two; it is Jehovah who was suddenly to come into his temple; and afterwards, Jehovah and the Messenger of the covenant are identified by the prophet's" adding, "he shall come," not "they." But we find, in the original Hebrew, Malachi, iii. 1, "*and* the messenger of the covenant," with the conjunction "and," after the mention of the Lord. It is, therefore, evident, that the messenger of the covenant is *distinctly* and separately mentioned. How the Editor supposes that "Malachi does not mention two," I am unable to guess. We find also, immediately after the mention of "the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in," the prophet adds, "Behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts," as the saying of Jehovah.—How can the mention of the messenger of the covenant, in the third person, by the Deity, prove the unity of that messenger with the Deity? Were we to admit, that every being spoken of in the third person by God, is identified with God, the number of identified Gods must, in that case, amount at least to thousands in the sacred writings. It is worth observing, that in the original Hebrew, "the messenger of the covenant" stands as nominative to the verb בא or "shall come," with the pronoun "he." The verse thus stands in the original: "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me; and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple; *and* the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in; behold, he shall come, (or, IS COMING,) saith the Lord of hosts." The Editor adds, "That Jesus is Jehovah, mentioned in Isaiah, xl. 3, whose way John was sent to prepare, is confirmed by the testimony of Zechariah,

and John his son." As to the nature of Jesus, Zechariah gives us to understand (Luke, i. 69,) that God "hath raised up an *horn* of salvation for us in the house of his servant David." In the evangelical writings of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, we find Jesus represented by John, as mightier than himself. In John we find still more explicit testimony (i. 29). "Behold the *Lamb* of God, who taketh away the sin of the world." (30.) "This is he of whom I said, After me cometh *a man* who is preferred before me." My readers may now judge whether Zechariah and John confirmed the identity of Jesus with Jehovah, or represented him as a creature *raised*, and exalted by his and our Father, the Most High.

Some orthodox divines having attempted to prove the Deity of Jesus, by comparing Isaiah, xl. 10, (" Behold, the Lord God will come with a strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him.") with Rev., xxii. 12, ("Behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me, to give to every man according as his work shall be,") I brought to their notice, (in my Second Appeal p. 254,) John, v. 30, 22, "The Father judgeth no man, but *hath committed* all Judgment *unto the Son*;" and Matt., xvi. 27, " For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works." To weaken the force of my argument, the Editor says, (p. 573,) "These passages, however, do not in the least affect the question, which is not, by what authority Christ rewards, but whether he be the person described as rewarding: and this, these very passages confirm, particularly Rev., xxii. 12." If in the administering of judgment and of reward, as well as in the performance of miracles, the authority by which these things are done should be considered as a matter of no consequence, the almighty power of Jesus, and that of several others, might be established on an equal footing. Is it not, therefore, a subject worthy of question, whether Joshua ordered the sun and the moon to stop their motions, by the authoriiy of God, or by his own power? Is it not a question worth determining, whether Elijah raised the dead by the authority of the Most High, or independently of the Almighty power? But if we consider it incumbent on us to believe and to know that those prophets performed works peculiarly ascribed to God, by the authority of his Divine Majesty, why should we not deem it also necessary to ascertain whether the authority to judge men and to reward them accordingly, as well as the power of performing

miracles, were vested in Jesus, by the omnipotent God, or exercised by him independently of the Father of the universe? In point of fact, we find the following positive avowal of Jesus himself—"The Father judgeth no man, but hath *committed* all judgment *unto the Son.*"—"As I hear I judge; and my judgment is just: because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father who hath sent me." Here the Editor offers the following exeplanation, saying, that "All power, as to providence and final judgment, is *committed* to him, not merely as the Son, but as the Son of Man, the Mediator, because he made himself the Son of Man." This amounts to the doctrine of the two-fold nature of Jesus, the absurdity of which I have often noticed. I may, however, be permitted to ask the Editor, whether there is any authority for the assertion that Jesus, as the Son of Man, was dependent on God for the exercise of his power: but as the Son of God was quite an independent Deity? So far from meeting with such authority, we find that Jesus, in every epithet that he was designated by, is described to be subject to and dependent on God. Acts, xvii. 31: "Because he hath appointed a day in which HE will judge the world in righteousness, *by* that *MAN whom he hath ordained*; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that HE *hath raised him* from the dead." John viii. 28: "Then said Jesus unto them, When ye have lifted up the SON of MAN, then shall ye know that I am he, and that *I do nothing of myself*; but as my Father hath *taught me*, I speak these things." xvii. 1, 2: "Father the hour is come: glorify thy Son, that THY SON also may glorify thee. As *thou hast given* HIM power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as *thou hast given him.*" Heb. i, 8, 9: "Thy throne, O GOD, is for ever and ever; as ceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom: Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore God, even THY GOD, hath *anointed thee* with the oil of gladness above *thy fellows.*" The Editor says, "His glory he (the Son) may, for a season, lay aside, but his divine nature he can never change." I wish to be informed what kind of divine nature it was that could be divested of its glory* and power,† even for a season. To my understanding, such divinity must be analogous to matter without space or gravity, or sunbeam without light, which my limited capacity, I must confess, cannot comprehend.

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* John, xvii. 5 and 22.

† John, xvii. 2; Acts x 38.

The Editor finally argues, that "as the Father's committing to the Son the entire work and glory of being the final judge of all, judging no man himself, does not change his glorious nature, so the Son's laying aside his glory and becoming a man, in no way changes his original nature and godhead." It is true that God's committing to the Son the authority of judgment, bestowing on the sun the power of casting light upon the planets round him, and enabling superiors to provide food and protection for their dependents, do not imply any change in his glorious nature; for it is ordained by the laws of nature, that nothing can be effected, in this visible world, without the intervention of some physical means: but that the Son's or any other being's, *laying aside* his glory and becoming a man must produce at least a temporary change in his nature, is a proposition as obvious as any that can be submitted to the understanding.

I have of course, omitted to quote John, v. 23, during this discussion in my Second Appeal, because it has no relation to the subject, and because I noticed it fully in another part of that publication, p. 155.

I will also refrain from noticing, in this place, Heb., i. 12, alluded to by the Editor, as I have already considered that passage as fully as possible in the preceding Chapter, p. 92.

The Editor next comes to Isaiah xliv. 6: "Thus saith the Lord, the King of Israel, and his redeemer Jehovah of hosts, I am the first and I am the last, and beside me there is no God;" comparing it with Rev., i. 8, and xxii. 13. This argument has been already replied to in my Second Appeal; it shall be again adverted to shortly. He then endeavours to prove that Jesus cannot be meant as prohibiting John from worshipping him in verse 9, saying, that "In this book five persons address at different times; two of the elders around the throne two angels, and he who is the grand speaker throughout the book—whom he, after the first chapter, often introduces without the least notice, while he previously describes every other speaker, with the utmost care." The Editor, however, has quoted only instances in which John describes the two elders and the two angels in a distinct manner; but I cannot find that he adduces even a single instance where the "grand speaker" is "introduced without the least notice." Again, he says, "How could Jesus forbid John to worship him, after he received worship by the command of God from all the angels?" I may be, on the same principle, justified in asking the Editor, How the angel could forbid John to worship him,

while he knew that other angels of God, and even human beings, had received worship from fellow-creatures? Joshua v. 14; "And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship, and said unto him," (the captain of the host of the Lord,) "What saith my Lord unto his servant?" Numb., xxii. 31: "And he (Balaam) saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand, and he bowed down his head, and fell flat on his face." Daniel, ii. 46: "Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face and worshipped Daniel." As the Editor's argument, therefore, must apply with equal force to angels as well as to Jesus, it is quite plain that no conclusion can be drawn from it relative to the identity of the being who, in Rev. xxii., 9, forbids John to worship him. The fact is, that the word "worship," in scriptural language, is used sometimes as implying an external mark of religious reverence paid to God; and since, in this sense worship was offered by John to the angel, or to Jesus, he refused it, as is evident from the last sentence of verse 9, "worship God;" and sometimes the same word "worship" is used as signifying merely a token of civil respect due to superiors: and accordingly, in this latter sense, not only Jesus, but angels and prophets, and even temporal princes or masters, used to accept of it, as we find in Matt., xviii. 26, "The servant, therefore, fell down and worshipped him," and so in various other instances. It denotes, in this acceptation, merely a mark of reverence, which neither identifies those to whom it is offered with the Deity, nor raises them to a level with their Creator, the Most High. My readers will observe, that the author of the book of Revelation declares himself, in Ch. i. 17, to have fallen at the feet of Jesus; and he speaks also, in Ch. v. 8, of the four beasts and four-and-twenty elders having fallen down before the Lamb; avoiding, however, in these places, as well as throughout the whole book of Revelation, the use of the word worship to express the reverence shewn to the Lamb; while to the words "fell down," when referring to God, he adds invariably, "and worshipped him." *Vide* Ch. vii. 11; xi. 16; xix. 4, and v. 14. 3rdly. He says, "How could Jesus, who declares himself to be Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, reject worship from John?" I do not wonder at the Editor's entirely neglecting to notice my remarks on the terms "Alpha and Omega," or, "the beginning and the end," in the Second Appeal, p. 252,—to wit, "Alpha and Omega, beginning and end, are, in a finite sense, justly applicable to Jesus,"—when I find him regardless of the explanation given by John

himself respecting these terms, and by St. Paul, one of his fellow-labourers. Rev., iii. 14: "These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, *the beginning of the creation of God:* I know thy works," &c., Cor. i. 15: "The first-born of every creature." 1 Cor., xv. 24: "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom *to God, even the Father.*" Verse 28: "And when *all things* shall be subdued unto him, *then* shall the Son *also* himself be subject unto him, that God may be all in all."

As to Rev., i. 8 introduced again by the Editor, the expressions it contains are given as those of God himself and not of Christ, since it describes the speaker to be Him "who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty"—an epithet peculiarly applied to God five times in the book of Revelation, and very often throughout the rest of the sacred writings, and which is but a repetition of what is found in the preceding verse 4th of that Chapter. Being equivalent to "Jehovah," it has never been applied to Jesus in any part of the Revelation, either separately or joined with the terms "Alpha and Omega." But, as I have already fully noticed this verse in page 112, I will not return to the subject here. 4thly. The Editor urges, "How could Jesus, who searches the heart, reject the acceptance of worship?" In answer to which I beg to remind him, that the prophets and the apostles also, as far as they possessed the gift of prophecy, were able to discover what passed in the hearts of other men; or in other words, were "searchers of hearts." Thus, in the Acts of the Apostles, Ch. v, verses 3, 4, 8, 9, St. Peter is represented as a searcher of the hearts; but he is again stated, in Ch. x. 25, 26, to have prohibited Cornelius from offering him worship. And in 2 Kings, vi. 32, Elisha is declared to have known what passed in the heart of the king, without our therefore acknowledging him as an object of religious worship.

The Editor, lastly, lays stress on the phrase found in Rev., vii. 17, "The Lamb who is *in the midst* of the throne," overlooking the application of the same word, "midst," to the elders and the four beasts, in Ch. iv. 6. Besides, such a phrase as "to sit with the Father on his throne," implies nothing in the book of Revelation except an acquisition of holy perfection and honour, which Jesus, in common with every righteous Christian acquired *through his merits*. Ch. iii. 21: "To him that *overcometh* will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also *overcame*, and am set down with my Father in his throne."

In answer to his assertain, that it is "the Lamb whom the blessed constantly adore, crying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty," I beg to refer my readers to Ch. iv. 8, which contains this phrase; nay, rather to the whole of that Chapter, where they will find that no mention of "the Lamb," or Jesus, is once made.

The Editor observes, (p. 577,) that "in verses 5, 6, of Ch. xxi. another speaker besides the angel is introduced in an abrupt manner." I therefore repeat verse 11, of Ch. xx. and verses 5—7 of Ch. xxi and leave my readers to judge whether or not the speaker is here introduced in the same abrupt* manner as he alleged to be in Ch. xxii. 12, according to the interpretation of the Editor. Ch. xx. 11: "And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them." Ch. xxi. 5: "And *he that* sat upon the throne *said*, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write, for these words are true and faithful." Ver. 6: "And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega," &c. Ver. 7: "He that overcometh shall inherit all things, and I will be *his God*, and he shall be *my son*."

I really cannot perceive what the Editor could have meant by the following remark: "He there (in verse 5) uses the same language found in Ch. xxii. 6, 'Write, for these words are true and faithful'!" I hope he could not have intended to identify the speaker in Ch. xxii. 6, who represents himself as a fellow-servant of John, with the speaker in Ch. xxi. 5, who thus, speaking of himself, says, (verse 7,) "I will be his God, and he shall be my son." Besides, the language found in Ch. xxi. 5, is not "the very same" used in Ch. xxii. 6, since in the former the whole speech stands thus—"*Write, for* these sayings are true and faithful;" but in the latter we find only, "These sayings are faithful and true;" but not the verb "*write*," nor the casual preposition "*for*."

The Editor comes next to what he calls internal evidence; saying, "Internal evidence, however, demonstrates that this angel neither said, 'Behold, I come quickly,' (verse 7,) nor 'I am Alpha and Omega,' (verse 13.)" Let us now examine the context and the style

* In the book of Revelation, John introduces, about eighty times, different speakers, but not once without a distinct notice of the speaker in the context. In Ch xvi, 14, 15, the day of the Lord is metaphorically introduced as a speaker. *Vide* 1 Thess, v. 3, and 2 Peter, iii 10.

of the writings of the book of Revelation. 1st. There is not a single instance in the whole book of Revelation, in which a speech is repeated without the previous introduction of the speaker; and in this instance we find an angel is previously introduced in verse 6, as the speaker of verse 7. The passage in question (verses 6—13) runs thus: "And he said unto me, These sayings are faithful and true: and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew his servants the things which must shortly be done. (7) Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he who keeps the prophecy of this book. (8) I, John, saw these things, and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel who shewed me these things. (9) Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God. (10) And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand. (11) He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still; he that is righteous, let him be righteous still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still. (12) And behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be. (13) I am Alpha and and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." I am, therefore, quite at a loss to comprehend how the Editor can justify himself in ascribing verses 6, 8, and 9, to one being, and verse the 7th to another, in which there is no notice whatsoever of a new speaker. 2ndly. There is only one agent in the whole train of these verses, extending as far as verse 20, and no unbiased mind can, in the face of all the rules of composition, reject the relation of a verb to an appropriate nominative standing before it, in order to refer the same to a noun which is not found in any of the immediately preceding sentences. 3rdly. Were we to follow the example of the Editor, and refer verses 6, 8, and 9, to an unknown angel, and verse 7 abruptly to Jesus, (which I conceive we cannot do, without defying common sense, and all the acknowledged laws of grammar,) we must be totally at a loss to account for the strange conduct of John towards Jesus, his Master, in falling down to worship before the feet of the angel, and neglecting Jesus entirely, though he saw and heard them both at one time, or rather his vision of Jesus was subsequent to that of the angel. 4thly. John himself explains whom he meant by the angel mentioned in xxii. 6, identifying this angel

with Jesus, expressly named in the first Chapter of Revelation. Ch. xxii. 6: "And the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel *to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done.*" Ch. i. 1: "God gave unto him, (Jesus,) *to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass.*" As, in the English version there is some difference, though of no consequence, in these two phrases, I therefore quote the original, containing the precise words in both instances.

δειξαι τοις δουλοιδ αυτου ά γενεσθαι εν ταεχι

I hope now that the explanation of the author of the book of Revelation, joined with the above-stated circumstances, will not fall short of producing conviction in the mind of the Editor and my other opponents.

We may easily find out the angel who is described in the latter end of Ch. i. 1, as being sent by Jesus, by reference to Ch. xxii. 16: "I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things *in the churches.*" We find here two things distinctly: one. that Jesus designated as an angel in xxii. 6, *shewed*, as directed by God in Ch. i. 1, *all things which must shortly come to pass*; and the other, that he sent his angel to shew to John and his other servants *these things in the churches*, respecting the Christian dispensation, as expressly mentioned in verse 1 of the book of Revelation, as well as in Ch. xxii. 16. 5thly. I will now have recourse to the rule recommended by the Editor, "that when the speaker is not expressly named, his language designates him." As the phrase "I come quickly," found elsewhere in the book of Revelation, is used expressly by Jesus as speaker in five different instances, (Ch. ii. 5, 16, Ch. iii. 11, Ch. xxii. 12, 20,) we must naturally ascribe this phrase in verse 7, to Jesus, and must, therefore, refer the immediately following verses (8, 9,) to him, in perfect consistency with all other scriptural writings. It is not only in verse 9 that Jesus calls himself a servant of God, and addresses Christians as brethren, but also in Matt., xii. 18, he represents himself as a chosen servant of the Most High; and in xxviii. 10, and John xx. 17, designates the disciples as his brethren.

If the Editor should say, according to the general mode of Trinitarian exposition, that the adoption of such designations was in reference to the human capacity of Jesus, he will perhaps give up the present difference from me, under the supposition that in this instance also Jesus calls himself a servant of God, and his followers

brethren, as well as forbids John to worship him, merely in his human capacity.

I now conclude my reply to this branch of the Editor's argument, with a few remarks in allusion to such questions of the Editor, as "Is it that the Son of God, after receiving the worship of the highest archangel at God's express commands forbade John to worship him?" &c. I would ask, in turn; Can any man be justified in ascribing Deity to one whose language is this: "As I received of *my Father*" (Rev., ii. 27); "I have not found thy works perfect before *God*" (iii. 2), "I will *confess* his name *before my Father*, and before his angels" (verse 5); "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of *my God*: I will write upon him the name of *my God*, and the name of the city of *my God*, which cometh down out of heaven from *my God*"? (Verse 12.) Is it consistent with the nature of God to acquire exaltation through merit:—Chap. v. 12: "Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain *to receive* power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing." Ch. iii. 21: "To him that *overcometh* will I grant to sit with me in my throne, EVEN AS *I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.*"? Is it becoming of the nature of God to sing thus, addressing himself to another being: "Great and marvellous are THY works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are THY WAYS, thou King of Saints. Who shall not fear THEE, O Lord, and glorify THY name? for THOU ONLY art holy," &c. Ch. xv. 3, 4. Is not the Lamb throughout the whole Revelation mentioned separately and distinctly from God: Ch. i. 1: "The Revelation *of Jesus Christ*, which *God gave* unto him." Verse 2: "Who bare record of the word *of God*, and of the testimony *of Jesus Christ.*" Verses 4, 5: "And peace *from him* who is, and who was, and who is to come; *and from* the seven spirits which are before his throne; *and from Jesus Christ*, who *is the faithful witness.*" Verse 9: "For the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ." Ch. v. 9: "Thou wast *slain*, and hast redeemed us to *God.*" Verse 10; "And hast made us unto *our God* kings and priests." Ch. xi. 15: "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of *our Lord*, and *of* HIS *Christ.*" Ch. xii. 17: "Who keep the commandments *of God*, and have the testimony *of Jesus Christ.*" Ch. xiv. 12: "That keep the commandments *of God*, and the faith *of Jesus.*" Ch. xxi. 23: "For the glory *of God* did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof."

John in ascribing to the Lamb most honorary epithets, those generally printed in capitals, takes great care in the choice of words, Ch. xix. 16: "He (the Lamb) hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords." Ch. xvii. 14: For "he (the Lamb) is Lord of Lords, and King of Kings." The apostle never once declares him to be "God of Gods," the peculiar epithet of the Almigty Power. So the most holy saints sing first the song of Moses, and then that of the Lamb; having perhaps had in view the priority of the former to the latter in point of birth. Ch. xv. 3: "And they (the holy saints) sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb."

In answer to one of the many insinuations made by the Editor in the course of his arguments, to wit, "If this be Christ, what must become of the precepts of Jesus?" (p. 576.) I most reluctantly put the following query in reply: If a slain lamb be God Almighty, or his true emblem, what must be his worship, and what must, become his worshippers?

On the attempt to prove the Deity of Jesus Christ by comparing Isaiah, xiv. 23, ("Unto me," i. e., God, "every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear,") with Rom., xiv. 10—12, ("But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? For we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God. So then, every one of us shall give account of himself to God,") I observed in my Second Appeal, that "Between the prophet and the apostle there is a perfect agreement in substance, since both declare that it is to God that every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess *through him*, before whose judgment-seat we shall all stand: at the same time both Jesus and his apostles inform us, that we must stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, because *the Father has committed* the office of final judgment to him." To which the answer of the Editor is this, "We here beg leave to ask our author, where the phrase *through him* is to be found? it must be in the author's copy of the prophet and the apostle—it is not in ours." By these words the Editor clearly means to insinuate, that the words in question are gratuitously inserted in my explanation, and without any authority in the holy scriptures. At least I am otherwise at a loss to understand what he means by saying that the words of my paraphrase are not to be found in his edition of the

Bible; for it would be unworthy to suppose of him that he wished to impress his readers with the idea, that I was quoting a particular passage falsely, instead of the fact that I was only giving my idea of its import. That I was fully warranted in my interpretation, I hope to convince the Editor himself, by referring him to the following passages, in which it is expressly declared that it is *through Jesus* that glory and thanks are to be given to God, and that we have peace with God: and also that it is by JESUS CHRIST that God judgeth the world. Rom., xvi. 27: "To God only wise, be glory *through* Jesus Christ forever. Amen." Ch. v. 1: "We have peace with God *through* our Lord Jesus Christ." Ch. i. 8: "I thank my God *through* Jesus Christ." Ch. ii. 16: "In the day when *God* shall *judge* the secrets of men *by Jesus Christ.*" 2 Cor., v. 18: "All things are of God, who hath, reconciled us to himself *by Jesus Christ.*" John, v. 22: "For the Father judgeth no man, but *hath committed* all judgment unto the Son." After considering these texts, no one can, I think, refuse to admit the correctness of my assertion, that it is *to God* every knee shall bow *through Christ*, before whose judgment-seat we shall stand, "because *the Father has committed* the office of final judgment *to him*," as being founded upon the best authority that man can appeal to.

Upon the interpretation of the above-mentioned passage of Isaiah, to wit, "It is Jesus that swears here by himself," I observed in my Second Appeal, "How can they escape the context, which expressly informs us that Jehovah God, and not Jesus, swore in this manner?" To this the Editor replies, that "the Son was Jehovah before he was Jesus," &c. Is not this merely a begging of the question, inasmuch as one may equally assert that Moses or Joshua was Jehovah before he was Moses or Joshua?

He further says, that "Jesus is so pre-eminently Saviour, that there is salvation in no other." I agree with the Editor so far as to declare Jesus to be, under God, the only Saviour mentioned in the records of the Christian dispensation; but previous to his birth there were many saviours raised by God to save his servants, noticed already in other places.

The Editor adds, that in Isaiah, xlv. 24, righteousness is used in such a sense as is principally applicable to the Son. I therefore transcribe the verse, that the reader may judge whether or not his position has any foundation: "Surely, shall one say, In the Lord

have I righteousness and strength: even to him shall men come; and all that are incensed against him shall be ashamed."

Respecting the attempt to prove the Deity of Jesus from the circumstance of his being figuratively represented as the husband or the supporter of his church, John, iii, 29, Eph., v. 23, and also God's being called the husband of his creatures, Isaiah, liv. 5. I requested in my Second Appeal, that "my readers would be pleased to examine the language employed in these two instances. In the one God is represented as the husband of *all* his creatures, and in the other, Christ is declared to be the husband, or the head of his *followers:* there is, therefore, an inequality of authority evidently ascribed to God and to Jesus. Moreover, Christ himself shows the relation that existed between him and his church, and himself and God, in John, xv. I: 'I am the true vine, and my father is the husbandman.' Verse 5: 'I am the vine, ye are the branches, &c. Would it not be highly unreasonable to set at defiance the distinction drawn by Jesus between God himself, and his church? The Editor has not taken the least notice of this last argument; he only glances over the former, saying, (p. 579) "Had our author examined the context with sufficient care, he would have found that those to whom God declares himself the husband, are so far from being all his creatures, that they are only one branch of his church, the Gentiles, the children of the desolate, in opposition to the Jews, the children of the married wife." I wonder how the choice of the designation "thy Maker," in Isaiah, liv. 5, in preference to others, and its true force, could escape the notice of the Editor, as the phrase "thy Maker is thy husband" implies in a general sense that whosoever is the maker is also the preserver, and consequently, God is the husband, or the preserver, of all his creatures, including the Jews more especially as his chosen people. I, however, wish to know how the Editor justifies himself in concluding real unity between God and Jesus from the application of the term husband to them, while Jesus declares the relation between God, himself, and his church, to be such as that existing between the husbandman, the vine, and its branches.

Some orthodox divines having attempted to establish the Deity of Jesus, by comparing Jer., xxiii. 5, 6, ("I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper—and this is his name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS,") with 1 Cor., i. 30, ("Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom

and righteousness," &c.) I replied, in my Second Appeal, that "I only refer my readers again to the passage in Jer. xxxiii., 16, in which Jerusalem also is called 'THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS,' and to the phrase, 'is MADE *unto us of God*,' found in the passage in question, and expressing the inferiority of Jesus to God; and also to Cor., v. 21 'that we might be made the righteousness of God in him;' where St Paul says, that all Christians may 'be made the righteousness of God;'" to which the Rev. Editor thus replies (p. 480); "This does not at all affect the question in hand, which is simply, whether this righteous branch of David, this king, who shall reign and prosper, be Jesus Christ or not: and to prove this, we need only call in the testimony of the angel to Mary, Luke, i. 32, 33, 'The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father, David: And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever.'" The Editor here overlooks again the force of the phrase, "God shall *give* unto him (Jesus) the throne of his father David," implying, that the throne and exaltation which Jesus was possessed of, was but the *free gift* of God.

To lessen the force of such phrases as, "being *made* of God," "God shall *give* unto him," &c., the Editor adds, that, "relative to his 'being made of God our righteousness to us,' this can of course make no alteration in the Son's *eternal* nature." I, therefore, beg to ask the Editor, if one's being *made* by *another* anything whatsoever that he was not before, does not tend to prove his mutable nature, what nature, then, can be called mutable in this transitory world? The Editor again advances, that Jesus "was Jehovah before he became incarnate," &c. This is a bare assertion which I must maintain to be without any ground, unless he means to advance the doctrine, that souls are emanations of God and proceed from the Deity.

As to Jerusalem being called, "Jehovah our righteousness," the Editor says, "We may observe, that it is the church of Christ, the holy Jerusalem, who bears this name, to the honour of her glorious head and husband, who is, indeed, Jehovah her righteousness." (p. 581.) Let us reflect on this answer of the Editor. In the first place, the term Jerusalem, in Jer., xxxiii. 16, from its association with the term "Judah," is understood as signifying the well-known holy city in that kingdom, having no reference to the church or followers of Christ. In the second place, if the Editor understands by the term "Jerusalem" here, the church of Christ, and admits of Jerusalem being figuratively called "Jehovah our righteousness,"

on the ground that Christ is its head, and that, consequently, it bears that name "to the *honour* of her glorious head," though, in reality, different from and subordinate to him, how can he reject the figurative application of the phrase "Jehovah our righteousness" to Jesus, on the same ground and same principle, which is, that as Jehovah is the head of Christ, consequently Christ bears this name "to honour of his *head*," though, in reality, different from and subordinate of God? *Vide* 1 Cor. xi, 3: "But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Chirst, and the head of the woman is the man, and the HEAD OF CHRIST is GOD."

The Editor shews an instance in Isaiah, in which seven women wish to be called by the name of a husband, to have their reproach taken away. He must also know that thousands of sons and descendants are called by the name of one of their fathers, and servants by the name of their masters, to the honour of the father or the master. *Vide*, Isaiah xlviii. 1; Gen., xliii. 6; Hosea, xi. 8, 9; Exod., xxiii. 21. The Editor then proceeds to divide the honorary names, found in scripture, into two kinds: one given by men, and the other by God; but he must know that the names given by prophets, or by common men, if used and confirmed by God, or by any of the sacred writers, become as worthy of attention as if they had been bestowed originally by the Deity himself.

The Editor again uses the following words: "The incommunicable name Jehovah, the self-existent," from the verb הוָה *hawah*, "to be" or "to exist," which is applied to no one throughout the scriptures besides the sacred three," &c. We know very numerous instances in which the name "Jehovah" is applied to the most sacred God, but never met with an instance of applying to two other sacred persons the simple term "Jehovah." I wish the Editor had been good enough to have taken into consideration that this is the very point in dispute, and to have shewn instances in which the second and third persons of the Deity (according to the Editor's expression) are addressed by this name. He further observes, that "no one supposes that Jehovah-Jireh, "God will see or provide," given by Abraham to the place where he offered Isaac was intended to deify that place, but to perpetuate the fact that the Lord did there provide a sacrifice instead of Isaac;—that Jehovah-nissi, "God, my banner," given by Moses to his altar, intended anything more than that God was his banner against the Amalekites;—that Jehovah-tsidkenu,

"Jehovah our righteousness," the name by which men should call Jerusalem, or Christ's church, was intended to deify her, but to demonstrate that her Lord and head, who is righteousness, is indeed Jehovah." Here I follow the very same mode of interpretation adopted by the Editor, in explaining the same phrase, "The Lord our righteousness," found in Jer., xxiii. 6, referred to the Messiah; that is, the application of this phrase to the Messiah does not deify him, but demonstrates, that his FATHER, his EMPLOYER, his HEAD, the MOST HIGH, who is his righteousness, is the Lord Jehovah; so that the consistency cannot be overlooked which prevails through all the phrases of a similar nature; for as Christ is represented to be the head of his church, so God is represented to be the head of Christ, as I noticed in the foregoing page. Lastly, the Editor says, "Compound names, therefore, do not of themselves express Deity, but they express facts more strongly than simple assertions or propositions." I am glad to observe that he differs from a great many of his colleagues, in their attempt to deify the Messiah from the application of the above phrase to him; but as to the facts demonstrated by this phrase, they may be easily ascertained from comparing the application of it with that of exactly similar phrases to others, as I have just observed.

The Editor now mentions (p. 583) a few more passages which, he thinks tend to "illustrate, not so much the name as the divine nature of the Son. In Jer., v. 22, we have this expostulation: 'Fear ye not me? saith the Lord. Will ye not tremble at my presence who have placed the sand for the bound of the sea by a perpetual decree that it cannot pass it, and though the waves toss themselves, yet can they not prevail.' This however is only a part of that work of creation ascribed to him who, while on earth, exercised absolute dominion over the winds and the waves in no name *beside his own*." But what this passage of Jeremiah has to do with the divine nature of Jesus, I am unable to discover. The Editor might have quoted at this rate all the passages of the Old Testament that ascribe to God the supreme control over the whole world as evidence in favour of the Deity of Jesus as he was sure to find always many persons of the same persuasion to applaud any thing offered in favour of the Trinity.

As to his position, that, Jesus "exercised absolute dominion over the winds and the waves in no name beside his own," I beg to quote John, x. 25, to shew that whatever power Jesus, in common with other prophets, exercised over wind and water while he was on earth, he did

it in the *name of God.* "Jesus answered them, I told you and ye believed not; the works that I do *in my Father's name* they bear witness of me." "And Jesus lifted up his eyes and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me." I say Jesus in common with other prophets, because both Elijah and Elisha the prophets exercised power over wind and water and other things, like Jesus, in the name of the Father of the universe. 1 Kings, xvii, xviii, 44. 45, and 2 Kings, ii. 21; sometimes without verbally expressing the name of God; Ch. v. 8—13 & 27. Ch. ii. 10.'

Upon the assertion in my Second Appeal that the "epithet God is frequently applied in the sacred scriptures to others beside the Supreme Being" the Editor observes that "this objection Jeremiah cuts up, Ch. x. ii. 'the Gods that have not made the heavens and the earth even they shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens;' which declaration sweeps away not only the Gods of the heathen but all magisterial Gods and even Moses himself as far as he aspired to the godhead. But from this general wreck of our author's Gods, Christ is excepted, he having made these heavens and laid the foundation of the earth." Let us apply this rule adopted by the Editor respecting the prophets, to Jesus Christ. We do not find him once represented in the scriptures as the maker of heavens and earth; this peculiar attribute having been throughout the whole sacred writings ascribed exclusively to God, the Most High. As to the instances pointed out by the Editor, Hebrews 1, 10 and Cor., i. 17, I fully explained them in pp. 343 and 346, as having reference to God the Father of the universe. Moreover we observe in the New Testament, even in the same book of Hebrews, that whatever things Jesus made or did, he accomplished as an instrument in the hands of God. Heb., i, 2: "Whom he hath *appointed* heir of all things *by* whom also he *made* the worlds." Ephes., iii. 9: "Who *create*d all things *by* Jesus Christ." It would indeed be very strange to our faculties to acknowledge one as the true God, and yet to maintain the idea that he created things by the directions of another being, and was appointed as heir of all things by that other. Again in pursuance of the same rule of the Editor I find that Jesus like other perishable Gods both died and was buried, though raised afterwards by his Father, who had the power of raising Elijah to heaven even without suffering him to die and be buried for a single day. My readers may now judge whether Jesus Christ be not included in common with other perishable Gods in the rule laid down by the Editor.

To deify Jesus Christ, the Editor again introduces the circumstance of his being a searcher of hearts, to execute judgment, Rev. ii. 23, and also quotes Heb. i. 3. Having examined these arguments in pages 344 and 393, I will not return to them here.

He adds, in this instance, " We are hence assured that the Father who perfectly knows the Son, did not commit to him all judgment so entirely as to judge no man himself, without knowing his infinite fitness for the work." It is evident that the Father did not commit to the Son all judgment so entirely as to judge no man himself, without qualifying him for so doing ; that is, without giving him the power of knowing all the events of this world in order to the distribution of rewards and punishments. Matt. xxviii. 18 : " *all power* is *given* unto me in heaven and in earth." Notwithstanding this, the power of knowing those things that do not respect the execution of judgment by the Son, is not bestowed upon him, and the Son, therefore, is totally ignorant of them. Mark xiii. 32 : " But of that day and that hour knoweth no man ; no, not the angels which are in heaven ; *neither the Son*, but the Father." No one destitute of the power of omniscience is ever acknowledged as Supreme of God by any sect that believe in revealed religion.

He quotes Heb. iv. 13, " Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight ; but all things are naked and open unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do," in order to corroborate the idea that Christ knew all the secrets of men. Supposing this passage to be applicahle to Jesus Christ, it does not convey any other idea than what is understood by Rev. ii. 23, which I have already noticed. But the Editor must know that in the immediately preceding verse, the word of God, or Revelation, while figuratively represented as a two-edged sword, &c., is in the same allegorical sense declared to be " a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." There is, therefore, no inconsistency in ascribing the knowledge of the intents of hearts to him through whom that Revelation is communicated, and who is appointed to judge whether the conduct of men is regulated by them in conformity to that Revelation.

The Editor says (page 584) that " in Ezekiel xxviii. God says respecting a man who arrogated to himself the honors of Godhead, ' Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, thus saith the Lord God, because thy heart is lifted up, and thou hast said I am a God—behold thou shalt die the death of the uncircumcised, &c.' How different

the Father's language to the Son: 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever'! Why this different language to the prince of Tyrus and to Jesus?" Had the Editor attentively referred to the scriptures, he would not have taken the trouble of putting this question to me; for he would have easily found the reason for this difference; that is, the king of Tyrus called himself God, as above stated; but Jesus, so far from robbing the Deity of his honour, never ceased to confess that God was both his God and his Father." (John xx. 17.) Also, that the prince of Tyrus manifested disobedience to God; but Jesus even laid down his life in submission to the purpose of God, and attributed divine favour towards himself to his entire obedience to the Most High. Rom. v. 19: "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the *obedience of one* shall many be made righteous." John x. 17: "*Therefore* doth my Father love me, *because* I lay down my life, that I might take it again." Luke xxii. 42: "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless, *not my will*, but *thine* be done." As the conduct of the prince and that of Jesus towards God were quite different, they were differently treated by the Father of the universe. As to the above verse, ("Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,") God does not peculiarly address Jesus with the epithet God, but he also uses for the chiefs of Israel and for Moses the same epithet.

The editor quotes 1 Cor. iv. 5: "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the heart; and then shall every man have praise of God." The passage simply amounts to this: "Judge not either me or others before the time, until the Lord come, who will bring to light the dark and secret counsels of men's hearts, in preaching the Gospel; aud then shall every one have that praise, that estimate set upon him, by God himself, which he truly deserves."—*Locke.*

It is not Jesus alone that was empowered by God to know and to judge all secret events, but on particular occasions others were intrusted with the same power as has already been noticed in page 393 and will also be found in Daniel ii. "I thank thee and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast made known unto me now what we desired of thee; for thou hast now made known unto us the king's matter" and in 2 Sam. xiv. 19 and 20: "And the king (David) said. Is not the hand of

Joab with thee in all this? and the woman answered and said,—My Lord is wise, according to the wisdom of an angel of God, to know all things that are in the earth." 1. Cor. vi 2 and 3. "Do you not know that saints shall judge the world? and if the world shall be judged by you are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters? Know ye not that we shall judge angels? &c." Here Christian saints are declared to be judges of the deeds of the whole world, and of course to be possessors of a knowledge of all events, both public and private, so as to enable them to perform so delicate a judgment. Besides a knowledge of future events is by no means less wonderful than that of past things or present secrets of hearts; yet we find all the prophets of God were endued with the former. 1 Kings xx. 22: "And the prophet came to the king of Israel and said unto him, go strengthen thyself and mark and see what thou dost; for at the return of the year the king of Syria will come up against thee." So we find the same gift of future knowledge granted to righteous men in numerous instances.

He then cites Dan. i. and vii. and founds upon them the following question: "If then by nature he was not God, by nature the creator of heaven and earth, he and his kingdom must perish from under the heavens." To this my reply is, that we find Jesus subjected to the death of the cross while on earth, and after the general resurrection, to him that put all things under him (1 Cor. xv. 28.) The *son* therefore is not by nature God, the creator of heaven and earth. As to the sophistry that attributes the death and subjugation of Jesus only to his human capacity, it might be applicable to every individual, alleging that they being the children of Adam, the son of God, (Luke iii. 38) are possessed of a divine nature also; and that their death consequently is in their human capacity alone, but that in their divine nature they cannot be subjected to death. *Vide* pp. 355—356 of this Essay.

By applying to Jesus the epithet "most holy" found in Daniel ix. 24, the Editor attempts to prove the eternal deity of the son; forgetting, perhaps, that the same term "most holy" is applied in the scriptures even to inanimate things. Numbers xviii. 10: "In the most holy place shalt thou eat it." Exodus xxix. 37: "It shall be an altar most holy."

The Editor in noticing Hosea says that "the Evangelist's quoting this passage ('Out of Egypt have I called my son,') plainly shows that

it referrd to Christ as well as to Israel; but the difference is manifest: Israel was God's adopted son, constantly rebelling against his father: Jesus was God's proper son of the same nature with his father (as is every proper son) and did always what pleased him." This assertion of the Editor (that 'Israel was God's adopted son') is I think without foundation; for they are declared, like Jesus, to be begotten sons of God; but mere not like Christ entirely devoted to the will of the Father of the universe. Deu. xxxii. 18; "Of the Rock that *begat* thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee." Exodus iv. 22: "And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, thus saith the Lord, Israel is my son, even *my first born*." He then quotes Hosea iii. 5: "Afterwards shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God and David their king:" on which he comments that David had then been in his grave—he could be sought only in heaven;—as David in common with other saints, could not search the heart and know the sincerity of prayers, this prophecy must be assigned to the son of David, the Messiah. I really regret to observe that as the Jews endeavour to misinterpret such passages as are most favourable to the idea of Jesus being the expected Messiah, so Christians in general try to refer to Jesus any passages that can possibly be explained as bearing the least allusion to their notion of the Messiah, however distant in fact they may be from such a notion. By so doing they both only weaken their respective opinions. The above citation on which the Editor now dwells is an instance. Let us refer to the text of Hosea iii. 4: "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim. Ver. 5: Afterwards shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God and David their king; and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days." Does not the poetical language of the prophet determine to the satisfaction of every unbiased man that, after long sufferings Israel will repent of their disobedience and seek the protection of their God and the happiness which their fathers enjoyed during the reign of David, as it is very natural for a nation or tribe when opposed by foreign conquerors to remember their own ancient kings under whose Governments their fathers were prosperous, and to wish a return of their reign if possible? If the Editor insist upon referring this prophecy to Jesus, he must wait its fulfilment; as Israel has not as yet sought Jesus as the son of David, the Messiah, who was promised to them.

The Editor says (page 586,) that Peter in Acts ii. 21, applies to Jesus Joel ii. whereby he identifies Jehovah with him. But we find Peter here quoting only a part of Joel ii. 32, "and it shall come to pass that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." So far from applying this to the Son and identifying him with God, the apostle explains in the immediately following verse (22) his nature and his total subordination to God: "Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a *man approved of God* among you, by miracles and wonders and signs which *God did by him* in the midst of you &c." The Editor then adds that Paul also addressed himself "to all who in every place call on the name of Jesus Christ our Lord." (1 Cor. i. 2.) I therefore quote Locke's paraphrase on this verse, as well as his note on Romans x. 13, with a view to shew the Editor that the phrase "call on the name of Jesus" is not a correct translation in the English version. "To the church of God, which is at Corinth, to them that are separated from the rest of the world by faith in Jesus Christ called to be saints, with all that are everywhere called by the name of Jesus Christ, their Lord and ours." (Locke on 1 Cor. i. 2.) Note on Rom. x. 13, page 384: "Whosoever hath, with care, looked into St. Paul's writings, must own him to be a close reasoner, that argues to the point; and therefore, if in the three preceding verses, he requires an open profession of the Gospel, I cannot but think that all that call upon him,' verse 12, signifies all that are open, professed Christians, and if this be the meaning "of calling upon him" v. 12, it is plain it must be the meaning of "calling upon his name," verse 13, a phrase not very remote from 'naming his name,' which is used by St. Paul for professing Christianity. 2 Tim. ii. 19. If the meaning of the prophet Joel, from whom these words are taken, be urged, I shall only say, that it will be an ill rule for interpreting St. Paul, to tie up his use of any text, he brings out of the Old Testament, to that which is taken to be the meaning of it there. We need go no farther for an example than the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of this chapter, which I desire any one to read as they stand, (Deut. xxx. 11—14,) and see whether St. Paul uses them here, in the same sense." If the Editor still insists upon the accuracy of the translation of the phrase "call upon the name of Jesus" found in the version, he will I hope refer to Mathew x. 40, 41 and 41: "He that receiveth you, receiveth *me* and he that receiveth *me*, receiveth *him that sent me*: He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a

prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; &c. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward;"—when he will perceive that calling on the name of Jesus, as being the Messiah sent by God, is an indirect call on the name of God; in the same manner as one's yielding to a general sent by a king amounts to his submission to the king himself, and secures for him the same favour of the king as if he had yielded directly to the sovereign.

The Editor then quotes Amos iv. 13, perhaps on account of its containing the phrase, "declaring unto man what is his thought." As I have noticed this subject already, oftener than once, I will not return to it here.

He again quotes Zech. iii. 2: "And Jehovah said unto Satan, Jehovah rebuke thee, O Satan; even Jehovah that hath chosen Jerusalem, rebuke thee: is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" The Editor then proceeds to say, that "this passage, with ch. ii. 8, 'Thus saith the Lord of hosts, After the glory hath he sent me,' and ch. xiii. 7, 'Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, against the man who is my fellow, saith the Lord of hosts,' forms another three-fold testimony of the distinct personality of the son, and his equality with the Father." I am unable to discover exactly what the Editor intends by his two first quotations. With respect to the former, that "Jehovah said unto Satan, Jehovah rebuke thee," &c., the Editor must be well aware that God speaks of himself, very frequently, throughout the sacred books, in the third person, instead of the first. Isaiah li. 1; "Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord," &c. 15: "But I am the Lord thy God, that divided the sea, whose waves roared: *The Lord* of hosts is *his* name." Even in this very book of Zechariah, we find that the prophet speaks of himself sometimes in the third person. Zech. 1. 7: "In the second year of Darius, came the word of Jehovah unto Zechariah," &c. vii. 8: "And the word of the Lord came unto Zechariah, saying," &c. Neither God's nor Zechariah's speaking of himself, in the third person, in poetical language, can be construed into a proof of the plurality of either of their persons, or of the equality of either with some other being. The fact is that Zechariah prophesies, in the second year of Darius, king of Persia, of the Lord's will to build the second temple of Jerusalem, by Joshua, Zerubbabel, and Semuh; and to rebuke

Satan, who would discourage Joshua, the high-priest, from that undertaking; as is evident from the following passage: Zech. i. 1: "In the eighth month, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the Lord, to Zechariah," &c. 16: "Therefore, thus saith the Lord, I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies; my house shall be built in it, saith the Lord of hosts, and a line shall be stretched forth upon Jerusalem." ii. 2: "Then said I, Whither goest thou? And he said unto me, To measure Jerusalem," &c. iii. 1, 2: "And he shewed me Joshua the high-priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him. And the Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan; even the Lord that hath chosen Jerusalem, rebuke thee: is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" As to Zerubbabel the prophet says, iv. 9, "The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his *hands* shall also *finish it*," &c. Respecting Semuh, vi. 12, 13, "Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is Semuh; and he shall grow up out of his place, and *ye* shall build the temple of the Lord: Even he shall build the temple of the Lord: and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest upon his throne; and the counsel of peace shall be between them both,"—that is between Semuh and Joshua, mentioned in the immediately preceding verse 11. In the English version the meaning of the name of Semuh is used, *viz.*, "Branch," instead of Semuh itself, both here and in ch. iii. 8, and the commentators choose to apply the name thus translated to Jesus, though no instance can be adduced of Jesus Christ's having been so called, and though the prophet expressly says, in ch. vi. 12, "whose name is Semuh." He is speaking of the SECOND building of the temple, which began in the reign of Darius, king of Persia, long before the birth of Christ. *Vide* the whole book of Zechariah.

The second quotation is "For thus saith the Lord of hosts, After the glory hath he sent me unto the nations which spoiled you; for he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye" (ii. 8.) The prophet here communicates to the people the words of God, that "after he has sent me with his will, to the nations who tyrannize over Israel, that* he who touches Israel touches the apple of his own eye."

* The כי in the original Hebrew signifies "that" as well as "for." See Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon.

Zechariah very often, in his book, introduces himself as being sent by God: but how the Editor, from the circumstances, infers the separate personality of the Son, of his equality with the Father, he will, I hope, explain. If he insists upon the equality of the Most High, with that of him who says, in the verse in question, "After the glory hath he sent me," (upon some ground that we know nothing of,) he would be sorry to find at last, that he equalizes Zechariah, instead of Jesus, with God. I will, according to the plan already adopted, notice the third quotation, "Awake, O sword," (xiii. 7,) in a subsequent chapter, among the other passages alluded to in the second chapter of this work.

CHAPTER IV.

On the Editor's Replies to the Arguments contained in Chapter II of the Second Appeal.

To my inquiry in the Second Appeal, "Have we not his (Christ's) own express and often repeated avowal, that all the powers he manifested were committed to him as the Son, by the Father of the universe?" the Editor thus replies in the negative (p. 588): "No;—that he was appointed by the Father to act as mediator between him and sinners, we have already seen; for without this he could have been no mediator between his Father and his offending creatures." Every unbiassed man may easily pronounce, whether it is consistent with any rational idea of the nature of the Deity, that God should be appointed by God, to "act the part of a mediator," by "laying *aside* his *glory*, and taking on himself the from *of a servant*;" and may discern, whether it is not most foreign to the notion of the immutable God, that circumstances could produce such a change in the condition of the Deity, as that he should have been not only divested of his glory for more than thirty years, but even subjected to servitude? Are not the ideas of supreme dominion and that of subjection, just as remote as the east from the west? Yet the Editor says, that while he was stripping himself of his glory, and taking upon himself the form of a servant, he was just as much Jehovah as before.

The Editor, in common with other Trinitarians, conceives, that God the Son, equally with God the Father, (according to their mode of expression) is possessed of the attributes of perfection, such as mercy, justice, righteousness, truth, &c., yet he represents them so differently as to ascribe to the Father strict justice, or rather vengeance; and to the Son, unlimited mercy and forgiveness, that is the Father, the first person of the Godhead, having been in wrath at the sinful conduct of his offending creatures, found his mercy so resisted, by justice that he could not forgive them at all, through mercy, unless he satisfied his justice by inflicting punishment upon these guilty men; but the Son, the second person of the Godhead, though displeased at the sins of *his offending creatures*, suffered his mercy to

overcome justice, and by offering his own blood as an atonement for their sins, he has obtained for them pardon without punishment; and by means of vicarious sacrifice, reconciled them to the Father, and satisfied his justice and vengeance. If the justice of the Father did not permit his pardoning sinful creatures, and reconciling them to himself, in compliance with his mercy, unless a vicarious sacrifice was made to him for their sins; how was the justice of the Son prevailed upon by his mercy, to admit their pardon, and their reconciliation to himself, without any sacrifice, offered to him as an atonement for their sins? It is then evident, that, according to the system of Trinitarians, the Son had a greater portion of mercy than the Father, to oppose to his justice in having his sinful creatures pardoned, without suffering them to experience individual punishment. Are these the doctrines on which genuine Christianity is founded? God forbid!

If the first person be acknowledged to be possessed of mercy equally with the second, and that he, through his infinite mercy towards his creatures, sent the second to offer his blood as an atonement for their sins, we must then confess that the mode of the operation and manifestation of mercy by the first is strange, and directly opposite to that adopted by the second, who manifested his mercy even by the sacrifice of life, while the first person displayed his mercy only at the death of the second, without subjecting himself to any humiliation or pain.

In answer to the Editor's position, that Jesus, even as a mediator, was possessed of every power and perfection that was inherent in his divine nature, I only beg to remind him of a few sacred passages among many of a similiar nature: John, iii. 35: "The Father loveth the Son, and hath GIVEN *all things into his hand*." Ch. xvii. 22: "And the glory which thou GAVEST me, I have given them," &c. Ch. v. 26: "For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he GIVEN to the Son to have life in himself." Luke, i. 32: "And the Lord God shall GIVE unto him the throne of his father David." Matt., ix. 8: "But when the multitude saw it, they marvelled, and glorified God, who *had given* such power to MEN." Ch. xxviii. 18: "Jesus came, and spake unto them, saying, *All power* is GIVEN unto *me* in heaven and in earth." On these texts I trust no commentary is necessary to enable any one to determine whether all the power and glory that Jesus enjoyed were given him by God, or were inherent in his own nature.

The Editor again denies Christ's having "possessed a single power, perfection or attribute, which was not eternally inherent in his divine nature," and defies me "to point out one attribute of perfection in the Father, which from scripture testimony the Son has not been already shewn to possess." I, therefore, take upon myself to point out a few instances which I hope will convince the Editor that the peculiar attributes of God were never ascribed to Jesus, nor to any other human being who may have been, like Jesus, figuratively called gods in scriptural language. In the first place, the attribute of being the "Most High" or עליון, by which the supreme Deity is distinguished above all gods, is not found once ascribed to Jesus, though invariably applied to the Father throughout the scriptural writings. Secondly, Jesus was never called almighty, or שדי a term peculiarly used for the Deity. Nay, moreover, he expressly denies being possessed of almighty power. Matt., xx. 23: "But to sit on my right hand, and on my left, IS NOT MINE TO GIVE, but to them for whom it is PREPARED of MY FATHER." Ch. xxvi. 53: "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to MY FATHER, and *he* shall presently GIVE ME more than twelve legions of angels?" John, xi 41: "Then they took away the stone from the place where the dead was laid; and Jesus lifted up his eyes, and said Father, I *thank thee* that *thou hast heard me.*" He also denies his omniscience. Mark, xiii. 32: "But of that day and that hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven, *neither* the *Son*, but the Father." Any being, if not supreme, almighty, and omniscient, and more especially, one subjected to the transitions of birth and death, must, however highly exalted, even by the title of a god, and though for ages endowed with all power in heaven and in earth, be considered a created being, and like all creatures, be in the end, as the apostle declares, subject to the Creator of all things. Besides, in the creed which the generality of Trinitarians profess, God is described as self-existent, having proceeded from none; but the Son, on the contrary, is represented as proceeding from the Father. Here even the orthodox amongst Christians ascribe the attribute of self-existence to the Father of the universe alone.

In my Second Appeal I observed, that "the sun, although he is the most powerful and most splendid of all known created beings, has yet no claim to be considered identical in nature with God, who has given to the sun all the heat," &c.; to which the Editor replies, "What is the sun to his Maker?"—I wish he had also added, "but

that which a son and creature is to his Father and Creator?" When he again inquires, saying, "If the sun has no claim to Godhead, has its Maker none?" (alluding to Christ,) he might have recollected that neither the sun nor Jesus has ever arrogated to himself Godhead, but that it is their worshippers that have advanced doctrines ascribing Godhead and infinite perfection to these finite objects. Notwithstanding that we daily witness the power of the glorious sun in bringing into life, and preserving to maturity an infinite variety of vegetable and animal objects, yet our gratitude and admiration recognize in him only a being instrumental in the hands of God, and we offer worship and duty to him alone who has given to the sun all the light and animating warmth which he sheds on our globe. On the same ground, whether we understand from scriptural authority, that the supreme Deity made through Jesus Christ all the things belonging to the Christian dispensation, or everything relating to this visible world, (as interpreted by the *worshippers* of Jesus,) we must not, in either case, esteem him as the supreme Deity, in whose hand he is represented by the same Scriptures but as an instrument.

The Editor says, that though the power of effecting a material change, without the aid of physical means, be peculiar to God, "yet this power Christ not only possessed, but bestowed on his apostles." Supposing Jesus alone had the power of effecting material changes without the aid of physical means, and of bestowing on others the same gift, it could have proved only his being singular in the enjoyment of this peculiar blessing of God and not his being identical or equal with him who conferred snch a power on him; but it is notorious that Jesus was not at all peculiar in this point. Were not the miracles performed by Joshua and Elijha, as wonderful as those done by Jesus? Did not Elijah bestow on his servant Elisha the power of effecting changes without physical means by putting his own spirit on him? Is Elijah, from the possession of this power, to be considered an incarnation of the supreme Deity? 2 Kings, ii 9: "And it came to pass when they (Elijah and Elisha) were gone over, that Elijah said unto Elisha, *Ask* what I *shall do* for thee before I be taken away from thee. And Elisha said, I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me. 10. And he said, Thou hast asked a hard thing, nevertheless if thou see me when I am taken from thee, *it shall be so unto thee*; but if not, it shall not be so. 11. And Elijah

was taken up by a whirlwind into heaven, 12. And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father" &c. 14: "And when he had smitten the waters, they parted hither and thither, and Elisha went over. 15. When the sons of the prophets saw him, they said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him." Besides, we find in the evangelical writings, that notwithstanding the power of performing miracles given by Jesus to his apostles, they could not avail themselves of such a gift, until their faith in God was become firm and complete: it is thence evident that God is the only source of the power and influence that one creature has over another. Matt., x. 1: "And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease." Ch. xvii 16: "And I brought him (the lunatic child) to thy disciples, and they could not cure him." 19: "Then came the disciples to Jesus apart, and said, Why could not we cast him out? 20. And Jesus said unto them, Because of your unbelief; for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to another place, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible unto you. 21. Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by *prayer* and fasting." Mark, xi. 22: "And Jesus answering saith unto them (his disciples,) *Have faith* in God. 23. For verily I say unto you, that whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed," &c.

In my Second Appeal I mentioned, that it is evident from the first chapter of Genesis, that "in the beginning of the creation, God bestowed on man his likeness, and sovereignty over all living creatures. Was not his own likeness, and that dominion, peculiar to God, before mankind were made partakers of them? Did God then deify man by such a mark of distinction?" On which the Editor thus remarks: "It is in reality asking, Did God make him cease to be a creature by thus creating him? We presume he expects no answer." If the Editor acknowledges that God, by bestowing on man his peculiar likeness and dominion, did not make him cease to be a creature, is he not, according to the same principle, obliged to admit the opinion, that although God raised Jesus above all, and bestowed on him a portion of his peculiar power and influence, yet he did not make him cease to be a creature?

In my Second Appeal, I selected nineteen passages out of many, in which Jesus distinctly disavows the divine nature, and manifests his subordination to God; to which the Editor replies. "They can prove nothing to his purpose, till they shew that his thus becoming incartante, changed that divine nature which he possessed from eternity," &c. I therefore take upon myself to ask the Rev. Editor, whether the following passages found among those already quoted, do not prove the entire humanity of the Son, or (in the words of the Editor) a complete change in his divine nature if he was ever possessed of it? "As the Father *gave me commandment, even so I do.*" "I CAN OF MINE OWN SELF DO NOTHING." "All that the Father *giveth me* shall *come* to *me.*" "As my Father hath *taught me I speak* these things." "*To my Father* and your Father, and *to my God* and your God." "Behold *my servant* whom I have chosen." If these declarations do fall short of shewing the human nature of the person who affirms them, I, as well as the Editor, should be at a loss to point out any saying of any of the preceding prophets, that might tend to substantiate their humanity. The Editor may perhaps say, after the example of his orthodox friends, that these, as well as other sayings to the same effect, proceeded from Jesus in his human capacity. I shall then entreat the Editor to shew me any authority in the scriptures, distinguishing one class of the sayings of Jesus Christ, as man, from another set of the same author as God. Supposing Jesus was of a two-fold nature, divine and human, as the Editor believes him to be, his divine nature in this case, before his appearance in this world, must be acknowledged perfectly pure and unadulterated by humanity. But after he had become incarnate, according to the Editor, was he not made of a mixed nature of God and man, possessing at one time both opposite sorts of consciousness and capacity? Was there not a CHANGE of a pure nature into a mixed one? I will not, however, pursure the subject further now, as I have already fully noticed it in another place. The Editor adverts here to Heb., i. 10; 1 Cor., xv. 24, 25: but as I have examined the former and the latter in other places I will not revert to the consideration of them in this place.

At p. 589, the Editor thus censures me: "To say that in the mouth of the Father, 'for ever and ever' means only a limited period, is to destroy the eternity of God himself;" and he quotes, "Jehovah shall reign for ever and ever." I have shown by numerous instances,

both in my Second and in the present Appeal, that the terms "for ever," "everlasting," when applied *to any one except God*, signify long duration: I therefore presume to think that the Editor might have spared this censure as being altogether undeserved. I will here, however, point out one or two more passages in the mouth of the Father, which contain the term "for ever," and in which it can imply only long duration. Gen., xvii. 8: "And I will give unto thee, and unto thy seed after thee—all the land of Canaan, for an *everlasting* possession." Jer., vii. 7: "Then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers *for ever and ever*." Dan., vii. 18: "But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever." Is the land of Canaan now in possession of Israel; and will it remain in their possession after all rule, authority, and power have been put down, and after the Son has delivered up his kingdom to God the Father of the universe? 1 Cor., 24, 28.

The Editor in the course of this discussion notices Philip., ii. 6, whence he concludes that Jesus was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God, yet took upon himself the form of a servant, and became obedient to death: I will, therefore, first give the verse as it stands in the English version, and for the purpose of shewing the gradual progress of truth, I will add some subsequent translation of the same verse, by eminently learned Trinitarian authors, and finally transcribe it as found in the original Greek, with a verbal translation.

English version: Philip., ii. 6. "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God."

Secondly. In a new translation from the original Greek, by James Macknight D. D., verse 6 thus stands: "Who being in the form of God, did not think it robbery to be like God." So John Parkhurst, M. A., the author of a Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament, who was also an orthodox writer, thus translates, conformably to the opinion of Drs. Doddridge and Whitby, two other celebrated orthodox writers, (p. 322): "Philip, ii. 6, **το ειναι ισα θεω** to be as God. So **ισα θεω** is most exactly rendered, agreeably to the force of **ισα** in many places in the LXX, which Whitby has collected in his note on this place. The proper Greek phrase for equal to God is **ισον τῳ θεῳ**, which is used in John, v. 18: 'Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the sabbath, but said also that God was his Father,

making himself equal with God.' (This is not the only instance in which the Jews misunderstood Jesus, for in many other instances they misconceived his meaning. John, ii. 19, 21 ; vi. 41, 42, 52, 60.)

The term, " to be like God," as it is used by several orthodox writers, neither amounts to an identity of one with the other, nor does it prove an equality of the former with the latter. Gen., i. 26: " God said, Let us make man in our image, and after our *likeness*" 1 Chron., xii. 22 : " At that time, day by day, there came to David to help him, until it was a great host, *like* the host of God." Ch. xxvii. 23 : "The Lord had said that he would increase Israel *like* to the stars of heaven." Zech., xii. 8 : " In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and he that is feeble among them at that day shall be *as* David : and the house of David shall be *as* God, *as* the angel of the Lord before them." 1 John, iii. 2 : "But we know that when he shall appear, we shall be *like him*," &c,

Another Trinitarian author, Schleusner, in his Lexicon to the New Testament, renders the passage " Non habuit prædæ loco similitudinem cum Deo," " He did not esteem likeness to God in the place of a prey." The substance of this translation is adopted in the Improved Version of the New Testament.

Thirdly. The original Greek runs thus :

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
ος εν μορφη φεον υπαρχων ουχ, α'ρπαγμον η'γησατο το ειναι ισα θέῳ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
"Who in form of God being, not robbery thought the being like God."

Which words, arranged according to the English idiom, will run thus : " Who being in the form of God, did not think of * the robbery the being like God." This interpretation is most decisively confirmed by the context of the verse in question. Verse 3 of the same Chapter : " Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory ; but, *in lowliness of mind*, let each esteem others *better* than themselves," Verse 4 : " Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others." Verse 5 : " *Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus.*" Verse 6 : " Who, being in the form of God, did not think of the robbery of being like God." Verse 7 : " But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant and

* We find the verb η'γέοραι implying to esteem as well as to think, with a simple accusative, 2 Pet , iii 9 : ῶς τινες βραδυτῆτα η'γουνται "as some men count slackness" (properly speaking, " think of slackness").

was made in the likeness of men." Where the sense of a passage is complete without introducing an additional word more than is expressed, no one, unless devoted to the support of some particular doctrine, would think of violating fidelity to the original text by interpolation in the translation. Here the apostle requires of us to esteem others better than ourselves, according to the example of humility displayed by Jesus, who notwithstanding his Godly appearance, never thought of those perfections by which he approached man's ideas of God, but even made himself of no reputation. It would be absurd to point out one's own opinion of his equality with God as an instance of humility. How can we be following the example of Christ, in thinking others better than ourselves, if he, as the orthodox say, did not think even his Father higher than himself? We, however, must not suffer ourselves as to be misled by any such orthodox interpretation, to entertain so erroneous an idea of Christ's opinion of himself, bearing in mind that Jesus himself proclaims, "My Father is greater than I." John, xiv. 28.

No one can be at a loss to understand the difference of essence between Christ and his Creator God, implied in the phrase, "being in the form of God," as the distinction between "being God," and "being in the form of God," is too obvious to need illustration. Even Parkhurst, one of the most zealous advocates for the Trinity, thought it absurd to lay stress on the term "being in the form of God," in support of the Deity of Jesus Christ. (See p. 443.) "*μορφη*, perhaps from the Hebrew מראה *appearance* and פה *aspect.* Outward appearance, 'form,' which last word is from the Latin *forma*, and this, by transposition, from the Doric *νορφα* for *μορφη*. See Mark, xvi. 12, (comp. Luke, xxiv. 13) Philip., ii. 6, 7, where the 6th verse refers not, I apprehend, to Christ's being real and essential God, or Jehovah, (though that he is so, is the foundation of Christianity) but to his glorious appearance, as God, before and under the Mosaic dispensation."

Should any one, in defiance of the common acceptation of the word "form," and of every authority, insist upon its implying real essence in the phrase, "being in the form of God," he must receive it in the same sense in the following verse, "took upon himself the form of a servant"; and he must then admit and believe that Christ was possessed of the real essence of God and the real essence of a servant. How can we reconcile real Godhead with real servitude, even for a moment?

Nor can the phrase, "Was made in the likeness of man," in verse 7, be admitted to identify him with Jehovah, any more than we can allow that Samson is so identified by the use of the parallel the expression in Judges, xvi. 7 and 17 : "I shall be weak, and be as a man ;" "And be like any man." In the English version, the word *other* is found ; that is, "be like *another man* ;" which is not warranted by the original Hebrew, as Mr. Brown, an orthodox commentator, justly remarks in the margin.

The Editor says (p. 590) "Relative to Christ's being the first-born of every creature, we reply with Dr. Owen, whose work on Socinianism has never been answered—'It is not said Christ is πρωτοχτισος *first-created*, but πρωτοτοχος *the first-born* ; and Christ is so the first-born, as to be the only-begotten Son of God, is so the first of every creature, that is, he is before them all, above them all, heir to them all, and so no one of them" Although both "first-created," and "first-born," from the common acceptation of these words, equally imply a created nature, yet the reason for St. Paul's choice of the word "first-born" is obvious : for when used in reference to a creation not produced in the natural course, first-born signifies superiority to other creatures of the same class, and not "an only-begotten son," as Dr. Owen and the Editor seem to suppose. I will here point out the sense in which the word "first-born" is used in the Scriptures, when obviously not relating to natural birth. Exod., iv. 22, we find in the mouth of Jehovah himself, Israel, designated by the terms, "my son, even my *first-born*." Again, Jer., xxxi. 9 : "I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my *first-born*." Psalm, lxxxix. 27 ; "I will make him (David) my *first-born*, higher than the kings of *the earth*." And now I will take upon myself to ask the Editor, whether Israel, as well as David, was so "first-born" as "to be the only-begotten son of God," and was also "before all the creatures above them all, heir to them all, and so no one of them ;" or whether the designation was not rather applied both to the nation and to the individual because they were principal persons, and to shew that they were respectively chosen of God above the rest of his creation? Rom., viii. 29 : "For whom God did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the FIRST-BORN among many BRETHREN." St. John defines what would be understood by the term "to be *born of God*." *Vide* 1 John, iv. 7 : "Beloved, let us love one another : for love is of God, and *every one that loveth is born of God*,

and knoweth God." Hence Jesus is considered and declared to be the head of the children of God. So the term "only-begotten son" signifies most beloved among children, whether natural or spiritual, and not an only son of a father; as we find, in Heb., xi. 17, this very term applied to Isaac, though Abraham had another son by Hagar.

As to his assertion, "Christ is no one of them," (that is, of creatures) I only quote a few passages in which Jesus himself and his apostles enumerated him as "one of them." Matt, xxv. 40: "Verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these *my brethren*, ye have done it unto me." Here it is the King and Lord, sitting upon the throne of his glory at the last day, who is represented as styling the poor and helpless his brethren. Ch. xxviii. 10: "Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afarid: Go and tell *my* brethren that they go into Galilee; and there shall they see me." John, xx 17: "But go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God." 1 Cor., ix. 5: "As the *brethren* of the Lord and Cephas." Heb, ii. 11: "For he that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are *all of one* (Father); for which cause he is not ashamed to call them *brethren*." Verse 12: "Saying I will declare thy name unto *my brethren*. In the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee."

As to the Editor's reliance on the subsequent verses to shew that the creation of all things was effected by Christ, I refer my readers to p. 338 of this Essay, where I observe, that the apostle Paul means, in this passage, only the creation of all the things in the Christian dispensation, as is explained in Eph., i. 21, 22, which represent Jesus as head over all things belonging to the church. I need not renew the subject of Revelations, repeated by the Editor, as I have already examined it.

I have shewn, that whatever power Jesus possessed either as man, Son of man, God, or Son of God, he received the same from the Father of the universe; therefore the assertion of the Editor, that ("certain powers were conferred on Jesus, not as a man, but as the Messiah, Christ, the anointed Son of God") is I presume, one of the mysteries of the doctrine of Trinity. How can the Editor reconcile the passages, quoted in my Second Appeal, to this assertion? Let him answer what is there advanced, in the course of the discussion of this very subject, of a few points of which I beg to remind him.

1stly. "In John, xvii. 5, 'And now, O Father, glorify me with thine ownself, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was,' with the same breath with which he prays for glory, he identifies the *nature* in which he does so, with that under which he lived with God before the creation of the world." Is not this petition to God for glory, by the same person, who says he was with God before the foundation of the world? Was he, before the foundation of the world, a man, or of a twofold nature, human and divine? If he was God almighty before the foundation of the world, how could that God implore another being for the restoration of the glory, which he at one time had, but lost subsquently?

2ndly. In John, viii. 42, Jesus declares, that he came not of himself, but that God sent him. Does not he avow here, that his coming to this world was not owing to his own will, but to the will of another being? Was he not entirely at the disposal of God, the Most High, even before his coming into this world? In Heb., x. 5-7, the apostle declares, that Jesus, at the time of his coming to the world, saith, that God had prepared him a body, and that he comes to the world to do the *will of God*. Had he been God before he had come to this world, how could he, in common with all other creatures, attribute his own actions to the will of the Supreme Disposer of all the events of the universe?

The Editor next quotes a part of Heb., i. 12, "Thou art the same." This I have fully noticed in another place.

The Editor disapproves highly of my assertion, in the Second Appeal, "Christ was vested with glory from the beginning of the world." I therefore beg to quote one or two scriptural passages, which, I hope, will justify that assertion. 1 John, ii. 13: "I write unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning." Rev., iii. 14: "These things saith the Amen,—the beginning of the creation of God."

The Editor insinuates, that I have contradicted myself by "ridiculing the idea of Christ's having two natures," after I had declared that Christ "lived with God before the creation of the world," and that "it would have been idle to have informed them, (the Jews,) that, in his mere corporeal nature, Jesus was inferior to his Maker, and it must, therefore, have been his spiritual nature, of which he here avowed his inferiority to God." I cannot perceive what contradiction there is in the assertion, that Christ lived in the divine purpose

and decree * before the world was, and that he, not merely as a man, before the assuming of the office of the Messiah, was inferior to his Creator, but that he was so even after he had been endowed with the Holy Spirit in the river of Jordan, and with the power of performing miracles, which is said to be a spiritual gift. Supposing he, like Adam, lived with God before his coming into this world, (according to the doctrines maintained by some Christians,) and afterwards was sent to the world, in the body of Jesus, for effecting human salvation, as John the Baptist was esteemed to be Elijah, even this doctrine does not preclude us from rejecting the idea of a two-fold nature of God and man.

The Editor says, that when "he (Jesus) emptied himself of his glory, did he lay aside his divine nature, of which his glory was merely a shadow?" and then he recommends me to reflect for a moment, on what the term glory implies; "understood either of praise or grandeur, it is merely the reflection or indication of a glorious nature." I have reflected, for some years past, and do now seriously reflect, on the divine nature, but I find it inconsistent with any idea I can admit of the eternal and unchangeable Almighty, that he should empty himself of his glory, (call it praise or grandeur, which you like.) though for a season, and should afterwards offer supplications for the same glory to himself, as if another being; addressing that other self as his own father; since God is often declared to have hardened the heart of man so as to disqualify them from perceiving his glory, instead of having degraded himself by setting aside his own title to praise, or the grandeur which is inherent in his nature.

The Editor adds, "If it was *deserved* glory, it was that of which his nature was worthy and the Father's giving it to him, when no being existed beside *the sacred three*, was the Father's attestation to the Son's eternal Godhead." If the Father's giving to Jesus deserved glory should be acknowledged as amounting "to his attestation to

* In John, xvii. 5. He had it (the same glory) with the Father before the world was, that is, in the Father's purpose and decree. In the language of scripture, what God determines to bring to pass, is represented as actually accomplished; thus, the dead are represented as living, Luke xx, 36—38. Believers are spoken of as already glorified, Rom., viii. 29, 30. Things that are not, are called as though they were, Rom, iv. 17. And in verse 12 of this chapter, Judas is said to be destroyed, though he was then living, and actually bargaining with the priests and rulers to betray his Master. See also verse 10; Eph., i., 4; 2 Tim, i. 9; Rev., xiii. 8; Heb., x. 34. (Improved Version.)

the Son's Godhead," we must be under the necessity of admitting the attestation of Jesus to the eternal Deity of his apostles, from the circumstance of his having given them the *same deserved glory* ;—John, xvii. 22, "And the glory which thou hast *given me* I have given them," &c.

The Editor twice says, that "Micah informs us that the Son is from everlasting." I wish he had mentioned the Chapter and verse to which he alludes, that I might have examined the passage.

He perhaps alludes to the phrase "everlasting," found in the English version, in Micah, v. 2 · "Out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." I will therefore, quote Parkhurst's explanation of the original Hebrew word עלם which is translated in the English version "everlasting;" and then notice the translation of this very Hebrew word, in many other instances, by the authors of the English version; and lastly, I will repeat the context, that my readers may be able to Judge whether any stress can be laid on the phrase alluded to by the Editor —First, from Parkhurst's Hebrew and English Lexicon, עכם and עוכם are used both as nouns and particles, for time hidden or concealed from man, as well indefinite, Gen., xvii. 8; 1 Sam, xiii 13; 2 Sam, xii. 10, and eternal, Gen, iii. 22, Psalm, ix. 8, as finite, Exod, xix. 9; xxi 6; 1 Sam. i 22, compare verse 28, 1 Sam xxvii. 12; Isaiah, xxxii 14; as well past, Gen, vi. 4, Deut., xxxii. 7; Josh, xxiv, 2; Psalm xli 14, cxiii 3; Prov viii. 23, as future. It seems to be *much more frequently* used for an *indefinite* than for *infinite*, time. Sometimes it appears particularly to denote the continuance of the Jewish dispensation or age, Gen., xvii. 13, Exod., xii 14, 24, xxvii 21, and *al freq.*, and sometimes the period of time to the Jubilee, which was an eminent type of the completion of the Jewish and typical dispensation, by the coming and death of Christ." Secondly, the author of this Lexicon (though devoted to the cause of the Trinity) gives the translation of the term עולם found in Micah, v 2 In the course of explaining the force of the word יצא says he, "Micah, v 1, or 2, ומוצאתיו and his (the Messiah's) goings forth have been from of old, מימי עוכם from the days of antiquity." Thirdly, from the English version, Isaiah, lxiii. 11, "Then he remembered the *days of old*," or ימי עולם exactly as is found in Micah, v. 2. 1 Sam., xxvii. 8, "Those nations were of old," for the same Hebrew term עולם. Deut., xxxii. 7, "Remember the *days of old*," for the

same Hebrew word. Gen., vi. 4, "Which were of old, men of renown," for the same term עולם. Psalm, lxxvii. 5, "I have considered the days of old, and the years of ancient times." Here the term קדם which is rendered in Micah, v. 2, "*of old*," and the term עולם translated in the same verse "*everlasting*," are both mentioned. Fourthly, the context is verses 2—4: "Whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting: therefore will he give them up, until the time that she which travaileth had brought forth; then the remnant of his brethren shall return unto the children of Israel: and he shall stand and feed in the strength *of the Lord*, in the majesty of the name of the Lord his God," &c. Can the phrases, "*his God*," "*in the strength of the Lord*," and "*his brethren*," be consistently used for one who is the everlasting God? If so, how can we reconcile to our understanding the idea of the everlasting God's reigning in the strength of another, having the Jews as his brethren, and looking up to another superior, who is designated by "his God"? If a body of men, distinguished for their talents, learning, and situation in life, from time to time, be determined to support their long-established inventions, in defiance of scripture, reason, and common sense, how can truth make its appearance when so violently resisted? In fact, verse 2 of Micah thus correctly stands: "Out of thee (Bethlehem) shall he (the last expected Messiah) come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose sources* of springing forth have been from of ancient, from the days of old."

The Editor advances, that "even son" implies an equality of nature with the Father: certainly it does so, when referred to one carnally begotten, but otherwise, it signifies a distinguished creature. 1 Chron, xxviii. 6: "And he said unto me, Solomon thy son, he shall build my house and my courts: for I have chosen him to be *my son*, and I will be his father." Job i. 6: "When the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord," &c. Is Solomon, because he is called a son of God, to be considered a partaker of the divine nature? Are the angels, designated "the sons of God," considered

* These are the seed of Abraham and that of David, through which God declares, by the mouths of the ancient prophets, that he will raise the Messiah to save the world.—*Vide* Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, "3, The place whence any thing comes. Job, xxviii. Isaiah, liviii. 11, Psalm lxv 9, lxxv. 7; in which last passage, מרעא is used for that part of the heavens whence the solar light ויעא cometh forth, i. e. the east. Comp. Psalm xix 6, 7" Parkhurst also rejects the popular meaning, saying, "Not his (Messaih's) eternal generation from the Father, as this word has been tortured to signify."

to be of the same nature with the Deity? The Editor, however, adds, (p. 594.) "Our author hints that in the sacred writings others have been termed the sons of God: this, however only proves, that Christ is, by nature, the son of God, while all others are the sons of God by adoption, or metaphorically." To establish Christ's being the only Son of God, he quotes Rom., viii 32, in which Christ is termed God's own son; and John, i. 16, where he says, that "the Holy Spirit also terms him, not merely the only son, but the only-begotten son of the Father." I therefore quote here verse 32 in question, with the preceding verse of the same Chapter of Romans: "What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also, freely give us all things?" Here St. Paul proves beyond doubt, the unlimited mercy of God towards men, as manifested by his appoinment of his own Son, to save mankind from death, at the risk of the life of that son, without limiting the honour of a spiritual birth to Jesus, and denying to others the same distinction, who, in common with Jesus, enjoy it, according to unquestionable sacred authorities. Deut., xxxii. 18: "Of the Rock that *begat* thee thou art unmindful." Exod., iv. 22: "*Israel is my son, even my first-born.*" 2 Sam. vii. 14: "I will be his (Solomon's) father, and he shall be *my son.* If he commit *iniquity,* I will *chasten him* with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men." Did St. Paul mean to destroy the validity of these, as wall as of many other texts to a similar effect, by representing Christ as the *only* being distinguished by the title of Son of God, and excluding angels, Adam, Israel, Solomon, and David, from this spritual dignity? I firmly belive he did not.

If a king who had several children, sent one of them to fight battles against those who committed depredations on his subjects, and his son, so sent, gained a complete victory in that war, but with the loss of his own life; and if, with a view to exalt or magnify the attachment of this sovereign to his people, one of his subjects declares that his sovereign was so deeply interested in the protection of his people as to send his own son, even the most beloved, to repel the enemies at the hazard of his life, and that he had not spared his own son in securing the lives of his people—does he confine the royal birth to that son, or does he degrade other sons of the king from that dignity? I beg my readers will read Rom., viii. 31, 32,

and reflect upon their purport. Besides, we find in the original Hebrew, Gen., i. 27, "God created man in *his image,*" and in the English version, "*in his own image.*"

Did the original writer of Genesis mean, that God created man in some fictitious or adopted image resembling that of God? Did the authors of the English version violate the original construction by adding the word "*own,*" to the phrase "in his image?" Or did they add it only for the energy of expression? Psalm, lxvii. 6: "God even our *own* God, shall bless us." Does the writer here exclude God from being the God of the world, by the use of the word *own* in the verse, against the declaration of Paul? Rom. iii. 29: "Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also." Or does he use this word to shew the Israelites' especial attachment to God? In 1 Tim. i. 2, Paul uses the expression, "Timothy, my *own* son in the faith." Did he thereby exclude his thousands of spiritual disciples from being his sons in the faith?

In reply to his allusion to John i. 16, in which Jesus is said to be "the only-begotten Son of the Father," I beg to refer the Editor to Heb. xi. 17: "By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac; and he that had received the promises offered up his only-begotten son." Whence he may perceive that the phrase "only-begotten," implies only most beloved among the children, as Abraham had, at that time, another son beside Isaac, namely, Ishmael, by Hagar, given to him as his wife, Gen. xvi. 3, 15. Were we to take the word of John, "only-begotten," in its literal sense, in defiance of Heb. xi. 17, we must discredit the express word of God, declaring Israel his begotten and first-born son, and describing David to be his begotten son.

It is worth noticing, that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews applies the last phrase, "begotten son," in an accommodated sense, to Jesus, Heb. i. 5; I say in an accommodated sense, since in Psalm ii. 7, it is David that declares, during the prosperous time of his reign, "The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art *my son, this day* have I begotten thee." Besides, how can the orthodox Christians, who consider Jesus as the begotten Son of God from eternity, with consistency maintain the opinion, that God had begotten him, at a particular day, during the reign of David? They may, perhaps, apply some of their mysterious interpretations to this passage of the Psalms; but they will, of course, in that case, pardon my inability to comprehend

them. I will not return to the subject of Rev. i. 8, and Heb. i. 10, though the Editor recurs to them in this place.

As to his frequent repetition of such phrases as "Jesus is Jehovah God," "a tremendous being in his wrath," &c., I only say, they are best calculated to work upon the minds of those that are brought up in the notion of the Trinity, but do not carry any weight with them in an argument subject to the decision of an enlightened public.

I asserted in my Second Appeal, that Jesus removed the doubt that arose with regard to the sense in which the unity should be taken in John x. 30, ("I and my father are one,") by representing the unity so expressed to be such as he prayed might exist amongst his apostles, which was, of course, the unity of will and design, and not identity of being, as is evident from John xvii. 11, "that they may *be one* as *we are*", and verse 22, "that they may *be one* even as *we are one*;" on which the Editor makes the following remarks:

"The declaration, John xvii. 22, 'that they may be one even as we are one,' was made at a time, and to persons totally different from that in John x. 30, 'I and my Father are one,' the latter was made to the gainsaying Jews, and the former in prayer to his heavenly Father; nor is there the least hint given that any doubt had arisen among the disciples respecting the expression 'I and my Father are one.'"

It astonishes me very much to meet with a new rule laid down by the Editor, that no commentary upon, or explanation of a passage or phrase by the author of it, can have any weight, if it is made or given at a subsequent period in the course of a solemn prayer to God, or before a body of new hearers, without an express declaration of their doubts as to the meaning of it. If this rule stand good, many commentaries and notes by authors on their respective works must cease to be of use, and the universally adopted rule, that passages of Scripture should be explained by their reference to one another, must be annulled. In ch. x. 30, "I and my Father are one," Jesus declares unity to subsist between himself and God; and in ch. xvii. 11 and 22, by praying that "they (his disciples) may be one, as he and the Father are one," he explains that the unity between him and the Father was of the same kind as that which he prayed to be granted to his disciples; hence by the unity so prayed for, cannot be meant anything else than unity of will and design. Although that unity may not be of the same degree that subsisted

between him and the Father, yet the force of the conjunction "AS" shews that it is of the same kind.

Jesus could not mean in praying for his apostles, verse 11, an unity in nature among them, whence we might have inferred unity in nature between him and his God ; since they were long before this prayer created in the one human nature ; nor could he pray for a renewed spiritual nature to be given to them, (as the Editor thinks to be the case), because they were already endued with that spiritual union, as is evident from the passage of the very chapter, (xvii. 6, 8, 16, 22), "They have kept thy word."—"And have known surely that I came out from thee, and they have believed that thou didst *send me.*"—"They *are not of the world, even as I am not of the world.*"—"The glory which thou gavest me, *I have given them.*" Besides, unity in spiritual nature is not the same kind of unity which subsists between the individuals of one nature.

Supposing unity of nature existed between God and Jesus Christ, (as the Editor believes,) in the same manner as it is found in one begotten by a man or animal and his parents, and that Jesus actually meant by the words, "my Father," in verse 30, to affirm God to be his real Father, would it not be quite idle in Jesus to have declared, that he as a Son was of the same nature with his Father, instead of saying that he was a Son entertaining the same will and design with his Father, since the former circumstance is natural and obvious, but the latter is not always found to exist, as we daily find among the children of men? Were the circumstance of one's calling God his Father received as a proof of his being actually the son of God, and, of course, of his unity in nature with the Deity, we must consider David as a real son of God, and of the same nature. Psalm lxxxix. 29: "He shall cry unto me, Thou art MY FATHER, my God, and the rock of my *salvation* ;" and we also must esteem Israel one in nature with God ; (Jer. iii. 4, "Wilt thou not from this time cry unto me, MY FATHER, thou art the guide of my youth?") We must even admit all Christians to be one in nature with the Father of the universe, for we are taught to pray to OUR FATHER in heaven, Matt. vi. 9. See also verses 1, 4, 6, 8, 14, 15, 18, and 32 of the same chapter. John xx. 17 : "My Father and your Father," &c. 2 Cor. i, 3 : "The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," and "the Father of mercies," &c. To enable my readers to take a clear view of this passage, I here quote the context, as well as the note found in the Improved Version upon it.

Vers. 29, 30: "My Father, who gave them me, is greater than all: and none is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand. I and my Father are one:" that is, "To snatch my true disciples out of my hand would be to snatch them out of my almighty Father's hand; because 'I and my Father are one;' one in design, action, agreement, affection. See ch. xvii. 11, 21, 22. 1 Cor. iii. 8: 'Now he that planteth, and he that watereth are one.'" (Improved Version.) Both in the Scriptures, and in ordinary composition, unity, when referred to two substances, implies invariably perfect concord of will, or some other qualities and by no means oneness of nature,—a fact which my readers will perceive by a slight attention to the common usage of language, and also to the following verses:—Gen. ii. 24: "And he (the husband) shall cleave unto his wife, and they two shall be *one flesh*." Ezek. xxxvii. 19: "I will take the stick of Joseph, and will put them with him, even with the stick of Judah, and make them ONE stick, and they shalll be *one* in mine hand" 1 Cor. x. 17: "For we being many are *one* bread, and *one* body; for we are all partakers of that *one* bread."

I never amused myself with the thought that Christ did "pray that his disciples might be one with him and his heavenly Father," nor did I ever rejoice at the idea that Jesus, "a man approved of God," was one in nature with the invisible Most High; I only observed in my Second Appeal, that if Trinitarian authors succeeded in their attempt to prove the deity of Jesus Christ from a perverted interpretation of such phrases as "the Father in me, and I in him"; —"he dwelleth in God, and God in him;" they would unavoidably increase the number of the persons of the Godhead much beyond three, since similar expressions are frequently found applied to the disciples of Jesus. John xiv. 20: "At that day ye shall know, (addressing himself to his disciples,) I am in my Father, and ye *in me, and* I *in you*" Ch. xvii, 21: "Thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be *one in* us." John vi. 56: "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." 1 John iv. 15: "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, *God dwelleth in him, and he in God.*" 2 Peter i. 4: "That by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature."

The Editor seems displeased at my having declined to submit indiscriminately to my countrymen the whole doctrine of the New Testament, because certain passages therein, having undergone

human distortions, occasion much dispute. I therefore beg to refer him to another portion of this Essay, as well as to all church history, which shew that my plan was conformable to the example laid down by the apostles and primitive Christians, who used to accommodate their instructions to the gradual progress of their followers.

In answer to his question, "How was it that I did not feel struck with the absurdity of a creature's creating all things," &c.? I beg only to reply by another question, viz. How does the Reverend Editor justify the idea, that one who was in the human shape, possessed of human feelings, and subject to the calls of nature, was the very God whom he defines as existing for ever, immaterial, invisible, and above all mortal causes or effects?

The Reverend Editor says, that nothing can be more incorrect than my assertion, p. 130, that Jesus in John x. 'disavowed the charge of making himself God:'—after having borne the fullest testimony to his equality with God in chapters v. and viii., at length prevaricates and retracts for fear of death." I therefore refer to chapters v. and viii., and now ask the Editor whether he calls the following saying of Jesus, found in chapters v. and viii., the fullest testimonies to his equality with God? "The Son can do nothing of himself." "For the Father loveth the Son, and *sheweth him* all things that himself doeth." "So the Son quickeneth whom he will; for the Father judgeth no man, but hath *committed* all judgment unto the Son." "He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that *sent me*, hath everlasting life." "So hath he *given to the Son* to have life in himself, hath given him authority," &c. "I can of *mine* ownself do nothing." I seek not *mine own will*, but the will of the Father who hath *sent me*." For the works which the Father hath *given me* to finish," &c. "I am come in *my Father's name*." Ch. viii.: "But he that sent me *is true*." I do *nothing of myself*, but as my Father hath taught me I speak these things." "But now ye seek to kill me, *a man* that hath told you the truth which I have *heard of God*." Neither came I of myself, but *he sent me*." "I seek not mine own glory." "I know him (God) and keep *his saying*."*
Do these testimonies amount to the equality of Jesus with his God and Father? If so, the Editor must have in view a definition of the term "equality" quite different from that maintained by the world.

* As to John v. 23, I beg to refer my readers to the subsequent chapter of this Essay, where I will examine the same verse fully.

I at the same time entreat the Editor to point out a single verse in either of these two chapters containing a proof of the equality of Jesus Christ with God, setting in defiance all the phrases I have now quoted from these very chapters. After reflecting upon the above cited phrases, the Editor will, I hope, spare the charge, that Jesus "at length prevaricates and retracts for fear of death;" for, his disavowal of deity in ch. x. 36, was quite consistent with all the doctrines and precepts that he taught in the evangelical writings, (*Vide* the whole of the four Gospels.)

The Editor then adds, "the confession, (in x. 34—36,) which our author terms a disavowal of deity, was the very confession for which they sought again to take him, because they still thought he made himself God." I am, therefore, under the necessity of quoting the context, to shew that the Jews seemed appeased at the explanation given by Jesus himself, as to their misunderstanding of him, and that they sought again to take him on account of another subsequent assertion of his. The context is, (32) "Many good works have I shewed you from my Father; for which of those works do ye stone me? (33) The Jews answered him, saying, For a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God. (34) Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said ye are gods? (35) If he called them gods unto whom the word of God came, (and the scripture cannot be broken,) (36) Say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said I am the Son of God? (37) If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not: (38) but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me,* and I in him. (39) *Therefore* they sought again to take him, but he escaped out their hand." Does not Jesus here appeal to scripture, on the ground that if the sacred writings, every assertion of which is but true, are justified in calling magistrates and prophets gods, and that the Jews in reading the Scriptures styled those superiors by the epithet gods, in conformity to their Scriptures, they could not in justice accuse him, the sanctified Messiah of God, of blasphemy, for his having called himself only

* I have already in a preceding page (440) stated that such a phrase as "one is in another, and the other is in him," implies in scriptural language only unity in design and will, as it is frequently applied to the apostles in reference to God, and to their Lord and Master Jesus Christ.

the Son of God? Does not Jesus here justify the use of the phrase "Son of God," for himself, in the same metaphorical sense that the term "gods" was used for the magistrates and prophets among Israel? If so, he of course relinquishes his claim to the use of the phrase "God," and "Son of God" in its real sense. If a commoner, who holds a high situation under government, suffers himself to be called "honourable" and, consequently, be accused of presumption in permitting himself to be designated by that title, on the ground that he was not actually the son of a nobleman, would he not justify himself against this charge by saying, "You call all the judges Lords in their judicial capacity though they are not noblemen by birth; yet you charge me (who hold a more dignified situation than the judges) with arrogance, because I suffer myself to be addressed as 'honourable'—a title which the children of noblemen enjoy"? In following the example of Jesus, I now appeal to scripture, and also to common sense that my readers may judge thereby whether verses 34—36 contain a confession of Godhead, or a disavowal of deity, made by Jesus himself.

It is not only a single instance in which Jesus omitted to correct the Jews in their misconceiving the phrase, "The Father is in me, and I in him," (verse 38,) but in many other instances he left them in ignorance. (John ii. 19, 21.) When Jesus told the Jews to destroy the temple, that he might raise it again in three days, they misunderstood him, and supposed that he intended to raise the temple of Jerusalem, and, found fault with him, from this misconceived notion, before the high-priest. John ii. 21: "But he spake of the temple of his body;" as well as John vii. 34—36, viii. 21, 22, as I noticed before in pages 333, 425. The Editor, lastly, says that "Jesus at last chose to die under this very charge, rather than clear up the mistake, if it was such. This was their last and grand charge: 'We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God,' which they esteemed blasphemy worthy of death." The Editor must be well aware that the Jews had such an inveterate enmity against Jesus, that they not only charged him with what they found in him contrary to their law, but even with wilful exaggerations. John v. 15: "The man departed and told the Jews, that it was Jesus who had made him whole." Ver. 16; "And therefore did the Jews persecute him, (Jesus,) and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the sabbath day." (To perform

a cure on the sabbath day is supposed by the Jews to be a breach of the traditions of the elders, and not a crime worthy of death; yet they sought to kill Jesus under that pretence.) Ver. 17: "But Jesus answered them. My father worketh hitherto, and I work. (18) Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the sabbath, but said also that God was his Father, making himself equal with God." Although the Jews in their own defence, called God their Father, without subjecting themselves to the charge of blasphemy, (John viii. 41, *We have one Father*, even *God*,") yet they sought to kill Jesus on the false ground, that he equalized himself with God by calling God his father. It is worth observing, that, lest the Jews should infer his independence in doing miracles, and wrest his words from the purpose, ("My Father worketh hitherto, and I work") Jesus firmly avows his entire dependence on God in whatever he had performed, in verse 19, ("Verily, I say unto you, the Son CAN do nothing of himself," &c.,) and also in the following verses, in so much that the Jews, being unable to find any plea for his destruction, remained quiet, and and left Jesus in peace. (*Vide* the whole of ch. v.) In Luke xxiii. 2, the Jews charged him with having perverted the nation by representing himself as their king, and having forbidden to give tribute to Cæsar: a charge which was full of misrepresentation.

Let us return now to the text quoted by the Reverend Editor: "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the *Son of God*;"—whence it is evident, that, notwithstanding the great hatred which the Jews entertained towards our Saviour, and the misrepresentation they were guilty of in their accusation against him, the severest charge which they preferred under the pretence of religion was, that "he made himself the Son of God," and they would have, of course, accused him of having made himself God, to Pilate, whom they found inclined to release Jesus, and in presence of the multitude, this being better calculated to excite the wrath of the latter and horror of the former, had the Jews ever heard him declare himself God, or say anything that amounted to his claim to the Godhead. The high-priest and other chief accusers knew very well that their people were taught to consider God as their Father, and to call themselves the children of the Most High (correctly speaking, the *sons* of the Most High, Psalm lxxxii. 6); and this idea was so familiar among them, that Jesus also admitted them to be the particular

children of the Deity. Mark vii, 27; "But Jesus said unto her, Let the children first be filled," &c.

The Editor says, (page 597,) that "our author queries on what principle any stress can be laid on the prophetic expression quoted in Heb. i. from the Psalms, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.' We reply merely on this principle, that it is spoken by God, who cannot lie." Are not these words also, "Ye are gods," spoken by Him who cannot lie? Is not the very verse of Hebrews, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever," applied originally to Solomon by Him who cannot lie, and, in an accommodated sense, to Jesus by the apostle? I will not introduce the subject again, it having been noticed in page 344. The Editor expresses his astonishment at what I say in Second Appeal, that the phrase "for ever" must mean a limited time when referred to an earthly king or a creature, and therefore it carries no weight in proof of the deity of Jesus when applied to him. The reason which he assigns for his surprise is, How could I take this phrase in a finite sense when applied to Jesus, the eternal Jehovah? Did not the Editor feel astonished at the idea that he employs the application of the phrase "for ever" in his attempt to prove the deity of Jesus, and then employs the circumstance of the eternal deity of Jesus, for the purpose of proving that infinite duration is understood by the phrase "for ever," when referred to Jesus?

As he admits that "for ever" when referred to a creature, implies a limited time only; he, therefore, must spare this phrase, and try to quote some other term peculiar to God, in his endeavour to establish the deity of Jesus.

The Editor says, that the expression of Jesus to Mary, (John xx. 17,) "Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God," was merely in his human nature. I wish the Editor had furnished us with a list, enumerating those expressions that Jesus Christ made in his human capacity, and another shewing such declarations as he made in his divine nature, with authorities for the distinction. I might have, in that case, attentively examined them as well as their authorities. From his general mode of reasoning, I am induced to think, that he will sometimes be obliged, in explaining a single sentence in the scriptures, to ascribe a part of it to Jesus as a man, and another part to him in his divine nature. As for example, John

v. 22, 23: "For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him." The first part of this sentence, "hath committed all judgment unto the Son," must have been (according to the Editor) spoken in the human nature of Jesus Christ, since the Almighty, in exercising his power, does not stand in need of another's vesting him with that power. The second part of the same sentence, "all men should *honour* the Son, even as they *honour* the Father," must be ascribed by the Editor to Jesus as God, he having been worthy to be honoured as the Father is. And the last part, "which hath sent him," relates again to Christ's human capacity since it implies his subjection to the disposal of another. Is this the internal evidence of Christianity on which the orthodox divines lay stress? Surely not.

As to the exclamation of Thomas, (John xx. 28,) "My Lord and my God!" It is neither a confession of the supreme deity of Jesus by him, nor is it a vain exclamation, since it is evident, from verse 25, that Thomas doubted Christ's resurrection without any reference to his deity; and that, when he saw Jesus and the print of the nails, he believed it, and being struck with such a circumstance, made the exclamation, "My Lord and my God!" according to the invariable habits of the Jews, Arabs, and almost all other Asiatic nations, who, when struck with wonder, often make exclamations in the name of the Deity; and that Jesus, from these apparent circumstances, and having perceived his heart, says, "because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed," (verse 29); by which Jesus acknowledges the belief of Thomas in the fact which he doubted in verse 25, that is, his resurrection; for the subject in question, as it stands in the context, has no allusion to the deity of Jesus; and the form in which a confession is made, is totally different from that of exclamation, both in the scriptures and in ordinary language. How can Thomas be supposed to have meant to confess the deity of Jesus in a mere exclamation, "My Lord and my God!" without adding some phrase conveying confession, such as "Thou art" my Lord and my God, and "I believe you to be" my Lord and my God? I beg that my readers will attentively refer to the context, and to the common habits of Asiatics on occasions similar to this, and form their opinion respecting this subject. The Editor

quotes Matt. v. 37, which, with its context, forbid all sorts of swearing; but what relation this has to the exclamation of Thomas, John xx. 28, I am unable to discover.

The Editor quotes six passages from the Gospel and the book of the Revelations, four of which I have already examined, and I notice now the remaining two verses. First, John i. 1: "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God." By the first sentence, ("in the beginning was the word") the Editor attempts to prove the eternity of the son; by the second, ("the word was with God") his distinct personality; and by the third ("the word was God") his deity.

Let us first take this verse in its literal sense, and ascertain whether or not it is, in that case, intelligible. "In the beginning"—i. e. in the time—"was the word"—i. e. existed such a sound as was capable of conveying a meaning. "The word was with God"—i. e. this sound existed in the Deity, since no sound can exist of itself. "The word was God"—i. e. the word was the deity, or a deity, or being like other attributes of the Deity, it was divine. The whole verse thus stands: "From the beginning the word of God, or Revelation manifesting his will and commandments, existed with him as God himself;" and by the same word God made or established all things; as the Jewish and Muhammadan as well as Hindoo theologians believe, on the authority of the words respectively acknowledged by them, that God made and established all things by his word only. (*Vide* Gen. i. 3, et seq.) And he communicated that Revelation to the world through Jesus Christ, (as testified beforehand by John the Baptist,) for the purpose of effecting the salvation of those that received and believed the authority of that Revelation. This is detailed throughout vers. 2—12.* In verses 13, 14, John expressly personifies "the word" in Jesus, as the bearer and deliverer of the Revelation: "The word was made flesh," (or the word was flesh,) "and dwelt among us," &c. To explain fully this metaphorical representation, John designates Jesus by this name, with the additional words "of life," once in his Epistle, 1 John i. 1, "The word of life," and with the additional words "of God," once in Rev. xix. 13, "His name is called the word of God;" whereby he manifests that Jesus, as the deliverer

* The reason for the use of the masculine gender in these verses, both in the original Gospel and in the English version, is obvious, as the original word λογος signifying the "word," is masculine.

of the word of God, is called by that name, and not actually identified with the word, as otherwise might have been supposed from his Gospel, i. 1. John i. 1, is not the only instance in which an attribute of the Deity is thus represented as one with God; for the very same writer identifies love with the Deity, in 1 John iv, 8, 16, on the ground that love is of God, and is manifested in the world by him. 1 John iv. 7.

Secondly. I have to notice the orthodox exposition of the verse in question: they interpret the word "beginning," as signifying all eternity, and by the term "word," they understand Jesus the son of God; that is, from all eternity the son of God existed with God, distinct in person, and he was also God. The interpretation is, I presume, equally unscriptural, as it is revolting to the understanding, and for several reasons; First. As long as a passage can be consistently taken and understood in its literal sense, there can be no apology for taking it in a figurative one. Here we find no authority for identifying Jesus with the "word," or designating him by that term in any of the preceding Gospels; he is only figuratively so called in Revelation, by the name of "the word of God." Under these circumstances, to understand Jesus literally and so abruptly by the term "word," in John i. 1, (against the established doctrine of the Jews and the rest of the oriental nations,) and to assume this word as existent in the beginning, and as instrumental in the hands of God, in moral and physical creations, is entirely inadmissible. 2ndly. The Evangelist John, in his Gospel, uses the word "beginning" in a finite sense, and generally implying the beginning of the Christian dispensation, (John xvi. 4, xv. 27, viii. 25, 44, vi. 64, ii. 11,) and not once for "all eternity," Hence to understand the word "beginning" in an infinite sense, is opposed to the sense adopted throughout the whole of his Gospel. 3rdly. In the first verse of Genesis, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," we find, in a similar connection, the same phrase, "in the beginning." Were we to follow the orthodox interpretation, and take it in an infinite sense, (*i. e.* from eternity God created the earth and heavens,) we should be compelled to profess the eternity of the world and become materialists. 4thly. To acknowledge the son to be the true God, and to have lived with the true God from eternity, destroys at once the idea of the unity of God, and proves beyond every question, the plurality of the Diety. For, if we see one real man living with another real man, though both of them

are one in nature and design, are we not compelled, by the ordinary course of nature, to apprehend the duality of man, and to say that, there are two men? Can orthodox ingenuity prove, that there are not two, but one man, or prevent the comprehension of the duality of man? If not, I wish to know whether, after admitting that the real God, the Son, exists with the real God, the Father, from eternity, the Editor can consistently deny the existence of two real Gods? 5thly. The exposition of the Editor must render John i. 1, directly contradictory of Deut. xxxii. 39, "I am he, and there is *no God with me.*" Here Jehovah himself expressly denies having another real God with him in the universe, for he is often said to have had fictitious Gods with him and, therefore, Jehovah's denial, in this verse, must be referred and confined to real Gods. Psalm lxxxii. 1: "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, he judgeth among the Gods." He then addressed himself to those nominal Gods of Israel, among whom he stood, "I said, *ye are Gods*" (in verse 6). But we firmly believe that John, an inspired writer, could not utter anything that might contradict the express declaration of Jehovah, though the Editor and others, from a mistaken notion ascribe this contradiction to the Evangelist. 6thly. They thus render the last sentence of the verse "the word was God," without the indefinite article "a" before "God," while they translate Exod. vii. 1, "I have made thee (Moses) a God to Pharoah," though, in the original Hebrew, there stands only the word אלהים or "God, without the indefinite article "a" before it. If regard for the divine unity induced them to add the article "a" in the verse of Exodus, "*a* God to Pharoh," why did not the same regard, as well as a desire of consistency, suggest to them to add the article "a" in John i. 1, "the word was *a* God"? We may, however, easily account for this inconsistency. The term "God" in Exodus is applied to Moses, the notion of whose deity they abhor; but as they meant to refer the same term in John i. 1, to Jesus, (whose deity they are induced by their education to support,) they leave the word "God" here without the article "a," and carefully write it with a capital G. Lastly. If eternity be understood by the phrase "In the beginning," in John i. 1, and Jesus Christ be literally understood by the "word," then we shall not only be compelled to receive Christ as an eternal being, but also his apostles; since Luke (ch. i. 2) speaks of himself and his fellow-disciples, as "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word from the beginning."

Thirdly. I shall now quote the interpretation of this passage, by searchers after truth, who have been enabled to overcome their early-acquired prejudices. See Improved version, for which the Christian world is indebted to its eminently learned authors.

"*The Word.*] 'Jesus is so called because God revealed himself or his word by him." Newcome. The same title is given to Christ, Luke i. 2. For the same reason he is called the Word of life, 1, John i. 1, which passage is so clear and useful a comment upon the proem to the gospel, that it may be proper to cite the whole of it. 'That which was *from the beginning*, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have *looked upon*, and our hands have handled of *the Word of life*: for *the Life* was *manifested*, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and *shew* unto you that eternal *Life* which was *with the Father*, and was manifested unto us; that which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you.' By a similar metonymy Christ is called the Life, the Light, the Way, the Truth, and the Resurrection. See Cappe's Dissert. Vol. I. p. 19."

"*In the beginning.*] Or, from the first, i. e., from the commencement of the gospel dispensation or of the ministry of Christ. This is the usual sense of the word in the writings of this evangelist. John vi. 64, Jesus knew from the beginning, or from the first: ch. xv. 27, 'Ye have been with me from the beginning.' See ch. xvi. 14, ii. 24, iii. 11; also 1 John I. 1, ii. 7, 8; 2 John 6, 7. Nor is this sense of the word uncommon in other passages of the New Testament. 2 Thess. ii. 13; Phil. iv. 15; Luke i. 2."

"*The Word was with God.*] He withdrew from the world to commune with God, and to receive divine instructions and qualifications, previously to his public ministry. As Moses was with God in the mount, Exod. xxxiv. 28, so was Christ in the wilderness, or elsewhere, to be instructed and disciplined for his high and important office. See Cappe, ibid, p. 22."

"*And the Word was a God.*] 'Was God.' Newcome. Jesus received a commission as a prophet of the Most High, and was invested with extraordinary miraculous powers. But in the Jewish phraseology they were called gods to whom the word of God came. (John x. 35.) So Moses is declared to be a god to Pharoah. (Exod. vii. 1.) Some translate the passage, God was the Word, q. d. it was not so properly he that spake to men as God that spake to them by him. Cappe, ibid. See John x. 30, compared with xvii. 8, ii. 16, iii.

34, v. 23, xii. 44. Crellius conjectured that the true reading was θεȣ, the Word was God's, q. d. the first teacher of the gospel derived his commission from God. But this conjecture, however plausible, rests upon no authority."

"*Was in the beginning with God.*] Before he entered upon his ministry he was fully instructed, by intercourse with God, in the nature and extent of his commission."

"*All things were done by him.*] 'All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made.' Newcome; who explains it of the creation of the visible, material world by Christ, as the agent and instrument of God. See his notes on ver. 3 and 10. But this is a sense which the word εγενετο will not admit. Γινομαι occurs upwards of seven hundred times in the New Testament, but never in the sense of *create*. It signifies, in this gospel, where it occurs fifty-three times, to be, to come, to become, to come to pass; also, to be done or transacted, ch. xv. 7. xix. 36. It has the latter sense, Matt. v. 18, vi. 8, xxi. 42, xxvi. 6. All things in the Christian dispensation were done by Christ, i. e. by his authority, and according to his direction; and in the ministry committed to his apostles nothing has been done without his warrant. See John xv. 4 5, 'Without me ye can do nothing.' Compare vers. 7, 10, 16; John xvii. 8; Col. i. 16, 17. Cappe, ibid."

Verse 14: "Nevertheless, the Word was flesh." "Though this first preacher of the gospel was honoured with such signal tokens of divine confidence and favour, though he was invested with so high an office, he was, nevertheless, a *mortal man*.' Cappe. In this sense the word flesh is used in the preceding verse. '*Flesh*,' says Mr. Lindsey, *Sequel to the Apology*, page 136, 'is frequently put for *man*.—Psalm lxv. 2; Rom. iii. 20. But it frequently and peculiarly stands for man as mortal, subject to infirmities and sufferings; and as such is particulary appropriated to Christ here, and in other places. 1 Tim. iii. 16; Rom. i. 3, ix. 5; 1 Pet. iii. 18, iv. 1. σλογος σαρξ εγενετο, the Word *was* flesh, not *became* flesh, which is Newcome's translation, or, was *made* flesh, which is the common version. The most usual meaning of γινομαι, is *to be*. In this sense εγενετο is sued in this chapter, ver. 6; also in Luke xxiv. 19. The things concerning Jesus of Nazareth ος εγενετο, who *was*, not who became a prophet. See Cappe, p. 86; and Socinus in loc."

Now my readers may judge which of these interpretations of John i. 1 is consistent with scriptural authority and conformable to the human understanding.

The Editor denies, positively, the charge of admitting three Gods, though he is in the practice of worshipping God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. I could wish to know what he would say, when a Hindoo also would deny polytheism on the same principle, that if three separate persons be admitted to make one God, and those that adore them be esteemed as worshippers of one God, what objection could be advanced, justly, to the oneness of three hundred and thirty-three millions of persons in the Deity, and to their worship in different emblems? For, oneness of three or of thirty millions of separate persons is equally impossible according to human experience, and equally supportable by mystery alone.

The second passage of John quoted by the Editor which I have not yet noticed is John xvi. 30: "Now are we sure that thou knowest all things." I admit that Jesus knows all things concerning his ministry and the execution of final judgment, but not those that bear no relation to either of them, as I noticed in pages 344, 393, and 407, since the phrase "all things," is very often used in a definite sense, both in the Old and New Testaments. In Joshua i. 17, when the people said, "We hearkened to Moses in all things," they meant, of course, things with regard to the divine commandments. So, in Matt. xvii. 11, Elias is said to have "restored all things," that is, all things concerning his office as the forerunner of the Messiah. In Mark xxiii. 23, Jesus said to his disciples, "I have foretold you all things," of course what respected their salvation. Eph. vi. 21: "Tychicus, a beloved brother, and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things," of course belonging to their salvation. Besides, the scriptures inform us, that those who devote themselves to the contemplation of the Deity are endued with the free gift of knowing all things; but from this circumstance they are not considered to be elevated to the nature of God, nor numbered as persons of the Godhead. Prov. xxviii. 5: "They that seek the Lord, understand *all things*." 2 Tim. ii. 7: "And the Lord give thee understanding *in all things*." 2 Sam. xiv. 20: "And my Lord is wise, according to the wisdom of an angel of God, to know *all things* that are in the earth."

The Editor quotes Paul (page 598,) "God our saviour" and I Peter "the righteousness of God and our saviour Jesus Christ" and also

Jude 25, "to the only wise God our saviour." He intends perhaps to shew, that as both God and Jesus are styled "Saviours," consequently Jesus is God.—I have fully noticed that several others, beside Jesus, were like him, appointed by God to save people from time to time, and named saviours in the scriptures; but that the use of this appellation does not serve to prove the deity of any of them. *Vide* pages 311 and 313.

The Editor expresses his despite of Hindu polytheism triumphing in his own pure profession. I wonder how it could escape the notice of the Editor that the doctrine of plurality in unity maintained by him, and that professed by Hindus stand on the same footing, since the Editor, as well as the Hindus, firmly declares the unity of God, while at the same time both acknowledge the *plurality* of *persons* under the same Godhead, although they differ from each other in the exact number. The following passage quoted by the Editor "the gods who have not made the heavens and the earth, shall *perish from the earth* and from under these heavens," is equally applicable to several of the divine persons of both parties.

In answer to the Editor's query, Where does the unity of mankind exist? I entreat to be allowed to ask the Editor, where the unity of the Godhead exits? If he say, that it is one divine nature that exists between the three sacred persons, I answer, that the unity of mankind is one human nature, and exists between so many individual persons.

In answer to his question, When were all mankind one even in design and will? I shall say that mankind has always been one, and shall be one even in will and design, in the glorious and prosperous reign of Christ; the present difference in will and design, or in rank and situation among its persons, does not preclude them from unity of nature, as the Editor himself admits that "one equal in nature to another may yet be subordinate in office." Besides, we find that the will of God the Father was sometimes at variance with that of God the Son. Matt xxvi. 39: "O my Father, if it be possible, *let* this cup *pass* from *me*; nevertheless, not as *I will* but *as thou wilt*." Mark xiv. 36: "And he (Jesus) said Abba, Father, all things are possible unto *thee*; *take away* this cup from me; nevertheless, not what *I will*, but what thou wilt."

The Editor appeals to common sense, saying, that "she sees around her every day," that one man "equal in nature to another is

yet subordinate in office." She sees so indeed; but when she sees one man equal in nature to another, she reckons them *two* men, whether one is subordinate in office to the other or not. To this part of the evidence, I beg the Editor will pay some attention. It is indeed astonishing, that in all his illustrations, the Editor brings the Godhead to a level with any genus, including various species under it, but feels offended if any one should observe this fact to him.

The Editor says, (page 601,) "Nor is it true that it was the constant practice of the Saviour to pray to the Father for the power of working miracles; for he never did them in his Father's name, as was the invariable practice of the ancient prophets." In reply to this, I only refer the Editor to John xi. 41, to Mark viii. 6, where we find Jesus had actually prayed to the Father in raising the dead, and breaking the bread; and especially to John xi. 42, in which Jesus, by saying "thou hearest me *always*," avows that, during the whole period of his executing the commission, God *heard* his supplications, though in several instances of performing miracles he had not used verbally the name of God, in imitation of the practices of some of the ancient prophets. See 2 Kings v. 27, in which Elisha is said to have made Gehazi a leper without verbal supplication to God; and in chap. ii. 10, Elijah bestowed on Elisha his power of performing miracles, without praying verbally to the Most High. As to the Editor's assertion, that "he never did them (miracles) in his Father's name," I again refer him to John x. 25, "The works that I do *in my father's name*, they bear witness of me." Ver. 43: "I am come in my *Father's name*, and ye receive me not; if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive." Here Jesus rests his divine commission on the name of God, and rejects the claims of any one who comes in his own name. He certainly sent his disciples to work miracles in his own name, as the Massiah sent from God, that his apostles might procure faith in him from Jews and Gentiles, whereby they both might have their access to God through him. Matt. x. 40-42: "He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth *me* receiveth him *that sent me.* He that *receiveth* a prophet *in the* name of a prophet, *shall receive* a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, *shall receive* a righteous man's reward. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of those little ones a cup of cold water only *in the name of a disciple*, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward." These

shew evidently that man should be rewarded for any act that he may perform in the name of a disciple, even in the name of a righteous man. How much more is he to be approved in the sight of God if he acts in the name of the Messiah of the Most High!

I do not wonder at the idea of Christ's empowering his apostles to work miracles when we find other prophets doing the same at their own choice, as I have often noticed. The Editor says, "If it be declared in scripture, that the Father created all things by and for the Son, it proves only that the Son is equal to the Father," and that the passages, 'he hath given to the Son to have life in himself,' 'the first-born of every creature,' "place the equality of the Son with the Father beyond all dispute." This must be a new mode of proof, invented for the support of the trinity, founded on mystery, far beyond my understanding. For if a creature's being endowed with life by, or employed as an instrument in the hands of another, puts them both on a footing of equality, then, in the Editor's estimation, the clay is equal to the potter; the rod with which Moses performed his miracles was equal to that great prophet; and Moses himself, by whom, and for whom, God exhibited so many wonderful works, was equal to the Deity.

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CHAPTER V.

Remarks on the Replies to the Arguments found in Chapter the Third of the Second Appeal.

THE Editor now comes (p. 602) "to the last, and by far the easiest part of his work," that of meeting my objections to the seven positions formerly advanced in support of the deity of Christ. The first of these is, that Jesus was possessed of ubiquity, deduced from John iii. 13, "No name hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man, who is in heaven." The ubiquity of Jesus is, by the Editor, grounded on the phrase, "who is in heaven," found in the present tense, while Jesus was at that time on earth. I, in the first place, observed in my Second Appeal, (page 135,) that this argument might, perhaps, carry some weight with it, were not the frequent use of the present tense in a preterite or future sense observed in the sacred writings; and were not a great number of other passages to determine that the term "is," in this instance, must be understood in the past tense; and to support this assertion, I quoted several passages, a few of which the Editor has discussed, leaving the rest quite unnoticed. One of these is John viii. 58: "Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am." To weaken its force, the Editor says, "Why must this declaration, 'Before Abraham was, I am,' be taken in a preterite sense? Because if it be not, our author's cause dies." No; but because it would bear no sense unless thus understood, "Before Abraham was, *I was*." The Editor further says, "Did the Jews, however, understand it thus? So far from it, that they esteemed it a decided declaration of Jesus's equality with the Father, and took up stones to stone him as a blasphemer." The Jews understood Jesus as declaring himself to be more ancient than Abraham which they first inferred from his assertion "Your Father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad." (John viii. 56). But there is nothing in the context that can convey the least idea of the Jews having esteemed the phrase "Before Abraham was, I am," a "decided declaration of Jesus's equality with the Father," or of their having, in consequence, taken up stones to stone him. Nor can the circumstance of their attempt

to stone Jesus be considered as a proof of their viewing the above declaration respecting his priority to Abraham as blasphemy against God, for they sought to slay Jesus once on account of his having healed a man on the sabbath day, which they considered as a breach of their law, and not as a claim to equality with the Deity (John v. 16); and they wanted again to destory Jesus merely from his affirming, "I know him, for I am from him, and *he hath sent me*" (John vii. 29, 30.); and finally from motives of political safety, as far as regarded their connection with the Romans, the Jews resolved to kill him. (John xi, 47, 48, 53).

The Editor says, that "Jesus himself, meek and lowly as he was, although he knew precisely in what sense they understood him, rather chose to work a miracle for his own safety, than to deny his divinity." From what I have just stated, and from all that I mentioned in pp. 444, 425, it obviously appears that neither the Jews understood his deity from the assertion, "Before Abraham was, I am," nor was it usual with Jesus to correct them whenever they mistook his meaning. The Editor might further perceive, in John v. 20, and its context, that Jesus, though charged with having a demon, omitted to correct fully their mistaken notion; and also, in John viii. 48, 49, that, on the Jews reproaching him with being a Samaritan, and with being possessed by a demon, the saviour only denied the second, and omitted to notice the former, which was the grossest charge that one Jew could ever prefer against another.

The Editor seems doubtful as to the force of the arguments he has adduced in turning the above verse to his purpose, as he thought it proper to have recourse to "the body of evidence previously adduced" in his attempt to prove "Christ's ubiquity;" but my readers may be able to judge, from a calm examination of this body of evidence, whether or not it has any weight in proof of the ubiquity of the son.

The Editor now lays down a rule for those instances where the present tense is used in the scriptures for the past, saying, "In poetry and sometimes in lively narrative, the present is, with strict propriety, used for the past, because the transaction is narrated as though passing before the reader's eyes." I therefore beg the Editor to explain, conformably to this rule, the instances I noticed (Second Appeal, pp. 135, 136) and numerous other instances. John xi. 8: "His disciples *say* unto him," instead of *said* unto him. Ver. 38: "Jesus *cometh* to the grave," that is, *came* to the grave. Ch. xiii. 6: "Then *cometh* he to

Simon Peter," that is, he *came* to Simon Peter. Do these come under the denomination of poetry or lively narration? If not, the Editor's rule must fall to the ground. If the Editor insists upon their being lively narration, because the circumstances are "narrated as though passing before the reader's eyes," how can we be prevented, in that case, from taking the assertion in John iii. 11, also for a lively narration, on the same ground, that the circumstances are narrated in the verse in question "as though passing before the reader's eyes," although Jesus had in reality meant by present, the past tense?

The Editor further observes, that "it is a didactic discourse, on the clearness and accuracy of which depended the salvation of a man (Nicodemus) who had hazarded much in coming to Jesus for instruction." It is true that Jesus, as the greatest prophet of God, (or an omniscient being, according to the orthodox creed,) though well aware of the slow apprehension of Nicodemus, instructed him in a language far from being clear and comprehensible to him, both in the preceding and following verses. *Vide* verse 3: "Except a man *be born again*, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Ver. 8: "So is every one that is *born of the Spirit.*" Ver. 13: "No man hath *ascended up to heaven* but he that came down from heaven," &c. Ver. 14: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man *be lifted up*"—foretelling him of his death on the cross by these ambiguous words. Nay, moreover, he, in his discourse with the Jews and the multitude, very often expressed his ideas in such a manner, that not only the Jews, but his own disciples, mistook his meaning; but he always regulated his instructions as he was guided by his and our heavenly Father. It would be, therefore, presumptuous in us to lay down rules for his conduct, maintaining that "common humanity, therefore, demanded that in further discourse with him no word should be used but in its *direct and proper sense.*"

In answer to his assertion, "If, then, he would only tell us how Jesus was regarded in those realms of light and truth previously to his descent on earth, he would himself settle this point,"—I beg to refer the Editor to such authority as no Christian can ever deny; I mean 1 Peter i. 20: "Who verily was *foreordained before the foundation of the world*, but was *manifested* in these last times for you." And also to 2 Tim. i. 9: "Who hath saved us, and called us with a holy calling not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which *was given us* in Christ Jesus *before the world began.*" If this plain

explanation fall short of convincing the Editor of the real sense in which the pre-existence of Jesus and of his followers was meant, my endeavour to correct his notion on this head must be of no use.

In order to weaken the force of the argument I founded on John vi. 62, "The Son of man ascend up where he *was before*," shewing the absence of Jesus from heaven while he was talking to men on earth, the Editor quotes Gen. xi. 5, xviii. 33, in which Jehovah is stated to have moved from one place to another, though possessed of omnipresence. But the Editor overlooked, or thought it judicious to omit to notice, the real point of my argument in the Second Appeal, which I now repeat: "For the attribute of omnipresence is quite inconsistent with the human notions of the ascent and descent effected by the *Son of man*." It is not impossible for the omnipresent God that he should manifest himself wherever he chooses without violating his omnipresence; but the notion of occupying two very distant places at one time by a *son of man*, is, of course, contrary to the ideas acquired by human experience, unless this extraordinary circumstannce be ascribed to the power of performing miracles bestowed on man by God.

Jesus, however, took every precaution in wording his discourse with Nicodemus, by the use of the term *man* in the very same verse, (13,) thus establishing his humanity; but, notwithstanding this, the prejudices of a great number of his followers have induced them to infer his ubiquity, and thereby his deity, from the same verse.

I will not recur to the examination of such passages as "who made all things," "who upholds all things," &c., alluded to here by the Editor, having often noticed them in the former part of this work.

Let us now come to the real point, and ascertain whether or not the word, in the original Greek, which is rendered "is" in the English version, in the phrase "who is in heaven," actually signifies the present tense, as a candid inquiry into this very point will bring us to a satisfactory decision at once. The word in the original is *ων*, a participle, and not a verb; and all that I said in my Second Appeal may be compressed into three remarks. In the first place, that the time of the participle is referred to the time of the verb found in the sentence; and to corroborate this opinion, I quoted Bishop Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek article, Part, i. p. 42, Note: "We are to refer the time of the participle to the time of the act, &c., implied in the verb; for past, present, and future cannot be meant otherwise

than in respect of that act."* And I also cited John i. 48, Οντα ειδον σε, "I saw thee when thou wast;" literally, "I saw thee being," in which the present participle implies the past in correspondence with the verb ειδον, or "I saw," found in the same verse. I now also beg the attention of the Editor to the common usage of almost all the languages that have the use of a present participle, in which he will find the participles generally referring to the time of the verb related to it. In English, for example, in the following phrase, "Being ill, I could not call upon you", the time of the present participle "being," refers, I presume, to the verb "could not call," implying the past tense.

In the second place, I quoted Levit. vii. 33, xiv. 47, in which the present participle is accompanied with the definite article, observing, that "these present participles are referred to a time present with respect to the Act of the verbs connected with them, but future, with respect to the command of God"—that is when the definite article is prefixed in Greek to a present participle, it has reference to the verb connected with it in an indefinite manner. So we find many instances in the New Testament similar to those quoted from Leviticus. In the third place, I said, "Moreover, we frequently find the present participle used in a past tense, even without reference to the time of the verb. John ix. 25: Τι φλος ων αρτι βλεπω "Being blind, now I see;" that is, "Having been blind, now I see."

The Editor, omitting to notice the second and third arguments adduced by me, makes remarks only on the first, saying, that "were this criticism ('being in heaven,' instead of 'is in heaven') perfectly correct, it would not be of the least service to our author, as, 'he being in heaven,' is precisely the same as, 'he who is in heaven.'" I positively object to the accuracy of this assertion of the Editor; for the verb "is," generally affirms an act or a state at the time present when spoken; but the present participle ων, or "being," even when preceded by the definite article σ or "the," implies time indefinitely, though the article σ is often rendered by a relative pronoun "who" or "which," and the participle by a verb, for the sake of elegance in English composition. I beg to refer the Editor first to those texts quoted in my Second Appeal. Levit. vii. 33 ιΟ προσφερων—αυτῳ εσται ὁ βραχιων ὁ δεξιοσ. "The offering (person) for him shall be the

* The Editor has given, in p. 607, a quotation from Bishop Middleton, with some remarks of his own, but I am perfectly willing to leave it to the discerning reader to judge whether it corroborates my opinion or makes against it.

right shoulder." Although the participle "offering" is found here in the present tense, yet it indisputably implies, that at any time in future in which the offering may be made, "the offerer shall be entitled to the right shoulder." Lev. xiv. 47: 'Ο εσθων—πλυνει τα ιματια αυτου "The eating (person) shall wash his clothes." The word "eating," though found here in the present participle, preceded by the definite Greek article ο signifies any part of the future in which the act of eating shall take place. The phrase, "*the eating*," (person,) is rendered in the English version "he that eateth," conformably to the idiom of the English language; but this change of construction does not produce any change in the real meaning conveyed by the original Greek. As this phrase, "he that eats," bears no allusion to the support of the doctrine of the Trinity, no one will, I presume, scruple to interpret it in its original sense; that is, he who eats at any time future with respect to the commandment of God, shall wash his clothes.

Secondly. I refer the Editor to the passages he quoted in p. 608, to save me the trouble of selecting them. John iii. 4: "How can a man be born when he is old," literally, "being old;" that is, at any point of time, no man being old can be born. Ver. 15: "That no man believing on him should perish;" that is, no one who may be induced to believe Jesus at any time, even up to the last day, should perish. Ver. 18: "He not believing is condemned already;" that is, he who rejects me at any time, is condemned already in the divine decree. Ver. 20: "Every one doing evil hateth light," at any time whatsoever. Ver. 29: "He having the bride is the bridegroom," at any period of time. Ver. 31: "He being of the earth, is earthly," at any period of time. Again, ch. v. 3: "In these lay a great multitude of folk impotent," &c. In the original Greek, the verb "to lie," is in the imperfect tense, and consequently the participle may be thus rendered, "Who were impotent up to that time." Ver. 5: "And a certain man was there, who had an infirmity thirty and eight years." In this verse the participle is not preceded by the article: this, however, signifies that a certain man had an infirmity when he was present at the pool—not at the time when St. John narrated this circumstance. But with a view to expose my argument to ridicule, the Editor puts his own words into my mouth, saying, (p. 608,) "In this chapter, ver. 4, we have, 'How can a man be born when he is old,' literally, 'being old,' on our author's plan, 'having been old, and now not

being so;'" and so on in all the above-stated verses. But I wonder how he could mistake what I have advanced in my Second Appeal in explanation of a present participle preceded by the article in the following words: "The offering (person) for him shall be the right shoulder:—the eating (person) shall wash his clothes. These present participles are referred to a time present with respect to the act of the verbs connected with them, but future with respect to the command of God." Now my reader may judge whether I confined the meaning of a present participle to the past tense, as the Editor, no doubt inadvertently, misrepresents my arguments.

Thirdly. I beg to refer the Editor to the translation of that verse by the celebrated Dr. Campbell: "For none ascendeth into heaven, but he who descended from heaven, the Son of man, whose abode is in heaven;" in which the sense of the participle is referred to an indefinite time; for, a person whose abode is in London, may have his temporary residence in Paris.

Forthly. I beg also to refer to the explanation of the article ο before a participle, given by Parkhurst: "xi. With a participle it may generally be rendered by, *who*, *that*, *which*, and the participle as a verb. Thus 1 John ii. 4, ὁ λεγων, he who saith, i. e., the (person) saying. John, i. 18, ὁ *ων who is* or *was*."

As to the assertion of the Editor, that where the time of the participle "being," found in the phrase "being in heaven," referred to the verb "to ascend up to heaven," it would completely prove the ubiquity of Christ, or involve perfect absurdity,—I presume there would be neither of these difficulties, in the event of the participle being referred to the verb mentioned in the verse; for one's being in heaven, or having his abode in heaven, does not render his ascent to heaven impossible, nor does it tend to prove his deity. Let us apply these circumstances as they stand literally to Moses and Elias, who descended from their heavenly abode, and appeared with Jesus Christ to his apostles, (Matt. xvii. 3,) and again ascended, would it prove their ubiquity, or involve absurdity? But is there anything more absurd than an attempt to prove the ubiquity of a son of man capable of occupying only a certain small space on earth?

In reply to his assertion, that "when John wishes to describe a past state of action or being, he chooses some past participle," I only beg to remind him, that in the Greek language there is no past or

future participle for the verb *to be*, and, consequently, the present participle is used for those tenses under the specific rules.*

As to the second passage which he quoted to demonstrate the ubiquity of Jesus, (Matt. xviii. 20, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them,") I observed in my Second Appeal, "Is it not evident that the saviour meant here, by being in the midst of two or three of his disciples, his guidance of them when joined in searching for the truth, without preferring any claim to ubiquity? We find similar expressions in the Scriptures wherein the guidance of the prophets of God is meant by words that would imply their presence. Luke xvi. 29: 'Abraham said unto him, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.' No one will suppose that the expression is intended to signify that the Jews actually had Moses and the prophets in person among them, or that they could hear them speak, in the literal sense of the words; nor can any one deduce the omnipresence of Moses and the prophets from such expressions."

The Editor, to avoid entering into the main argument, puts the following questions, to which I shall now reply. 1st. "If Christ guided them, must he not have been with them for that purpose?" Yes, he has been with them in the same manner as Moses and the prophets have been with the Israelites, as is evident from the above-quoted passage of Luke, as well as from another which I shall now cite. 1 John iii. 24: "And he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him: and hereby we know that he *abideth*

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* The true explanation of the verse is given in the IMPROVED VERSION, as follows: "Now no man hath ascended up to heaven, but he who came down from heaven,† even the Son of Man, [who is in heaven.]"‡

† "*He who came down from heaven.*] This clause is correlative to the preceding. If the former is to be understood of a local ascent, the latter must be interpreted of a local descent. But if the former clause is to be understood figuratively, as Raphelius and Doddridge explain it, the latter ought, in all reason, to be interpreted figuratively likewise. If 'to ascend into heaven,' signifies to become acquainted with the truths of God, 'to descend from heaven,' is to bring down, and to discover those truths to the world. And this text clearly explains the meaning of the phrase wherever it occurs in this evangelist. 'Coming down from heaven,' means coming from God, (see ver. 2.) as Nicodemus expressed it, who did not understand this of a local descent, but of a divine commission. So Christ interprets it ver. 17." Sn.

‡ "*Who is in heaven.*] This clause is wanting in some of the best copies. If its authenticity is allowed, it is to be understood of the knowledge which Christ possessed of the Father's will. See John i. 18."

in us, by the spirit which he hath given us." 2nd. "If there were only two such little companies searching for the *truth* at the same moment, must he not have possessed ubiquity to guide them both?" I reply by two other questions. If the Jews of Galilee and of Jerusalem "have Moses and the Prophets" at the same time for their guidance, are Moses and the Prophets to be supposed to have been possessed of ubiquity? After Elijah went up to heaven, (2 Kings. ii. 11,) and his spirit was seen resting on Elisha, who remained on earth, (ver. 15,) does the circumstance of Elijah's being in heaven, and being with his servant Elisha on earth in spirit at the same time, prove the ubiquity of Elijah? 3rd. The Editor asks, "If he (Jesus) was with Christians to guide them, has he left them now?" I reply, neither Jesus nor Moses and the prophets have now forsaken those that sincerely search into truth, and are not fettered with early-acquired human opinions. 4th. "How, then, can he be the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever?" My reply is, he has been the same in like manner as David has been, in "keeping the law continually *for ever and ever.*" (Psalm cxix. 44.) 5th. "Does our author need to be told that this meant the writings of Moses and the Prophets?" I reply, that this expression means their words preserved for ever by means of writing as the statutes of God. Psalm cxix. 152: "Concerning thy testimonies, I have known of old that thou hast founded them for ever." Ver. 89: "For ever, O Lord, thy word is settled in heaven." And Deut. xxxii. 1, Moses exclaims, "Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak, and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth; my doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew," &c. 6th. "Did Jesus mean that they had his writings with them?" I reply, he meant, of course, that they had his lowly spirit, and his words, which were afterwards published and preserved in writing. 7th. "Where were the writings of Jesus at that time?" I said not a word of his writings in my Second Appeal. Why the Editor puts this question to me, I know not. It is, however, evident, that Jesus himself, while on earth, like other prophets of God, never omitted to express his doctrines and precepts, which have been handed down in writing up to this day.

SECOND POSITION.

The Editor quoted Matthew xi. 27, "No man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him," to shew that Jesus

ascribes to himself a knowledge and an incomprehensibility of nature equal to that of God. I consequently asked the Editor in my Second Appeal, "If he by the term 'incomprehensible', understands a total impossibility of being comprehended in any degree, or only the impossibility of attaining to a perfect knowledge of God?" If the former, we must be under the necessity of denying such a total incomprehensibility of the Godhead; for the very passage cited by the Editor declares God to be comprensible not to the Son alone, but also to every one who should receive revelation from the Son; and in John xvi. 16, 17, Jesus ascribes to his disciples a knowledge of the Holy Ghost, whom the Editor considers one of the persons of Godhead, possessed of the same nature with God. But if the Editor understands by the passage he has quoted, the incomprehensibility of the real nature of the Godhead, I admit the position, but deny his inference that such an incomprehensibility proves the nature of the object to be divine, as being peculiar to God alone, for it appears evident that a knowledge of the real nature even of a common leaf, or a visible star, surpasses human comprehension. The Editor, although he filled one page (610) in examining that part of the reply, yet made no direct answer to the foregoing question, but repeats his inference from these passages, "that Jesus himself can comprehend the nature of the Father, and that his own nature is equally inscrutable;" but the verse in question does not convey one or other of these positions. As to the first, we find the latter part of the sentence ("neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him") declaring an exception to the general assertion made in the former part of it; ("neither knoweth any man the Father;") that is, the Son, and those to whom the Son reveals God, were the only individuals that knew the nature of the Father. Would not this exception be distinctly contrary both to the sacred authorities, and to common sense; as the scripture declares positively that the nature of God is incomprehensible to men? Job xxxiv. 26: "God is great, we know him not;" and common sense teaches us every moment, that if the real nature of the works of God is incomprehensible to the human intellect, how much more must the nature of God himself be beyond human understanding! As to the second, if the circumstance of the Son's declaring himself (according to the Editor) to be inscrutable in nature, be acknowledged as equalizing him with God, similar declarations by his apostles would of course raise them to the same footing

of equality with the Deity. I John iii. 1: "Therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not," corroborated by John xvii. 25, "O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee," &c. It is, therefore, evident, that neither can an impossibility of comprehending God, in any degree, be meant by this passage, the apostles having known God by revelation; nor can the comprehension of the real nature of God be understood by it, as such a knowledge is declared to be unattainable by mankind. The verse in question must be thus understood, as the meaning evidently is, "that no one but the Father can fully comprehend the object and extent of the Son's commission, and no one but the Son comprehends the counsels and designs of the Father with respect to the instruction and reformation of mankind. It is impossible that Jesus can be speaking here of the person and nature of the Father, for this he did not, and could not reveal, being essentially incomprehensible. Neither, therefore, does he mean the nature and person of the Son. What Christ knew and revealed 'was the Father's will;' corresponding to this, 'that which the Father, and the Father only, knew, was the nature and extent of the Son's commission.'" (IMPROVED VERSION).

THIRD POSITION.

As the Editor expressed his opinion that "Jesus exercised in an independent manner the prerogative of forgiving sin, which is peculiar to God," founding this opinion upon the authority of Mark ii, 5, Matt. ix. 2, "Thy sins be forgiven thee," I inquired in my Second Appeal, "Does not this passage, ('But when the multitude saw it, they marvelled, and glorified God who had given such power unto men, Matt. ix. 8,) convey an express declaration that Jesus was as much dependent on God in exercising the power of forgiving sins, and healing the sick, as the other prophets who came forth from God before him?" To which the Editor replies, "We answer, only in the opinion of the multitude, who knew him not, but took him for a great prophet."

I feel surprised at the assertion of the Editor, that it was the ignorant multitude, who knew not of the nature of Jesus, that made the following declaration "who had given such power to men;" since it is the Holy Spirit which speaks by the mouth of the evangelist Matthew, saying, "when the *multitude* saw it, *they* marvelled, and *glorified* God, who had given such power unto men."

I wonder how the Editor could allow his zeal in support of the Trinity so far to bias his mind, that he has attempted to weaken the authority of the holy evangelist, by ascribing his words to the ignorant multitude of Jews. I wonder still more, to observe that, notwithstanding the Editor declares the apostles and primitive Christians, (whom he does not esteem as persons of the Godhead, but admits to be mere men,) to have been possessed of the power of pardoning sins through the influence of Jesus; yet he maintains the opinion, that none, except God, can forgive sins, even through the gift of the Deity himself.

The Editor says, "Not, however, in the opinion of the Scribes, who were better acquainted with their own scriptures, and who, although they glorified him not as God, could not restrain themselves from acknowledging the display of his Godhead by accusing him of blasphemy on that very account."

The Jews were so ill-disposed towards Jesus, that this is not the first instance in which they sought a pretence for destroying him under the charge of blasphemy; for in John v. 16, they resolve to slay him merely on pretence of his having healed a man on the sabbath day, as I noticed before; and, in chapter xii. 10, 11, they came to a determination, under the cloak of religion, to kill him and Lazarus also, whom Jesus raised after death, though they knew that many of their prophets raised the dead, without offending God or the people. And they also very frequently mistook his meaning. But Jesus often forbore to repel their charges, some instances of which I have already pointed out. As to Jesus's knowledge of the human heart, as far as it respects his divine commission and future judgment, and his power of performing miraculous deeds, even sometimes without verbal reference to God, having often noticed these matters I shall not recur to them here.

The Editor denies the apostles having been impressed with a belief, that it was the Almighty Father that empowered Jesus to forgive sins and to perform miracles. I therefore refer the Editor to the very phrase, "Who had given such power unto men," and to Acts v. 31, "Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins." xiii. 38, "Through this *man* (meaning the Saviour) is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins." Do not these verses shew, beyond a doubt, that Jesus received from God the power of forgiving sins on sincere repentance?

The Editor makes no direct answer to Luke xxiii. 34, in which Jesus prays to the Father for the pardon of the murder perpetrated by the Jews upon him, nor to Luke xi. 4, Matt. vi. 14, which I quoted in my Second Appeal. The Editor alludes to the importance of the expression, "That thy Son may glorify thee." But by referring to the Scriptures, he will find, similar terms are as common in the language of the Jews, in their address to God, as any other expressions of reverence for the Deity.

FOURTH POSITION.

With a view to substantiate his fourth position, that almighty power is claimed by Jesus in the most unequivocal manner, the Editor thus comments on the passage, John v. 19—36, quoted by me in my Second Appeal: "Jesus, when persecuted by the Jews, for having healed a man on the sabbath day, said 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.' This provoked the Jews still more, because he had now said, that God was his Father, making himself equal with God." The Editor adds, "This observation shews us, that not only the Jews, but John himself, understood Christ's calling God his Father, to be making *himself God.*" It would have been a correct translation of the original Greek, if the Editor had said, "making himself equal with, or like God," instead of "making himself God" (*vide* the original Greek). It is obvious, that one's calling another his Father gives apparent ground to understand that there is an equality of nature or likeness of properties between them, either in quantity or quality of power in performing works. But to know what kind of equality or likeness should be meant in ch. v. 18, we have luckily before us the following texts, in which Jesus declares, that his likeness with God consisted in doing what he saw the Father do, and quickening the dead; avowing repeatedly, at the same time, his inferiority to and dependence on God, in so plain a manner, that the Jews who heard him abstained from the measures of persecution that they had intended to adopt, although the Saviour continued to call God his Father, through the whole of the remaining chapter, in the hearing of the Jews. Nay, further, from the whole of his conduct and instructions, so impressed were the Jews with his dependence upon and confidence in the Father as his God, that when he was hanging on the cross they fixed upon this as a ground of taunt and reproach, saying, "He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him, for he said 'I am the Son of God.'" Matt. xxvii. 43.

The Editor then proceeds to say, "This (charge of equality) Jesus neither denies nor corrects, but adds, 'The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do,' which must necessarily be the case, if, as our author affirms, the Father and the Son are one in will and design." I ask the Editor, whether this be the language of one who is Almighty? If the Father and the Son be equally Almighty, why should the Son wait until the Father acts, and then imitate him? If a subordinate officer, having been accused of equalizing himself with his superior, thus declares, "I cannot march a single step myself—but where I see him march, I do march,"—would this be considered an avowal of his equality with his superior? My readers will be pleased to judge. The Editor then says, that "Jesus adds further, 'For whatever things he doth, these also doth the Son likewise;' a more full declaration of equality with the Father cannot be imagined. How could the Son do whatsoever the Father doth, if he were not equal to him in power, wisdom, truth, mercy, &c.?" The Editor here omits to quote the very next line, "FOR the Father loveth *the Son,* and *sheweth* him all things that himself doeth," in which the preposition "for" assigns reasons for the Son's doing what the Father doth; i. e. since the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him his works, the Son is enabled to do what he sees the Father do. To the Editor's query, "What finite being could understand all that God doth, if shewn him?" I reply, Divine wisdom will of course not shew anything to one whom it has not previously enabled to comprehend it. How could the following passages escape the memory of the Editor, when he put the question: Amos iii. 7, "Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets;" Psalm xxv. 14, "The *secret* of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will *shew them* his covenant"? Did not they understand all that was shewn and revealed unto them? If they did, were they, in consequence, all infinite beings, as the Editor argues, from this circumstance, Jesus is?

The Editor proceeds to say, "Jesus adds, 'For as the Father quickeneth the dead, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will.' Here, then, he declares himself equal with the Father in sovereignty of will as well as in almighty power." The Editor again omits a part of the sentence which runs thus: "So the Son quickeneth whom he will; FOR the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son." Does not the latter part of the sentence shew clearly,

that the power which the Son enjoyed in quickening those whom he chose, was entirely owing to the commission given him by the Father? In order to weaken the force of verse 22, the Editor says, "The Father, however, whose it is equally with the son, commits all judgment to the Son, as the incarnate mediator between God and man, because he is the Son of Man." My readers may observe, that if Jesus received all power of judging men in his human nature, he must have quickened whom he pleased, as the consequence of that power, in his human capacity; how, then, could the Editor infer the deity of Jesus from one circumstance (quickening the dead) which entirely depends upon another, the power of judging,) enjoyed by him in his human nature? Lest it should be supposed that individual instances of the dead being raised by Jesus is here meant, I may just mention that he exercised this power in common with other prophets.

As to his assertion, that the work of judging mankind belongs, by nature, equally to the Son and to the Father, I only refer the Editor to Matt. xix. 28, and Luke xxii. 29, 30, in which the apostles are represented as invested with the power of judging the Twelve Tribes of Israel, and to 1 Cor. vi. 2, which ascribes the power of judging the world to righteous men; and I hope that the Editor will be convinced, from these authorities, that the "work of judging mankind" does not belong, by nature, to the Son and to the Father." He introduces, in the course of this argument, John viii. 58, and Rev. i. 8, which I have often examined in the preceding pages.

He at last comments on verse 23, "That all men should honour the Son as they honour the Father," saying, that "to this glorious declaration of the Son's Godhead, our author merely objects, that this means likeness in nature and quality, and not in exact degree of honour. But what are the nature and quality of the honour paid to God the Father? Divine honour of the highest kind and such as can be given to no creature." The phrases, "to honour God, and to adore God," are used in quite different senses; the latter being peculiarly applicable to God, but the former generally implying only such manifestation of reverence as one may bestow on his father, or on another worthy of respect. Mal. i. 6: "A son honoureth his father, and a servant his master: if then I be *a Father*, where is mine honour, &c.?" Here God requires the same kind of honour to be paid him as is due to a father. Does God here bring himself, in consequence, to a level with a parent? 1 Sam. ii. 30: "But now the

Lord saith, Be it far from me: for them that honour me, I will honour."—Here the manifestation of honour between God and men is reciprocal; but in any sense whatsoever, no worship can be reciprocally offered by God and his creatures. The Editor again advances, that " the fact is, that this phrase '*as*,' really refers to degree as well as to nature; see Matt. xx. 14: 'I will give unto this last even as unto thee,' that is, precisely as much as one penny." I deny the accuracy of this rule of the Editor, since "as," in almost all instances, refers either to degree or nature, or to some kind of resemblance, a few of which I shall here notice. Gal. iv. 14, Paul says to the Galatians. "But received me *as an angel of* God, even *as Christ Jesus*." Did Paul permit the Galatians to receive him with precisely the same kind of honour, both in kind and degree, as was due to Christ Jesus? Matt. x. 25: "It is enough for the disciple that he *be as his master*, and the servant as his Lord," &c. Did Matthew mean here precise equality in kind and degree, between a disciple and his master, and a servant and his Lord? xix. 19: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Did the Saviour mean here, that precisely the same quality and degree of love, which one entertains towards himself, should be entertained towards others? Gen. iii. 22: "Behold the man is become *as* one of us." Did Adam then become, both in nature and degree, equally wise with the Omniscient God? Now, my readers will judge whether or not such a phrase as "men should, or may, honour the Son as they honour the Father," equalizes the Son, in nature and degree, with the father. As to the verse above-quoted, (Matt. xx. 14), it implies sameness in degree, and not necessarily sameness in kind, for the same sum may be given in different currency. The Editor quotes Heb. iii. 3, 4, in order to shew "in what sense the Prophet to be sent was like Moses." As I examined this verse in page 365, I will not recur to it again. I only remind the Editor of Deut. xviii. 15, 18, where he will perceive in what sense Jehovah himself drew a likeness between the Saviour and Moses, which passage is repeated in Acts iii. 22, and also of St. Matthew xvii. 3, as well as of Mark ix. 4, wherein they express a wish to manifest the same reverence to the Saviour as to Moses and Elias; but it is quite optional with the Editor to treat Moses in any manner he pleases.

In answer to his inquiry. "Why should it offend our author, that when the Son, for the suffering of death, took upon him the form of a servant, &c., ?" my reply is, that it does not offend me in the least; but

I must confess, that such an expression as "when God, for the suffering of death, took upon him the form of a servant," seems to me very extraordinary, as my idea of God is quite at variance with that of a being subjected to death and servitude.

The Editor overlooked several other passages, quoted by me, among which there was Matt. xx. 23: "To sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not mine to give, but to them for whom it is prepared of my Father."

He perhaps hesitated to rely on the sophistry used by the orthodox, that Jesus denied being possessed of almighty power only in his human capacity. The Editor, it is possible, perceived, that as the *gift* of all power to Jesus, mentioned in Matt. xxviii. 18, is explained by the orthodox of his human capacity; the *denial* of almighty power could not, therefore, be understood of that *very human nature* in which he is said to have possessed it.

FIFTH POSITION.

The Editor says, that "our author's objections to the fifth position, that Jesus's having all judgment committed to him, proves his omniscience, have been so fully met already, that scarcely anything remains to be added."

In answer to which, I have only to say, that the arguments adduced by the Editor having been previously noticed, it is therefore left to my readers to examine them, and to come to a determination whether they tend to prove the omniscience of the Son or not. The Editor, however, adds here, that omniscience is essential to the act of judging mankind. As I have already dwelt much on this subject in the preceding paragraph, I beg to refer my readers to them, wherein they will find that the Son's knowledge of the events of this world extends no farther than as respects the office of judging mankind; that others are declared to be vested with the power of judging the world as well as the Son; and that the Son positively denies his omniscience in Mark xiii. 32. The Editor concludes by saying, that "his (Father's) giving him 'to have life in himself,' refers wholly to his being the mediator in human flesh." It settles the question at once, that whenever and in whatever capacity Jesus is declared to have had life, he had it as a gift of the Father; and the object of our inquiry and reverence is the Son endowed with life, and not one destitute of it.

SIXTH POSITION.

The Editor begins by observing, that "to the sixth position, that Jesus accepted worship due to God alone, our author objects, 'That the word 'worship,' both in common acceptation and scriptural writings, is used sometimes as implying an external mark of religious reverence paid to God, and at other times as signifying merely the token of civil respect due to superiors; that those who worshipped Jesus did not believe him to be God, or one of the three persons of the Godhead; and Jesus, in his acknowledged human capacity, never prayed to himself, or directed his followers to worship or pray to him.' Granting that 'worship' in English, and προσυκνξω in Greek, are sometimes used to denote civil respect, and that the worship paid by the servant to his master, Matt. xviii. 26, and by the people to David, meant merely civil respect, still the position is not touched in the least degree." The reason which the Editor assigns for this position not being touched, is, that "whether the blind man, the lepers, the mariners, and others, knew what they did in worshipping Jesus, is not so much the question, as whether Jesus knew; for if he suffered them, even through ignorance, to yield him divine worship, when Peter did not suffer it in Cornelius for a moment, unless he were God, he must have had less discernment or less piety and concern for the Divine honour than his own disciples." P. 618.

As the Editor agrees that the term "'worship, in English' and προσκυνξω in Greek, are sometimes used to denote civil respect," it is of course necessary to ascertain whether the blind man, &c., knew what they did in worshipping Jesus: that is, whether they meant to bestow civil respect, or to offer religious reverence. But from all the local circumstances which I pointed out in the Second Appeal, it is evident that they, as well as Jesus, knew that they were manifesting civil respect only by worshipping him, in the same way as it is evident, from the circumstances of David's not declining to receive worship from the people and Daniel from king Nebuchadnezzar, that the people and king intended merely civil respect to them. As to Peter's rejection of the worship offered him by Cornelius, it may easily be accounted for, since, as Jesus was endowed with the power of knowing things connected with his divine commission, so Peter had the knowledge of secret events concerning his apostolic duty. From the language which the blind man and others used, and from his knowledge of

their thoughts, the Saviour, like other ancient prophets, gave a tacit consent to the worship (or, properly speaking, civil reverence) offered by them: while Peter rejected the worship offered him by Cornelius, knowing that he meant it as an external mark of religious reverence, which was due to God alone, as is evident from the language of Peter, "I myself am a man." Having already noticed the exclamation of Thomas I shall not recur to the subject in this place.

The Editor says, "Was Stephen (ignorant) when he committed to him his departing soul in language similar to that in which Christ on the cross had committed his spirit to the Father?"

The language of Stephen alluded to by the Editor, and that of Christ, bears little resemblance. Among the many expressions attributed to Jesus on the cross, none of them resemble the invocation of Stephen, except that given in Luke xxiii. 46, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" which is natural for every human being having any idea of God, or feelings of devotion on the approach of death. Stephen's exclamation (Acts vii. 59, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit") was merely an application to Jesus in preference to the angels of death, whom he expected to receive his soul and convey it to the bosom of the Divinity. The notion of angels of death receiving and conveying away the spirit at the time of dissolution, is familiar to the Jews, in common with other Eastern nations, as appears from their traditions, and from Prov. xvi. 14, "The wrath of a king is as messengers" (in the Hebrew, properly, "angels") "of death"—i. e. in a despotic country, the displeasure of the tyrant is equivalent to death. From Stephen's saying, that he saw "the *Son of Man standing* on the right hand of God," we may easily perceive the notion which he had formed of the nature of Jesus Christ.

As to Christ's offering prayers and worship to the Father, and directing his apostles to do so, the Editor attributes them to the "state of humiliation in which his infinite love to sinners had placed him." If Jesus deemed it necessary, in his human capacity, to offer up prayers, thanksgiving, and worship, to God the Father alone, notwithstanding he was *filled* bodily with God the Son, (according to the Editor,) and to direct his apostles to follow his example, is it not incumbent upon us also, in following his pattern, to thank, pray to, and worship the Father *alone*, as long as *we* are human? But the truth is, that the assertion of the Editor, attributing Christ's devotion

towards God to his human nature, is entirely unsupported by scriptural authority.

The Editor further says, that if Jesus were not God, the apostles, the primitive saints, and the angels in heaven, would be guilty of idolatry, and the Eternal Father of encouraging it.

To quit the Father and Jesus Christ of the charge of encouraging idolatry, and the apostles, and the saints, and the angels, of the sin of idol worship, it suffices to quote Matthew iv. 10, Α υτῳ μονῳ λατρευσ εις "Him only shalt thou serve." This commandment of the Father of the universe, to be found in Deut. vi. 13, repeated and communicated to Christians by the most exalted among the prophets (who enjoins religious adoration to be offered to the Father *alone*) sufficiently vindicates God and his Christ from the above charge. The apostles so strictly observed this divine communication through their Master, under the Christian dispensation, that, throughout the *whole* New Testament, they applied exclusively to *God alone* this verb, λατρευω, (rendered in the English version "*to serve*,") and not once to Jesus, or to any other being in any book of the New Testament; while, on similar occasions, they used for him or others the verbs δουλευω or διακονεω, rendered also in the English version "*to serve*", which tends no less to vindicate them. They further pronounce those who *serve* (from the verb λατρευω) any one except God, to be rebels and idolators,—Rom. i. 25; Acts vii. 42. I now entreat the Editor to examine the subject, and, by following the example of the apostles and primitive saints, glorify a religion intended to be raised far above the debasement of idolatry.

THE SEVENTH AND LAST POSITION.

The Editor having attempted to prove the deity of the Son, and the personality of the Holy Ghost, from the circumstance of their names being associated with that of the Father of the universe, I observed in my Second Appeal, that "a profession of belief in God is unquestionably common to all religions supposed to have been founded upon the authority of the Old Testament; but each is distinguished from the other by a public profession of faith in their respective founders, expressing such profession in a language that may clearly exhibit the inferior nature of those founders to the Divine Being, of whom they declare themselves the messengers." "The Jews claim that they have revelation rendering a belief not in God alone, but in Moses also, incumbent upon them. Exod. xiv. 31:

'The people feared the Lord, and believed the Lord, and his servant Moses' (to which Jesus also refers in John v. 45, 'There is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye *trust*'). If baptism were administered to one embracing Christianity, in the name of the Father and Holy Spirit, he would thereby no more become enrolled as a Christian than as a Jew or a Mohummudan; for both of them, in common with Christians, would readily submit to be baptized in the name of God, or his prevailing influence over the universe." I afterwards added, in the discussion respecting the Holy Spirit, that "God is invariably represented in revelation as the main object of belief, receiving worship and prayers that proceed from the heart through the first-born of every creature, the Messiah, ('No man cometh unto the Father but by me,') and leading such as worship him in spirit, to righteous conduct, and ultimately to salvation, through his guiding influence, which is called the Holy Spirit ('When he, the spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you unto all truth'). There is, therefore, a moral obligation on those who avow the truth of such revelation, to profess their belief in God as the sole object of worship; and in the Son, through whom they, as Christians, should offer divine homage; and also in the holy influence of God, from which they should expect direction in the paths of righteousness, as the consequence of their sincere prayer and supplication. For the same reason also, in publicly adopting this religion, it is proper that those who receive it should be baptized in the name of the Father, who is the object of worship; of the Son, who is the mediator; and of that influence by which spiritual blessings are conveyed to mankind, designated in scripture as the Comforter, Spirit of Truth, or Holy Spirit." And to prove the error of the idea that the association of names of individuals with that of God, in a religious profession or belief, which is more essential than any external mark of profession, could identify or equalize those individuals with God, I quoted, Exod. xiv. 31, which I have just repeated, and 2 Chron. xx. 20, "Jehoshaphat stood and said, Hear me, O Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem; believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; believe his Prophets, so shall ye prosper,"—wherein the names of Moses and the Prophets of God are associated with that of the Deity. Besides, I observed to the Editor, that "fire worshippers, for instance, insisting on the literal sense of the words, in example of the Reverend Editor, might refer to that text in the 3rd chapter of Matthew, repeated in

Luke iii. 16, in which it is announced that Jesus 'will baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire;' and they might contend, that if the association, in the rite of baptism, of the names of the son and Holy Ghost with that of the Father be supposed to prove their divinity, it is clear that Fire also, being associated with the Holy Ghost in the same rite, must likewise be considered as a part of the Godhead." He keeps all these arguments out of view, and, according to his usual mode of reasoning, repeats again in his reply what he thought the purport of Heb. i. 10, Rev. ii. 29, and has recourse again to the angel of Bochim, &c., which, having no relation to the subject in question, and having been often examined in the preceding pages, I shall pass by here. His only remark concerning this last position is, that "had the passage" (respecting *belief in God and his servant Moses)* "quoted from Exod. xix. 31, been *that* formulary, instead of being a part of a narrative, the omission in the baptismal rite of the clause 'his servant,' would have been fatal to his objection. If, then, the phrase 'his servant,' marks the inferior nature of this messenger of God, the omission of it in the circumstances just mentioned, unavoidably proves the equality of the Father and the Son," &c. In the first place, it is too obvious to need proof, that every circumstance mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures, even in the form of narrative, if approved of God, is worthy of attention, though not stated in the formulary of a religious rite. But, in the second place, the passage quoted by me from 2 Chronicles, is a commandment enjoining belief in God and his Prophets, even with the omission, so much desired by our Editor, of the term "his *servants*," Does this formulary, I ask, with the omission of the term "his *servants*," prove the equality of the Father and the Prophets, from the circumstance of their being associated with God in a solemn religious injunction?

In the third place, the term "Son," equally with the word "servant," denotes the inferiority of Jesus as plainly as any expression intended to denote inferiority can possibly do. But the Editor says, that "never was there a more humble begging of the question than the assertion that the epithet 'Son' ought to be understood and admitted by every one as expressing the created nature of Christ;—Why ought it thus to be understood and admitted?" I answer, because common sense tells us that a son, as well as a servant, must be acknowledged to be inferior to his father or master. Again, we find David called the

son of God, Solomon the Son of God, Adam the Son of God, and, in short, the whole children of Israel denominated sons of God, yet represented in scripture as inferior to God their Father; nay, moreover, Jesus the Son of God positively declares himself to be inferior to his Father,—" My Father is greater than I."

Our Editor puts again another query, (p. 622,) "Can he ever prove that among men a son must be of a nature inferior to his father?" I reply by putting another question to him: Can the Editor ever prove, that among men a servant *must be* of a nature inferior to his master? If he cannot, are we to suppose Moses, a servant of God, equal in nature with the Deity? The fact is, that among men a servant, a son, and a grandson, are of the same nature with their masters, or fathers; but when creation is not effected in the ordinary course of nature, there need not be, and is not, an identity of nature between one who is called father, and another called son; so when service is performed by *men* to others not of their own kind, oneness of nature is not necessarily found between the servant and the person served.

The Editor concludes the proposition, saying that "Our author declines renewing the subject relative to Christ's declaration, 'Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world', which, however, we are not aware he has ever yet discussed." The fact is, in examining Matt. xviii. 20, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," which the Editor quoted to establish the ubiquity of the Son, I inquired in my Second Appeal, "Is it not evident that the Saviour meant here, by being in the midst of two or three of his disciples, his guidance to them when joined together in searching for the truth? We find similar expressions in the Scriptures, wherein the guidance of the Prophets of God is also meant by words that would imply their presence." Luke xvi. 29: "Abraham said unto him, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them." And upon the Editor's quoting Matt. xxviii. 20, "I am with you always, even to the end of the world," in all probability to establish the ubiquity of Jesus, I said in my Second Appeal, "I will not renew the subject, as it has been already discussed in examining the first position;" having shewn there that, by the presence of Christ and that of other Prophets that may be observed in any part of the Bible, their spiritual guidance should be understood. My readers, therefore, may judge whether or not the

purport of the last-mentioned verse is connected with the subject discussed in examining the first position. I entreat the Editor, however, to reflect on the last phrase of the verse in question, i. e. "always to the end of the world," which, so far from evincing Christ's eternal existence, implies that his influence over his disciples extended only to the end of the world, when he shall be himself subject to the Father of the universe, 1 Cor. xv. 28.

CHAPTER VI.

On the Holy Spirit and other subjects.

I EXPRESSED my surprise, in my Second Appeal, at the Editor's having "noticed, in so short and abrupt a manner, the question of the personality and deity of the Holy Ghost, although the Editor esteems the Son and the Spirit as equally distinct persons of the Godhead." I feel now still more surprised to observe, that the Editor, in his present review also has noticed, in the same brief manner, the personality of the Holy Ghost; as, while he fills more than a hundred pages in support of the deity of the *second* person, he has not allowed even a single page to the question of the *third*. He, at the same time, overlooks almost all the arguments I have advanced against his feeble attempt to prove the personality and deity of the Holy Spirit, and in many other places of the Second Appeal. The Editor, however, first says, that "If he in whom dwelt all truth, has declared him (the Holy Ghost, in Matt. xxviii. 19) to be as distinct in person, and as worthy of worship and adoration, as the Father and himself, no further evidence is needed either to his personality or Godhead." Had the Editor thought the quotation of a single verse a sufficient excuse for avoiding the discussion of the personality of the Holy Ghost, he might have, on the same ground, omitted to discuss the subject of the deity of Jesus Christ, by noticing, in like manner, a single verse of scripture, which he considered as a proof of the divine nature of the Son, and thus saved me the trouble of a long controversy. If the association of names, in a religious rite, were to be admitted as a proof of the personality of the Holy Spirit, the power of God, another divine attribute, should be considered God himself, it being also mentioned jointly with the Holy Spirit in the rite of Unction (Acts x. 38); and Fire also should be supposed to be a distinct person of the Godhead, because we find Fire associated with the Holy Ghost, in the same rite of baptism, as I before observed (Luke iii. 16); but I shall not recur to this subject, having fully examined it.

Notwithstanding my plain declaration, in the Second appeal, that "with respect to the Holy Ghost, I must confess my inability to find a *single passage* in the whole Scriptures, in which the Spirit is

addressed as God, or as a person of God, so as to afford believers of the Trinity an excuse for their profession of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost;" the Editor thought it advisable not to dwell on the subject, and only observes, "Were it needful, indeed, a rich fulness of scripture proof could be adduced respecting the Holy Spirit, as well as the Son; but the selection of a few passages will be quite sufficient." These are as follows: the first are from the Gospel of St. John, xvi. 13, 26; xvi. 8, 11; and the last are from Acts x. 20, and xii. 2. The Editor here overlooks entirely what I stated in the Second Appeal, on this very point; this is, if from the consideration of such expressions as, "God will send the Holy Spirit," "The Holy Spirit will teach you." The Holy Spirit will reprove the world," "The Holy Spirit will glorify me," the Spirit be acknowledged a separate person of the Deity, what would the Editor say of other attributes, such as mercy, wrath, truth, &c., which are also, in a similar manner, pesonified in various instances? Psalm lvii. 3: "God shall *send forth* his mercy and truth." lxxxv. 10: "Mercy and truth are *met* together; righteousness and peace have *kissed* each other. lxxxix. 14: "Mercy and truth shall go before thy face." xciv 18: "My foot slippeth; Thy Mercy, O Lord, held me up." "Thy mercy, O Lord, is in the heavens." "For there is wrath gone out from the Lord," (Numb. xvi. 46.)

In the course of citing the above verses of John and Acts, the Editor quotes Acts v. 3: "Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Spirit?" 4. "Thou hast not lied unto men but unto God;" whence he concludes, that he that lieth to the Holy Spirit lieth to God, and, consequently, the Spirit is God. On this inference I have already observed, in my former Appeal, that any sin or blasphemy against one of the attributes of God, is, of course, accounted a sin or blasphemy against God himself. But this admission amounts neither to a recognition of the self-existence of the attribute, nor of its identity with God. I then referred the editor to Matt. x. 40, "He that receiveth me;" and now I beg his attention to 1 Cor. viii. 12, "But when ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ." Do these passages identify or equalize the apostles of Jesus, with himself? Nothing but early acquired and long established prejudices can prevent any literary character from perceiving such a gross error. As to Acts x. 20, if the speaker be admitted, according to the Editor, as a separate person,

he must then be identified either with the spirit of Cornelius, who had actually sent the three men mentioned in ver. 19, as is evident from ver. 8, or with the angel of God, who ordered Cornelius to send them to Peter, (ver. 5,) a conclusion which would not, after all, suit the purpose of the Editor. I entreat the Editor to take notice, at least, of some of my arguments against the personality of the Holy Spirit, mentioned in Chapter vi. of the Second Appeal or, if he declines adventuring on this point of theology, let him candidly reduce the supposed persons of the Godhead from a Trinity to Duality, and this point being gained, I may then continue my efforts with renewed hope of reducing this Duality to the everlasting and indivisible Unity.

The Editor concludes his Essay with saying, (p. 624,) "The deity and the personality of the Son and the Holy Spirit being established, the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity needs no further confirmation : it follows of course. We shall, therefore, close our testimonies form Scripture, by laying before our readers three passages, which bring the sacred Three full into view. The first we select from Isaiah xlviii. 13, in which one is introduced who previously declares, 'My hand also hath laid the foundation of the earth,' &c., and whom, therefore, we are at no loss to recognize. He, however, declares, verse 16, 'and now the Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me.'" Now, supposing the person who declares himself, in verse 16, to have been sent by the Lord God and his Spirit, is one of the persons of the Godhead, whose hand hath laid the foundation of the earth, according to the Editor : this admission would be so far advantageous to the cause of the Editor, as respects the plurality of persons in the deity ; but it would be totally fatal to his grand object, since it would substitute Isaiah as a divine person, in the place of Jesus Christ. Isaiah the prophet is the grand speaker throughout the whole of his book ; who declares himself often to have been sent by God as a messenger to Israel. He often speaks abruptly in behalf of God, as if God were speaking himself in the course of his own discourse, as I noticed previously, and sometimes again he suddenly introduces his own sentiments, while he is announcing the words of Jehovah, without making any distinction. I mention here only a few instances. Isaiah lxiii. 6 : "I will tread down the people in mine anger, and make them drunk in my fury, and I will bring down their strength to the earth." (7.) "*I will* mention the loving-kindness of the Lord,

and the praises of the Lord, according to all that the Lord hath bestowed on us." Does not the Prophet *introduce himself*, in verse 7, most abruptly, while speaking himself in behalf of God, in verse 6; Ch. I. 3: "I clothe the heavens with blackness, and I make sackcloth their covering." (4.) "The Lord God hath *given me* the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary," &c. Here the Prophet introduces himself, in verse 4, in the same abrupt manner, without intimation of any change of person.

I now cite the context of the very verse of Isaiah quoted by the Editor, to enable my readers to judge how far "it brings the sacred Three fully into view." (14.) "All ye (the inhabitants of Judah) assemble yourselves, and hear; who among them (Israel) hath declared these things? The Lord hath loved him (Cyrus* of Persia, the conqueror of Babylon). He (the Lord) will do *his pleasure on Babylon*, and his arm shall be on the Chaldeans." (15.) "I, even I, have spoken; yea, I have *called him*, (Cyrus,) I have brought him, and he shall make his way prosperous." (16.) "Come ye near unto me, (says the Prophet,) hear ye this, I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; from the time that it was, there am I: (that is, from the first time of these events:) and now the Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me." (17.) Expressions similar to the phrase, "From the time that it was, there am I," are often used by the Prophets. *Vide* Jer. i. 5: "And before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a Prophet unto the nations," And so Isaiah xlix. 1. No one, I presume, that ever read, even with common attention, the book of Isaiah, (in which speakers are introduced without any distinction, more frequently than in the other scriptural books,) would attempt to prove the Trinity or the Deity of Jesus Christ, from the passage quoted by the Editor, unless he is previously biassed by some human creed, and thereby absolutely prevented from comparing impartially one passage with the other.

The Editor perhaps means the personality and the deity of the Holy Spirit by the phrase, "The Lord God and his Spirit hath sent

* Isaiah xliv. 7: "And who as I, *shall call* and shall declare it?" &c. (28) "That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure." xlvi. 11: "*Calling* a ravenous bird from the *east*, the man that *executeth my counsel* from a far country: yea, I have spoken it, I will also *bring it* to pass; I have purposed it, I will also do it."

me,'† (verse 16), seemingly representing the Spirit of God as a co-operator with himself. He might, in that case, on the same ground, endeavour to establish the personality and the deity of *Righteousness*, another attribute of the Deity, as being represented with God as an agent in Isaiah lix. 16, "Therefore his arm brought salvation unto him, and his Righteousness, it sustained him." And he might also attempt to prove the personality and deity of the breath of God, which is, in like manner, represented as a co-operator with the Spirit of God. Job xxxiii. 4: "The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of him hath given life." Is this the best of the proofs of the Trinity with which the Editor closes his testimonies? If such be his proof, I am at a loss to guess what his illustrations will be. The second passage, quoted by the Editor, is what I have just examined before. The third is, 2 Cor. xiii. 4, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you all. Amen." Here the apostle prays, that the guidance of Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the constant operation of the holy influence of God, may be with Christians, since without the guidance of Jesus, no one can be thoroughly impressed with the love of the Deity under the Christian dispensation, nor can that love of God continue to exist unless preserved by divine influence; a fact which I have demonstrated, in examining Matt. xxviii. 19. But what has this passage to do with the proof of the deity of Jesus and the personality of the Holy Spirit? Does not Paul call the Philippians partakers of *his own* grace? Phil. i. 17. Is not every man pure in heart declared to be possessed of the grace of his lips; that is, verbal instructions? Prov. xxii. 11. Is not, in Psalm xxiii. 6, the communion of goodness and mercy desired for all the days of life? Can such expressions be also considered as proofs of the deity of Paul, or of the personality of these attributes? I hope and pray, the Editor may take all those circumstances into his serious consideration.

I now examine the remaining few of those passages which I intended to notice in a subsequent chapter of this Essay. The first is, Zech. xii. 10, "In that day they shall look upon me whom they have pierced," compared with John xix. 37, "They shall look on him

† In the original Hebrew, the last phrase stands thus; "The Lord Jehovah hath sent me and his Spirit," which bear two constructions; first, "The Lord Jehovah hath sent me, and hath sent his Spirit." The second is "The Lord Jehovah and his Spirit hath sent me."

whom they pierced." To shew the error in the translation of the verse in the English version, I quoted in my Second Appeal, the verse in the original Hebrew, and a translation thereof from the Arabic Bible and another from the Septuagint, with a literal English translation, which I repeat: "And they shall look toward me on account of him whom they have pierced." But in order to destroy the validity of the Arabic Bible and that of the Septuagint, the Editor says, that "the Greek and Arabic versions are nothing to the original text itself." I perfectly agree with him in this assertion, but I am convinced, that the Editor must be better acquainted than myself with the prevailing and continued practice among Christian theologians, to have recourse to the versions, especially to the Septuagint, when a dispute arises in the interpretation of any text of the Old Testament, and to give preference to the authority of the Septuagint, even over that of Jerome's, which the Editor quotes in opposition to the Arabic and Greek versions.

As to the original text, the Editor first observes, that "as to the particle את *eth*, which the best Hebrew grammars define a particle marking the accusative case governed by active verbs, or an emphatic particle denoting the very thing itself." I therefore think it proper to quote Parkhurst's opinion on the particle את *eth*, from his Hebrew Lexicon, that my readers may judge whether or not the above rule, laid down by the Editor, is founded upon good authority. Parkhurst (p. 48): "The Lexicons say, that when joined with a verb, it (*eth*) denotes the *accusative* case, if the verb be *active*; see Gen. i. 1 and al. freq., but the *nominative*, if the verb be *passive* or *neuter*, Gen. xxvii. 45; Deut. xx. 8: Josh. vii. 15, &c., al. freq. But, in truth, it is the sign of no particular case, that *distinction* being *unknown* in *Hebrew*. See Josh. xxii. 17; Ezek. xxxv. 10; Numb. x. 2; 1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 Sam. xv. 23; Neh. ix. 19, 34; 2 Kings vi. 5." Parkhurst gives also the second meaning of this particle—"2, *with*, *to*, *towards*, Exod. i, 1. Deut. vii. 8." which the Editor also partially admits.

The fact is, this particle denotes an accusative case as well as other cases, and also stands for the English prepositions, "with," "for," "towards," &c., and therefore, the verse in question, as it is found in our Hebrew copies of the Old Testament should indisputably be thus read, in consistence with its context, 31: "And they shall look towards me, for (or on account of) him whom they have

pierced," or "They shall look upon me with him whom they have pierced.*

The Editor quotes, to my great surprise, (in page 546,) some verses in which the particle את requires an accusative case, and consequently, no preposition "for," "to," or "with," can be properly placed. But I beg to ask the Editor, how he can turn the following verses to his purpose, wherein no accusative case after the particle את can be at all admitted? Exodus i. 1: "Now these are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt; every man and his household came *with* Jacob." Would the Editor thus render the particle here requiring an accusative case,—"every man and his household came Jacob"? Would the verse in this case bear any sense? Gen. xliv. 4: הם יצאו את העיר "They were gone *out* of the city." There the particle stands for "out of," or "from," iv. 1: "I have gotten a man *from* the Lord." Here the preposition "from" is substituted for this very Hebrew particle. In Deut. vii, 8, we have כי מאהבת יהוה אתכם literally, "on account of the love of God for you," though thus rendered in the English version, "Because the Lord loved you."†

In the course of examining this subject, the Editor quotes, "Thy throne, O Jehovah, is for ever and ever." I shall feel obliged, if he will kindly let me know from what book of the Old or New Testament he has selected this verse, containing the term "Jehovah," in the first part of the text.

As to my remarks on Zech. xiii. 7, "Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow, saith Jehovah of hosts; smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered," the Editor agrees partly with me; saying, "No one doubts that the

* Newcome reads, "And they shall look on him whom they pierced." His note on this translation is as follows: "On him] Thirty-six MSS. and two ed read אליו: three other MSS. read so originally; six perhaps read so; six read so now, and eleven have אליו in the margin, as Keri. And yet אלי *on me*, may be traced in the ancient versions and Chald. אליו was also noted as a various lection by R Saadias, who lived about the year 900 See Kenn. diss. gen. § 43 'Citant אליו Talmud et R. Saadias Haggaion. Poc. Append. in Mal.' Secker. Dr. Owen shews that Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Barnabas favour the reading of אליו Inquiry—Sept. Version, Sect. iv."

† Archbishop Secker, in Newcome, has the following remark: "Potest את אשר notare *eo quod*, utvertunt ó ch. vel *quem*. ד Vide Nold. Et sic post Dativum adhibetur, Jer. xxxviii. 9."

Saviour placed himself in subjection to the Father, when he condescended to become subject to death." He, however, wishes to prove the deity of Jesus Christ by the application of the word *fellow* (עמית) to him. He here quotes Micah v. 2, "Whose goings forth were from everlasting;" and John i. 1, "And the word was with God," which have no relation to the term עמית or *fellow* found in the verse in question; and as these quotations of the Editor have been examined in pp. 433, 448, I shall not recur to them in this place. He lastly quotes Parkhurst, to shew that עמית "implies a neighbour, a member of the same society." Is not this quotation, defining the Hebrew word עמית as "a neighbour," directly against the object of the Editor? If Christ is represented, either in a real or figurative sense, as standing on the *right hand* of the Deity, taking precedence of all those that believe in him as the promised Messiah sent from God, would it be inconsistent in itself, or an acknowledgment of his deity, to use the word עמית or neighbour, for Christ? My readers will observe, from the following quotations, that this very term עמית which is rendered *fellow* in the verse in question, is translated "neighbour" by the very authors of the English version, in many other instances. Levit. vi. 2, "or hath deceived his *neighbour*." The last word is a translation of the term עמית xix. 17, "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy '*neighbour*,'" or *immeeth*: ch. xxv. 14, 15.

The Editor, in speaking of Christ, repeats, now and then, the phrase, "God blessed for ever," perhaps alluding to Romans ix. 5. Among all the interpretations given to this text, for or against the Trinity, there is the Paraphrase of Locke, of whose name the literary world is so justly proud, which I here first quote:—"Had the patriarchs, to whom the promises were made, for their (the Israelites) forefathers; and of them, as to his fleshly* extraction, Christ is come, he who is over all, God be blessed for ever, Amen," Secondly, I shall cite here some scriptural passages to shew that it was customary with Jewish writers to address abrupt exclamations to God while treating of some other subjects, that my readers may be convinced that the sudden introduction of the phrase, "God be blessed for ever, in ver. 5, by St. Paul, was perfectly consistent with the style of the sacred writings. Psalm lxxxix. 51, 52: "Wherewith thine enemies have reproached, O Lord; wherewith they have reproached the

* *Vide* ver. the 3rd of the same chapter, in which Paul speaks of his "kinsmen according to the flesh."

footsteps of thine anointed. *Blessed be the Lord for evermore. Amen and Amen.*" Psalm civ. 35: "Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more. *Bless thou the Lord, O my soul. Praise ye the Lord.*"

If St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, and in that to the Ephesians, declares positively that the Father is the only being who has the right to the epithet "*God*," under the Christian dispensation, he could not, as an inspired writer, be guilty of so palpable a contradiction as to apply this very epithet to the Christ of God, on another occasion. 1 Cor. viii. 6: "But to us (Christians) there is but *one God the Father*.' Eph. i, 17: "That the God *of our Lord Jesus* Christ, the *Father* of glory," &c. iv. 5, 6: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism: *One God and Father of all*, who is above all, through *all*, and in us *all*."

Respecting 1 John v. 20, I beg to refer to the rule laid down by Bishop Middleton, (of whom the Editor speaks highly and justly, in p. 535,) in his work on the Greek Article, p. 79: "When two or more attributes joined by a copulative or copulatives, are *assumed* of the same person or thing, before the first attribute the article is *inserted*; before the remaining ones it is omitted." In the passage under consideration there are two attributes joined by a copulative, and in order to ascertain whether they are assumed of the *same* person, or of *different* persons, it is only necessary to observe, that the article is inserted not only before the first attribute, but also before the second, and that, consequently, "the true God" is one person, and "the eternal life" is another. This perfectly corresponds with the preceding part of the verse, in which "he that is true," and "his son Jesus Christ," are separately mentioned.

Finding the practice of the primitive Christians, during the first three centuries, unfavourable to his sentiments, the Editor prudently keeps it out of view altogether, merely observing, (p. 625,) into that "we do not even inquire. Paul tells us, that, even in his time, 'the mystery of iniquity' had already begun to work; and John adds, that 'many antichrists' had already gone out into the word." The Editor must be well aware that those in whom the mystery of iniquity was found, and who were detected as Antichrists, were not in the fellowship of true Christians, and consequently church histories treat of the practice of the latter entirely distinct from that of the former; and it is therefore evident, that practice and professions of primitive

Christians, who were, generally, the contemporaries of the apostles or their disciples, are worthy of inquiry for the regulation of the conduct of the Christians of these days.

As to Mosheim, the Editor says, "even Mosheim, suspected as he is of being unfavourable to the truth, establishes their faith in Christ's deity in the very passage quoted, p. 187, by our author against this doctrine." It appears from this question, that they, when baptized, "made solemn profession of their confidence in Christ." The Jews, as well as almost all the Gentiles, professed their belief in God; but the thing which was required of them by the apostles was, they should make profession of confidence in Jesus as the Christ of God, in the rite of baptism. If such a profession of confidence in Christ is admitted by the Editor as a sufficient acknowledgment of his deity, why should he be so hostile to those (whom he styles Unitarians) who are baptized in the name of Jesus, and also *profess* their solemn *confidence in him?* Still further am I surprised that, when the apostle John expressly wrote his Gospel to prove "that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God," (ch. xx. 31,) the Editor, so far from being satisfied with those who receive Jesus in the character expressed by these terms, ("the Christ, the Son of God,)" in the sense which they uniformly bear in the Scriptures, requires them, moreover, to believe that Jesus Christ is the very and eternal God, and thus not only defeats the object of the apostle, but even contradicts him in express language.

The Editor then proceeds to say, "Respecting Locke and Newton, our reply is precisely the same; their opinions in divinity are nothing to us." The Editor, elated by the general prevalence of the orthodox system, effected only by perversions of the sense of the divine writings, attempts to turn the authorities of these great men also to his own purpose. "If" (says he) "Locke, as our author affirms, (p. 264) really thought that the faith which makes men Christians includes their receiving Jesus Christ for their Lord and King, Locke knew that this included the belief of his omniscience and omnipresence, as, without this, his being their King was only a solemn mockery." The Editor prudently quotes here only a part of the sentence of Locke quoted by me, which he thought might give him an opportunity of making comments favourable to his creed; but it is fortunate for us that his works, being written and printed in English, are not liable to much critical perversion. Locke says, "that the believing Jesus to be the

Messiah includes in it a receiving him for our Lord and King, PROMISED AND SENT FROM GOD." The phrase chosen by that celebrated author, "*sent from God,*" denies the deity of Christ beyond doubt, since one sent by another is of course different from him who sends him. To avoid every misconstruction being thrown upon his definition, Locke chose the term' 'God," instead of any other term in the above phrase, that Jesus might be understood separately from God, without the least room for the sophistry that might represent him as God the Son, sent from God the Father. We, however, are not at a loss to discover what Locke meant by the terms "Lord and King," when referred to Jesus, as he fully explained them in his Paraphrase on the Epistles to the Corinthians. As to the term "*Lord,*" I refer to the note on 1 Cor. i. 2: "What the apostle means by "*Lord,* when he attributes it to Christ, vide viii. 6." Paraphrase on viii. 6: "Yet to us Christians there is but *one God, the Father and Author of all things,* to whom *alone* we address *all* our worship and service; and one Lord, viz. Jesus Christ by whom all things come *from* God *to us,* and by whom we have access to the Father." As to the term "*King,*" I quote his paraphrase on ch. xv, 24, which clearly represents his sovereignty as *finite*: "After that shall be the day of judgment, which shall bring to a conclusion and finish the whole dispensation to the race and posterity of Adam, in this world: when Christ shall have *delivered up the kingdom to God the Father,* which he shall not do till he hath destroyed all empire, power, and authority, that shall be in the world besides."

The Editor says of Sir Isaac Newton, "His belief of Christ's deity appears as clear as the light, from our author's own quotation, when he said that Christians of all ages are represented as worshipping God and the Lamb." Newton was too circumspect to leave his word liable to perversion by the popular opinion. He explains the sense in which Christians worship God, and also the sense in which they worship Jesus—the one as directly opposed to the other as the West to the East. Newton says, "God for his benefaction in *creating all things,* and the Lamb for his benefaction in *redeeming* with his blood: God as sitting upon the throne and living *for ever,* and the Lamb exalted above all *by the merits of his death.*" The worship offered to the latter is therefore merely a manifestation of reverence, as I pointed out in p. 481.

To equalize a being exalted and worshipped for his meritorious *death,* with the eternal Supreme Sovereign of the universe, is only

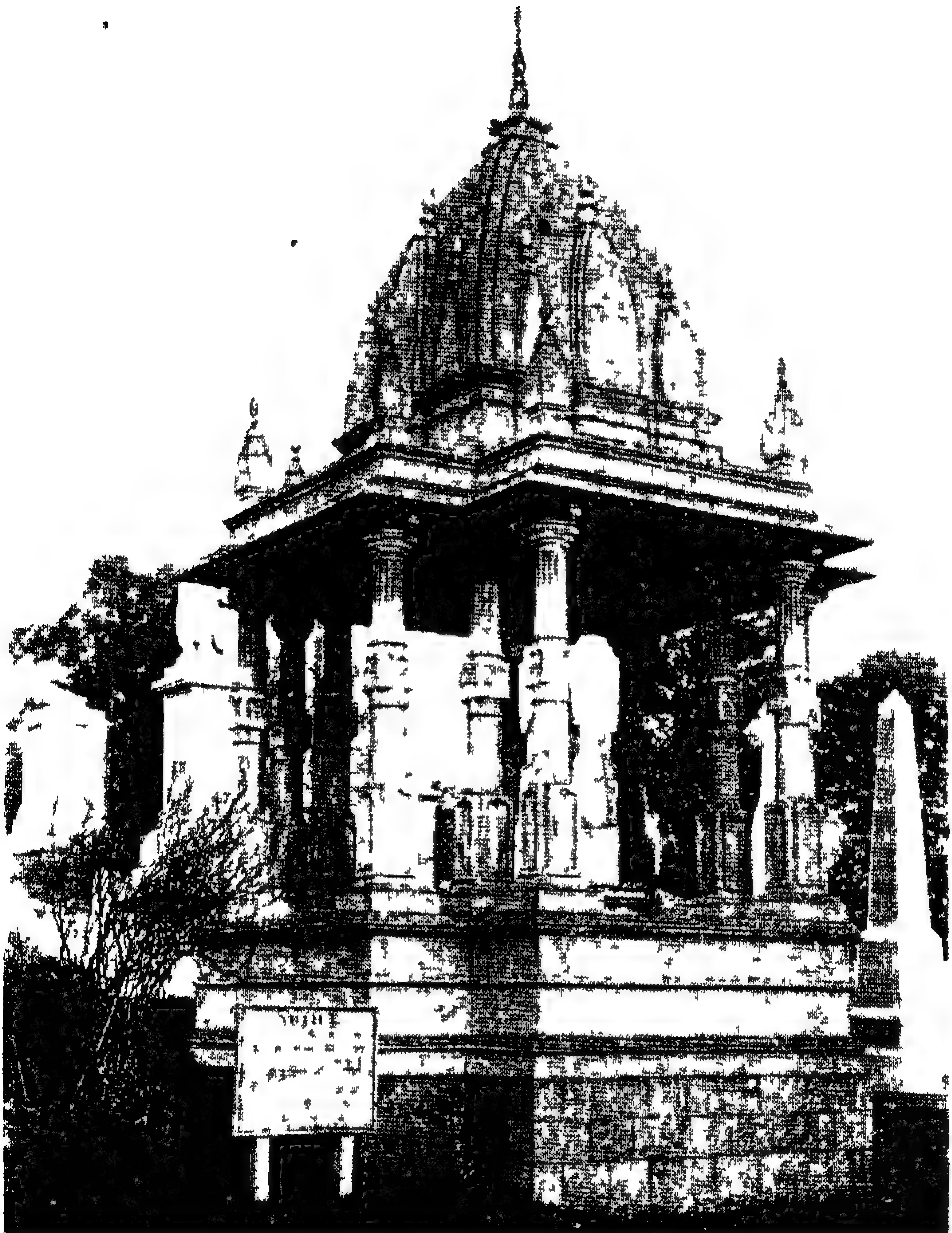
an attempt to bring the nature of the Deity on a level with a mortal creature, and by no means serves to elevate that creature to the rank of the Deity. If the Editor consider these quotations from Locke and Newton really orthodox, how inconsistent he must be in condemning those whose sentiments as to the person of Jesus Christ are precisely the same; to wit, that he is the anointed Lord and King promised and sent from God, is worthy of worship for his mediation and meritorious death, but by no means as a being possessed of a two-fold nature, divine and human, perfect God and perfect Man.

As to my remarks on certain abstruse reasonings resorted to by the orthodox, the Editor further says, that he needs them not, thereby avowedly relinquishing reason in support of the Trinity; but, happily, he asserts at the same time, that "to us the Scriptures are sufficient." I therefore entreat him to point out a single scriptural authority, treating of a compound God of three persons, and of a compound Messiah, one of these three persons, constituted of a two-fold nature, divine and human.

The Editor alludes to the term "antichrists," found in the Epistle of John; but I am glad that we most fortunately are furnished with the definition of this term by that inspired writer which decides at once the question who are the real subjects of its application. 1 John iv. 3: "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; and this is that spirit of antichrist." We accordingly rejoice to confess that Jesus Christ, who came in the flesh, is OF GOD, and that not only he, but his apostles also were of God (1 John iv. 6, v. 19.) But we feel sincerely for those who violate this standard, either by falling short of or going beyond it by denying that Jesus Christ is OF GOD, or by affirming that Jesus Christ is God himself, since both these assertions, to wit, "Jesus Christ is NOT of God," and "Jesus Christ is God," are equally incompatible with John's proposition, that "Jesus Christ is OF GOD." For example: The prime minister, by the law of the land, is appointed by the king, and consequently is acknowledged to be OF THE KING; to say, therefore, that he is not of the king would be to detract from the minister's dignity; but to say that the prime minister is the king, is not only inconsistent with the assertion that the prime minister is of the king, but would be pronounced high treason; in like manner as deifying the Christ of God is both an affront to God and an *antichristian* docrine.

Lastly, I tender my humble thanks for the Editor's kind suggestion in inviting me to adopt the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; but I am sorry to find that I am unable to benefit by this advice. After I have long relinquished every idea of a plurality of Gods, or of the persons of the Godhead, taught under different systems of modern Hindooism, I cannot conscientiously and consistently embrace one of a similar nature, though greatly refined by the religious reformations of modern times; since whatever arguments can be adduced against a plurality of persons of the Godhead; and, on the other hand, whatever excuse may be pleaded in favour of a plurality of persons of the Deity, can be offered with equal propriety in defence of Polytheism.

I now conclude my Essay by offering up thanks to the Supreme Disposer of the events of this universe, for having unexpectedly delivered this country from the long-continued tyranny of its former Rulers, and placed it under the government of the English,—a nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves in promoting liberty and social happiness as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends.



Tomb of Raja Rammohun Roy in the Cemetery of Arno's Vale, near Bristol.

A LETTER*

ON THE

PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY

AND THE MEANS OF PROMOTING ITS RECEPTION IN INDIA.

SIR,

With no ordinary feelings of satisfaction I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April last, which together with the queries it enclosed, I had the pleasure of receiving by the hands of my friend Captain Heard. I now beg to be allowed, in the first place, to express my gratitude for your kind notice of a stranger like myself, residing in a remote country: and, secondly, to return my sincere thanks for the most acceptable present of books with which you have favoured me.

I should have answered your letter by the ship *Bengal*; but I regret to say, that my time and attention had been so much engrossed by constant controversies with polytheists both of the West and East, that I had only leisure to answer by that opportunity a short letter which I had the pleasure of receiving from Mr. Reed of Boston, and was obliged to defer a reply to your queries until the present occasion. For this apparent neglect I have to request your pardon.

I have now prepared such replies to those questions as my knowledge authorizes and my conscience permits; and now submit them to your judgment. There is one question at the concluding part of your letter, (to wit, "Whether it be desirable that the inhabitants of India should be converted to Christianity, in what degree desirable, and for what reasons?") which I pause to answer, as I am led to believe, from reason, what is set forth in scripture, that "in every nation he that *feareth* God and worketh *righteousness* is accepted with him," in whatever form of worship he may have been taught to glorify God. Nevertheless, I presume to think, that Christianity, if properly inculcated, has a greater tendency to improve the moral, and political state of mankind, than any other known religious system.

It is impossible for me to describe the happiness I feel at the idea that so great a body of a free, enlightened, and powerful people, like your countrymen, have engaged in purifying the religion of

* Addressed to the Rev. Henry Ware, of Cambridge (U. S A) in reply to a letter of his.—Ed.

Christ from those absurd, idolatrous doctrines and practices, with which the Greek, Roman, and Barbarian converts to Christianity have mingled it from time to time. Nothing can be a more acceptable homage to the Divine Majesty, or a better tribute to reason, than an attempt to root out the idea that the omnipresent Deity should be generated in the womb of a female, and live in a state of subjugation for several years, and lastly offer his blood to another person of *the Godhead*, whose anger could not be appeased except by the sacrifice of a portion of himself in a human form; so no service can be more advantageous to mankind than an endeavour to withdraw them from the belief than an imaginary faith, ritual observances, or outward marks, independently of good works, can cleanse men from the stain of past sins, and secure their eternal salvation.

Several able friends of truth in England have, in like manner, successfully engaged themselves in this most laudable undertaking. From the nature of her constitution, however, these worthy men have not only to contend with the religious prejudices of education in the popular corruptions of Christianity; but are also opposed by all the force which the Established Church derives from the abundant revenues appropriated to the sustainers of her dogmas. Happily for you, it is only prejudice, unarmed with wealth and power, that you have to struggle with, which, of itself, is, I must confess, a sufficiently formidable opponent.

Your country, however, in free inquiry into religious truth, excels even England, and I have therefore every reason to hope, that the truths of Christianity will soon, throughout the United States, triumph over the present prevailing corruptions. I presume to say, that no native of those States can be more fervent than myself in praying for the uninterrupted happiness of your country, and for what I cannot but deem essential to its prosperity—the perpetual union of all the States under one general government. Would not the glory of England soon be dimmed, were Scotland and Ireland separated from her? This and many other illustrations cannot have escaped your attention. I think no true and prudent friend of your country could wish to see the power and independence at present secured to all by a general government, exposed to the risk that would follow, were a dissolution to take place, and each state left to pursue its own resources. As Captain Endicott has been kind enough to offer to take charge of any parcel that I might wish to send you, I have the

pleasure of sending the accompanying publications, of which I beg your acceptance. I now conclude my letter with sincere wishes for your health and success, and remain, with the greatest regard,

Yours most obediently,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

Calcutta, February 2, 1824.

"I. *What is the real success of the great exertions which are making for the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity?*"

"II. *What is the number and character of converts?*"

To reply to each of these questions is indeed to enter on a very delicate subject, as the Baptist Missionaries of *Serampore* determinedly contradict any one that may express a doubt as to the success of their labours; and they have repeatedly given the public to understand, that their converts were not only numerous but also respectable in their conduct; while the young Baptist Missionaries in Calcutta, though not inferior to any Missionaries in India in abilities and acquirements, both European and Asiatic, nor in Christian zeal and exertions, are sincere enough to confess openly, that the number of their converts, after the hard labour of six years, does not exceed, *four*; and in like manner the Independent Missionaries of this city, whose resources are much greater than those of Baptists, candidly acknowledge, that their Missionary exertions for seven years have been productive only of *one convert.*

To avoid, however, the occasion of a further dispute on this point with the Serampore Missionaries I beg to substitute for my answer to the above queries, the language of the Rev. Abbé Dubois, who, after a mission of thirty years in India, is better qualified than I am, to give a decided opinion upon these subjects, and whose opinions deserve more reliance than those of a private individual who has never engaged in Missionary duties. The quotation above alluded to is as follows:—

"Question of conversion,—The question to be considered may be reduced to these two points: First, is there a possibility of making real converts to Christianity among the natives in India? Secondly, Are the means employed for that purpose, and above all, the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the idioms of the country, likely to conduce to this desirable object?

"To both interrogatories I will answer in the negative: it is my decided opinion, first, that under existing circumstances there is no

human possibility of converting the Hindoos to any sect of Christianity; and, secondly, that the translation of the Holy Scriptures circulated among them, so far from conducing to this end, will, on the contrary, increase the prejudices of the natives against the Christian religion, and prove, in many respects, detrimental to it. These assertions, coming from a person of my profession, may to many appear bold and extraordinary: I will therefore support them by such arguments and proofs, as a long experience and practice in the career of proselytism have enabled me to adduce.

"When I was at Vellore, four years ago, in attendance on a numerous congregation living in that place, having been informed that the Lutheran Missionaries kept a Catechist or native religious teacher at that station on a salary of five pagodas a month, I was led to suppose that they had a numerous flock there; but I was not a little surprised, when on inquiry I found that the whole congregation consisted of only *three individuals*, namely a *drummer*, a *cook*, and a *horse-keeper*.

"In the meantime, do not suppose, that those thin congregations are wholly composed of converted pagans; at least half consists of Catholic apostates, who went over to the Lutheran sect in times of famine, or from other interested motives.

"It is not uncommon on the coast to see natives who successively pass from one religion to another, according to their actual interest. In my last journey to Madras, I became acquainted with native converts, who regularly changed their religion twice a year, and who, for a long while, were in the habit of being six months Catholic and six months Protestant.

"Behold the Lutheran Mission, established in India more than a century ago; interrogate its Missionaries; ask them what were their successes during so long a period, and through what means were gained over the few proselytes they made. Ask them whether the interests of their sect are improving, or whether they are gaining ground, or whether their small numbers are not rather dwindling away?

"Behold the truly industrious, the unaffected and unassuming Moravian brethren: ask them how many converts they have made in India, during a stay of about seventy years, by preaching the Gospel in all its naked simplicity: they will condidly answer, Not one, not a single man.

"Behold the Nestorians in Travancore; interrogate them; ask them for an account of their success in the work of proselytism in these modern times; ask them whether they are gaining ground, and whether the interests of their ancient mode of worship is improving: they will reply, that so far from this being the case, their congregations, once so flourishing, amounting (according to Gibbon's account) to 200,000 souls, are now reduced to less than an eighth of this number, and are daily diminishing.

"Behold the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore: inquire what are their scriptural successes on the shores of the Ganges; ask them whether those extremely incorrect versions, already obtained at an immense expense, have produced the sincere conversion of a single pagan; and I am persuaded, that, if they are asked an answer upon their honour and conscience, they will all reply in the negative."

"III. *Are those Hindoos who profess Christianity respectable for their understanding, their morals, and their condition in life?*"

In answer to this query I must again beg to refer you to the above quotations from the Abbé Dubois. For my own part, I have no personal knowledge of any native converts respectable for their understanding, morals, and condition in life.

"IV. *Of what caste are they generally, and what effect has their profession of Christianity upon their standing?*"

It is reported, and universally believed by the native inhabitants, that the generality, if not all of them, are of low caste, and my acquaintance with the few of them I have met with has in a great degree confirmed me in this belief.

"V. *Are they Christians from inquiry and conviction, or from other motives?*"

The real motives of our actions are very difficult to be discovered. All that I can say on this subject is, that several years ago there was a pretty prevalent report in this part of India, that a native embracing Christianity should be remunerated for his loss of caste by the gift of five hundred rupees, with a country-born Christian woman as his wife; and while this report had any pretension to credit, several natives offered from time to time to become Christians. The hope of any such recompense being taken away, the old converts find now very few natives inclined to follow their example. This disappointment not only discourages further conversion, but has also induced several Moosulman converts to return to their former faith; and had Hindoos

with equal facility admitted the return of outcasts to their society, a great number of them also would, I suspect, have imitated the conduct of their brother Moosulman converts. In a populous country like Hindoostan, there are thousands of distressed outcasts wandering about, in whom the smallest hope of worldly gain can produce an immediate change of religious profession, and their conversion to Christianity is a matter of indifference to the community at large. About two years ago I stated this circumstance to a Church Missionary who lives in my neighbourhood, and whom I respect for his liberal conduct; and I even offered to send to that gentleman as many natives as he might wish to convert on condition that he should maintain them at a fixed salary not exceeding eight rupees per month.

"VI. *Of what denomination of Christians have the Missionaries been most successful; Catholic, Protestant, Episcopalian, Baptist, Trinitarian, Unitarian?*"

To the best of my belief no denomination of Christians has had any real success in bringing natives of India over to the Christian faith.

"VII. *What is the number of Unitarian Christians, and are they chiefly natives or Europeans?*"

The Rev. Mr. Adam is the only Unitarian Missionary in Bengal, and he publicly avowed Unitarianism so late as the latter end of 1821. Notwithstanding the many disadvantages under which he has been labouring, he has brought this system of Christianity into notice in this part of the globe; as previous to that period many did not know that there was such a thing as Unitarianism, and others tried to stigmatize it, in proportion as their prejudices for the corruptions of Christianity prompted them to abuse reason and common sense, without fear of contradiction. Mr. Adam, although he has made no avowed native convert, has already received every countenance from several respectable European gentlemen, and from a great number of the reading part of the native community in Calcutta.

"VIII. *How are they regarded and treated by other Christians? Is it with any peculiar hostility?*"

The manner in which the rest of the Missionaries have treated Mr. Adam, since his avowal of Unitarianism, is indeed opposed to the whole spirit of Christianity. But towards other Unitarians, their conduct in general is similar to that of Roman Catholics towards Protestants.

"IX. *What are the chief causes that have prevented, and that continue to prevent, the reception of Christianity by the Natives of India? May much of the want of success be reasonably attributed to the form in which the religion is presented to them?*"

The chief causes which prevent the natives of India from changing their religion are the same as are found in the numerous class of Christians who are unable to give an answer to any man that asketh the reason of the hope they profess, viz., their reliance on the sanctity of the books revealed among them as received authorities, and the variety of prejudices planted in their minds in the early part of life. These are strongly supported by the dread of the loss of caste, the consequence of apostacy, which separates a husband from his wife, a father from his son, and a mother from her daughter. Besides, the doctrines which the Missionaries maintain and preach are less conformable with reason than those professed by Moosulmans, and in several points are equally absurd with the popular Hindoo creed. Hence there is no rational inducement for either of these tribes to lay aside their respective doctrines, and adopt those held up by the generality of Christians.

"X. *Are any of the causes of failure of such a nature, that it may be in the power of Unitarian Christians to remove them?*"

Unitarian Christianity is not exposed to the last mentioned objections; for even those who are inimical to every religion admit, that the Unitarian system is more conformable to the human understanding than any other known creed. But the other obstacles above-mentioned must remain unshaken, until the natives are enabled by the diffusion of knowledge to estimate, by comparing one religion with another, their respective merits and advantages, and to relinquish their divisions, as destructive of national union as of social enjoyment.

"XI. *Are there any reasons for believing that Christianity, as it is held by Unitarians, would be more readily received by intelligent Hindoos, than as it is held by Trinitarians?*"

In reply to this question, I repeat what I stated in answer to a question of a similar nature, put to me by Mr. Reed, a gentleman of Boston, viz., "The natives of Hindoostan, in common with those of other countries, are divided into classes, the ignorant and the enlightened. The number of the latter is, I am sorry to say, comparatively very few here: and to these men the idea of a triune-God, a man-God,

and also the idea of the appearance of God in the bodily shape of a dove, or that of the blood of God shed for the payment of a debt, seem entirely Heathenish and absurd, and consequently their sincere conversion to [Trinitarian] Christianity must be morally impossible. But they would not scruple to embrace, or at least to encourage, the Unitarian system of Christianity, were it inculcated on them in an intelligible manner. The former class, I mean the ignorant, must be enemies to both systems of Christianity, Trinitarianism and Unitarianism. As they feel great reluctance in forsaking the deities worshipped by their fathers for foreign Gods, in subsituting the blood of God for the water of the Ganges as a purifying substance, so the idea of an invisible Being as the sole object of worship, maintained by Unitarians, is foreign to their understanding. Under these circumstances it would be advisable, in my humble opinion, that one or two, if not more gentlemen, well qualified to teach English literature and science, and noted for their moral conduct, should be employed to cultivate the understandings of the present ignorant generation, and thereby improve their hearts, that the cause of truth may triumph over false religion, and the desired comfort and happiness may be enjoyed by men of all classes."

"XII. *Can any aid be given by Unitarians to the cause of Christianity in India, with a reasonable prospect of success? If any can be given, of what kind, in what way, by what means?"*

In answer, I beg to refer you to my reply to the preceding question, and only add here, that every one who interests himself in behalf of his fellow-creatures, would confidently anticipate the approaching triumph of true religion, should philanthropy induce you and your friends to send to Bengal as many serious and able teachers of European learning and science and Christian morality, unmingled with religious doctrines, as your circumstances may admit, to spread knowledge gratuitously among the native community, in connexion with the Rev. Mr. Adam whose thorough acquiantance with the language, manners, and prejudices of the natives, renders him well qualified to co-operate with them with every prospect of success.

"XIII. *Would it be of any use to send Unitarian Missionaries with a view to their preaching Christianity for the purpose of converting adult natives?"*

Much good cannot be expected from public preachings at present, on account of the obstacles above-mentioned. It is, however, hoped,

that some of the teachers that may be sent out may preach with gradual success in the public places of worship.

"XIV. *Would it be useful to establish Unitarian Missionary Schools for the instruction of the children of natives in the rudiments of a European education, in the English language, in Christian morality, mingling with it very little instruction relative to the doctrines of Christianity, leaving them chiefly or wholly out of view, to be learned afterwards from our books and our example?*"

This would be certainly of great use, and this is the only way of improving their understandings, and ultimately meliorating their hearts.

"XV. *Are there many intelligent natives who are willing to learn the languages of Europe, to cultivate its literature, and to make themselves acquainted with our religion as it is found in our books, and to examine the evidences of its truth and divine origin?*"

There are numerous intelligent natives, who thrist after European knowledge and literature, but not many who wish to be made acquainted with the Christian religion and to examine its truth, being chiefly deterred by the difficulty (if not utter impossibility) attached to the acquirement of a correct notion of the tremendous mystical doctrines which the Missionaries ascribe to their religion.

"XVI. *Are there many respectable natives who are willing to have their children educated in the English language and in English learning and arts?*"

The desire of educating children in the English language and in English arts is found even in the lowest classes of the community, and I may be fully justified in saying that two-thirds of the native population of Bengal would be exceedingly glad to see their children educated in English learning.

"XVII. *What benefits have arisen, or are likely to arise, from the translation of the Scriptures into the native languages of the East? Are they read by any who are not already Christians? And are they likely to be read generally even by them? The question is suggested by the representations which have been made, that converts to Christianity are mostly, if not altogether, of the lowest and most ignorant classes of society. Is this representation true?*"

To the best of my knowledge, no benefit has hitherto arisen from the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the East, nor can any advantage be expected from the translations in circulation;

they are not read much by those that are not Christians, except by a few whom the Missionaries represent as being "led away by Socinian principles." As to the character of the converts to Christianity, you will be pleased to refer to the replies to the first, second, third, and fourth queries.

"XVIII. *Will any important impression, favourable to Christianity ever be made, except by the conversion and through the influence of persons of education, and of the higher classes of society who can read our sacred books in the original, or at least in the English version?*"

Christianity, when represented in its genuine sense in any language whatever, must make a strong impression on every intelligent mind, especially when introduced by persons of education and respectability.

"XIX *Are the translations which have been made faithful and free from sectarian influence as to the expression of Christian doctrine?*"

To both parts of this query my reply must be in the negative. I at the same time acquit these translators of wilful neglect or intentional perversion. They were, I think, too hasty to engage themselves in so difficult an undertaking.

Ideas, in general, are as differently expressed in the idioms of the East from those of the West, as the East is remote from the West. Greater difficulty, therefore, must be experienced by a native of Europe in communicating European ideas in the idioms of Asia, than in conveying Asiatic ideas into the languages of Europe ; so a native of Asia experiences greater inconvenience in expressing Asiatic ideas in European idioms, than in translating European ideas into an Asiatic language.

About four years ago, the Rev. Mr. Adam, and another Baptist Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Yates, both well reputed for their oriental and classic acquirements, engaged, in common with myself, to translate the New Testament into Bengallee, and we met twice every week, and had for our guidance all the translations of the Bible, by different authors, which we could procure. Notwithstanding our exertions, we were obliged to leave the accurate translation of several phrases to future consideration, and for my own part I felt discontented with the translation adopted of several passages, though I tried frequently, when alone at home, to select more eligible expressions, and applied

to native friends for their aid for that purpose. I beg to assure you, that I (though a native of this country) do not recollect having engaged myself once, during my life, in so difficult a task, as the translation of the New Testament into Bengallee.

"XX. *Are there any particular parts of India or of the East, where efforts for propagating Christianity, or preparing the way for it, might be made with better hopes than in others?*"

Calcutta, the Capital of the British Empire in India, where the natives are more conversant with English, and frequently associate with European gentlemen, is, in my humble opinion, preferable as a field for such efforts to the rest of Hindoostan, as the native inhabitants of Bengal, in a great degree, follow the example of the opulent natives of Calcutta.

THE TYTLER CONTROVERSY.

A VINDICATION

OF THE

INCARNATION OF THE DEITY,

AS THE COMMON BASIS

OF

HINDOOISM AND CHRISTIANITY

AGAINST THE SCHISMATIC ATTACKS

OF

R. TYTLER, Esq., M. D.,

Surgeon in the Hon. East India Company's Service, Author of "An enquiry into the Origin and Principles of Budaic Sabism," and of "The Substance of a Discourse in Vindication of the Divinity of our Lord," and also, Member of the Asiatic Society.

BY

RAM DOSS.

CALCUTTA :

Printed by S. Smith and Co., Hurkaru Press.

1823.

DEDICATION

TO ALL BELIEVERS IN THE INCARNATION OF THE DEITY.

Fellow-believers,

The following correspondence between the renowned Dr. R. Tytler and myself was partly given to the world through the medium of the Bengal Hurkaru; but as the Editor of that Paper refused to admit some of my letters into its pages, and those published were widely separated from each other by being mixed up with various extraneous matters, I have deemed it advisable to have the whole collected together and presented at one view, for general edification.

My object in addressing Dr. Tytler (as will be seen from a perusal of the following pages,) was, that all Believers in the Manifestation of God in the flesh, whether Hindoo or Christian, might unite in support of our Common Cause, and cordially co-operate in our endeavours to check the alarming growth of the Unitarian heresy; but unfortunately my hopes were entirely disappointed, as Dr. Tytler not only refused to repair the breach, I conceived his writings calculated to make, but to my great surprise and regret, in return for my friendly offers of assistance, he applied to me and to my religion the most opprobrious abuse, and treated me as if my Faith were inimical to the tenets of his Creed.

I am, your friend and fellow-believer,

Calcutta, June 3, 1823. RAM DOSS.*

* Ram Doss is the name assumed by Rammohun Roy in many of his satirical writings.—Ed.

A VINDICATION

OF THE

INCARNATION OF THE DEITY, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

The Correspondence was occasioned by a passage in a letter of Dr. Tytler's, published in the BENGAL HURKARU of the 30th of May 1823, directed against Rammohun Roy, a person who, as is well known, is strongly reprobated by the zealous, both among Hindoos and Christians, for his daring impiety in rejecting the doctrine of Divine Incarnations. But the Doctor while censuring this stubborn Heretic, most unwarrantably introduced contemptuous allusions to the Hindoo Deities, as will be seen from the passage referred to which is here subjoined :—

Extract from the Hurkaru of May 3rd, 1823.

He (Rammohun Roy) thus proceeds in the same epistle. "Whether you be a faithful believer in the Divinity of the Holy *Lord and Saviour* JESUS CHRIST or of any other mortal man; or whether a Hindu declares himself a faithful believer in the Divinity of his Holy *Thakoor Trata* RAM, or MUNOO—I feel equally indifferent about these notions." Here I pause, for the purpose of asking the candid Reader what would have been said, if, at the time Rammohun Roy continued in his belief of Siva, Vishnu and Ganesh, I had personally addressed a letter to him, replete with vituperation of him and his opinions? Would it not have been asserted, and very justly, that I was attacking him, and his gods, and wounding the religious feelings of a Hindu? Yet this *Unitarian*, as he now professes himself, thinks proper to leave the subject of discussion, namely, a proposal to hold a "Religious Conference," and tells me flatly that my belief in the DIVINITY OF THE HOLY SAVIOUR is on a par with a Hindu's belief in his *Thakoor*!!! —Yes, Christian Readers, such is the fact; and when I offer to defend myself from such vile imputations by arguments drawn from those Holy Scriptures to which this Unitarian himself appeals, I am given to understand, that this Reviler of my FAITH, the FAITH OF MY ANCESTORS, will not condescend to listen, unless my reply receives the stamp of orthodoxy from the signature of a Missionary!!!

May 2, 1823. R. TYTLER.

RAM DOSS'S FIRST LETTER TO DR. TYTLER.

The Editor of the Hurkaru having refused insertion to the following, it was privately forwarded to Dr. Tytler :—

To Dr. R. Tytler.

SIR,

I happened to read a letter in the "Hurkaru" of the 3rd instant, under the signature of R. Tytler, which has excited my wonder and astonishment. For I had heard that you were not only profoundly versed in the knowledge of the ancients, but intimately acquainted with the learning and opinions of the present age. But I felt quite disappointed when I perceived that you entertained ideas so erroneous respecting the Hindoo religion.

Is there any Hindoo who would be offended at being told by a believer in the INVISIBLE GOD, that this man is indfflerent about his (the Hindoo's) faith in the divinity of his Holy THAKOOR and TRATA RAM or MUNOO? We know that these self-conceited sects who profess reverence for only *one* DEITY are apt to express their indifference for the holy INCARNATION of the Divine Essence believed in by Hindoos as well as by Christians; and in fact that the followers of any one religion have little respect for the opinions of those of another. But can this give concern or surprise to the enlightened and well-informed persons who have seen and conversed with various sects of men?

I am more particularly astonished that a man of your reputed learning and acquirements, should be offended at the mention of the resemblance of your belief in the Divinity of Jesus Christ with a Hindoo's belief in his Thakoor, because you ought to know that our religious faith and yours are founded on the same sacred basis, viz., the MANIFESTATION OF GOD IN THE FLESH, without any restriction to a dark or fair complexion, large or small stature, long or short hair. You cannot surely be ignorant that the Divine RAM was the reputed son of Dushuruth, of the offspring of Bhuggeeruth, of the tribe of Rughoo, as Jesus was the reputed son of Joseph, of the House of David, of the Tribe of Judah. RAM was the King of the Rughoos and of Foreigners, while in like manner JESUS was King of the Jews and Gentiles. Both are stated in the respective sacred books handed down to us, to have performed very wonderful miracles and both ascended up to Heaven. Both were tempted by the Devil while on the earth, and both have been worshiped by millions up to the present day. Since God can be

born of the Tribe of Judah, how, I ask, is it impossible that he should be born of the Tribe of Rughoo, or of any other nation or race of men? And as the human form and feelings of RAM afford sceptics no good argument against his omnipresent and divine nature, it must be evident to you that this deluded sect of Unitarianism can lay no stress on the human form and feelings of Jesus Christ as disproving his divinity.

When therefore the resemblance is so very striking, and ought to be known to you as well as to every other man having the least pretensions to an acquaintance with the learning and religion of the Natives of India,—how is it possible that you can feel offended at the mention of a fact so notorious? You may perhaps urge, that there is a wide difference between a belief in THREE Persons in the Godhead as maintained by you, and belief in three hundred and thirty millions of Persons in the Godhead, entertained by the Hindoos. But as all such numerical objections are founded on the frail basis of human reason, which we well know is fallible, you must admit that the same omnipotence, which can make THREE ONE and ONE THREE, can equally reconcile the UNITY and PLURALITY of three hundred and thirty millions, both being supported by a sublime mystery which far transcends all human comprehension.

The vain and narrow-minded believers in *one* INVISIBLE GOD accuse the followers of the Trinity as well as us the sincere worshippers of Ram and other Divine Incarnations, of being Idolaters; and policy therefore might have suggested to you the propriety of maintaining a good understanding and brotherhood among all who have correct notions of the manifestation of God in the flesh, that we may cordially join and go hand in hand, in opposing, and, if possible, extirpating the abominable notion of a SINGLE GOD, which strikes equally at the root of Hindooism and Christianity. However, it is not too late for you to reflect on your indiscretion, and atone for it by expressing your regret at having written and published anything calculated to create dissension among the worshippers of Divine Incarnations.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
RAM DOSS.

Dr. TYTLER'S REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

To Ram Doss.

I have received your letter and beg you to receive my best thanks for the trouble you have put yourself to, in sending it to me. It was my intention this evening to have proved that *Hindu Idolatry* and *Unitarianism* are the same, and that they both proceed from the *Devil*. Unfortunately Mr. Robinson, in consequence of the number who were anxious to attend, has requested me to postpone the meeting, to which of course I have acceeded. But I am ready,—MIND ME, READY,—to meet you and your runnagate friend Rammohan Roy whenever you please, in public and private discussion, and let you know what a humble individual unsupported can do, armed with no other weapon than the sharp sword of the Gospel in bringing to light the hidden works of darkness, which are at present displayed in the *damnable* Heresy of *Unitarianism* of which you are the wretched tool. But neither you, Rammohun Roy, nor the second fallen ADAM dare meet me because you fear the WORD of TRUTH.

Your inveterate and determined
foe in the LORD,

May 6th, 1823. (Signed) R. Tytler.

RAM DOSS'S REPLY TO A REMARK OF THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL HURKARU.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

Sir,

After publishing in your Paper of the 3rd instant Dr. Tytler's letter, throwing out offensive insinuations against the Hindoo Religion, as unworthy to be compared with the Christian, I am truly astonished at your refusal to insert my very friendly reply and expostulation with him for the error and indiscretion into which he has fallen, and that you moreover defend him in the following words: "We would hint to Ram Doss that there is in our opinion a wide difference between the belief which maintains God to have appeared in the *Flesh* and that of the " Hindoo who believes the appearance of the Omnipotent Being in the shape of a *Thakoor*, which if we are not mistaken, is composed of stone, metal or wood."

I must remark, first, on the total unacquaintance, you have displayed, with the Hindoo Religion, notwithstanding your residence in the capital of Bengal, in which however you are more excusable than Dr. Tytler, considering his high pretensions to learning. Can you find a single Hindoo in the whole of India, who imagines that the divine Ram, the son of Dushuruth by Koushilya his mother according to the flesh, was composed either of wood, stone or metal? If you can find even one, there may be some excuse for your mistake in supposing, what is so wide of the fact. You may, of course, find numerous consecrated images or statues of the holy Ram, in the Hindoo temples, formed of wood and other materials, placed there for the pious purpose of attracting the attention of devotees to that Divine Incarnation,—although many good Hindoos do not consider such representations as necessary, and worship Ram directly without the intervention of any sensible object. But can you suppose for a moment that a model or picture of any person, whether divine or human, can identify that being with such representation or convert the original existence into the same materials? If this were the case, then the number of men so unfortunate as to have statues or portraits of themselves made, must lose their real essence—their original elements necessarily degenerating into stone, or paint and canvass.

But it is indisputable that neither the image of the Holy Jesus in Roman Catholic Churches, nor the representations of the Divine Ram in the Hindoo Temples, are identified with either of those sacred persons.

As you have refused to publish my letter in answer to Dr. Tytler's attack, I shall take an opportunity of sending it directly to himself for his consideration and reply, and purpose very soon laying this controversy before the public through some other channel with proper mention of your partial conduct, in circulating Dr. Tytler's insulting insinuations against the Hindoo Religion and withholding my answer thereto for its vindication. I expect you will kindly insert this letter in your Paper of to-morrow along with a justification of your own observations of this morning.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

RAM DOSS.

REMARKS OF THE EDITOR RELATIVE TO THE FOREGOING.

(Contained in the Bengal Hurkaru of the 8th May.)

In our subsequent pages will be found a letter signed Ram Doss, which we insert with pleasure, with a desire of convincing him that we are really impartial in our views of the subject of which it treats. In explanation of our refusal to insert the former letter of Ram Doss, we owe it to him to say that although it justly deserves the appellation of a "very friendly reply" and although it was written with much ability, yet it appeared to us to overstep the limits we have prescribed to ourselves, by entering too far into the subject of the original dispute between the two classes of religious professors, instead of being confined to the discussion of the subject between Rammohun Roy and Dr. Tytler, namely, the right of the latter to demand, and of the former to afford, facilities for the purpose of the discussion of the point at issue between them. It was under these circumastances and with this feeling that we declined to insert RAM Doss's communication, and we beg to assure him that it was not from any disrespect to him, or partiality for Dr. Tytler or his doctrines.

Having disposed of this part of the subject, we trust, to the satisfaction of RAM Doss, we shall simply remark on the other, that we never intended to intimate that any sensible Hindoo could for one moment suppose that God was personally present in an image of brass, stone or metal; but we have no hesitation in asserting that such an opinion does prevail, not only among the Hindoos, but amongst the ignorant of all classes whose religious faith prescribes the worship of images as the medium of access to the Deity. We really ought not to enter on the discussion of any of the points connected with the religious worship of the Hindoos, as we have had but very few opportunities of making ourselves acquainted with them, and if we are now in any error on these subjects, we trust that RAM Doss will attribute it to the causes which we have thus explained, and not to any feeling of partiality towards Dr. Tytler, or of misrepresentation of the objects of his own worship.

RAM DOSS'S FIRST CHALLENGE TO DR. R. TYTLER.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

Being disappointed in my just expectation of having my answer to Dr. Tytler's insinuations inserted in your Paper, I yesterday sent it to the Doctor himself for his consideration ; but he avoids making a reply thereto, and in answer to my arguments, merely returns abuse against me, and likewise against our common enemies, the Unitarians, for which last, I, of course, care nothing.

I take this opportuuity of informing the Public that this Goliath, notwithstanding his high pretensions to learning, and presumption in setting himself up as the champion of Christianity, shrinks from the defence of the charges he has brought against Hindooism, and that he refuses to co-operate with me in opposing Unitarianism, although he declares in his note to me that it is a system of damnable heresy proceeding from the Devil.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

May 7, 1823. RAM DOSS.

DR. TYTLER'S REPLY TO RAM DOSS.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

As I do not intend this letter to have any direct reference to the subject of religious discussion, you will oblige me by giving it insertion into the columns of the Hurkaru. Two days ago I received an epistle subscribed Ram Doss, which I was led to conclude must have been written by some Unitarian under a pseudonymous signature. But it appears from a letter, which is published in your paper of this day, I may have been mistaken ; and I am, therefore, anxious to inform Ram Doss, if he be a real person, that I consider there is no book at present in possession of *Hindus*,—the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* not excepted,—of higher antiquity than the entrance of the Musulmans into India,—say about 800 years from the present period. The legends attached to the *Avatars* are merely perverted, and corrupted copies of the Holy Scriptures in the possession of Christians, and have no particular relation to the ancient religion, whatever it may have been, of the inhabitants of this couutry. Should Ram Doss therefore be a real person, and wish to obtain information on those topics, it will

afford me sincere pleasure to meet him, either at my own house or any other he may appoint, at some hour convenient to us both, for the purpose of explaining the arguments which support the views, I have taken, of the *modernness* of the religious system at present followed by the Hindus.

Your obedient servant.

May 8, 1823, R. TYTLER.

RAM DOSS'S SECOND CHALLENGE TO DR. TYTLER.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

Dr. Tytler having been unable to make a direct reply to the arguments conveyed in my letter to him, dated the 5th instant, has taken refuge in your Paper, knowing very well that he would prevail upon you to insert every assertion that he might make against our Sacred Books and Holy Incarnations, and that you as a Christian would excuse yourself for declining to give publicity to my retaliation upon him.

I therefore challenge him through your Pages for a reply to my arguments in the shape of a letter, so that I may endeavour through some other means to publish all our correspondence for the consideration and judgment of the Public.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

May 9th, 1823, RAM DOSS.

DR. TYTLER'S REPLY TO RAM DOSS.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

Your correspondent, Ram Doss, in "informing the public," that I consider "Unitarianism a system of damnable heresy proceeding from the Devil," has forgot to mention that such was also my expressed opinion to him respecting the superstitions to which he is so extremely partial. Under those circumstances is it reasonable to expect, I will allow him to *co-operate* with me, as he calls it, "against our common enemies," when in fact I maintain Unitarianism to be nothing more than a new name for Hindu Idolatry?

Your obedient servant,

Calcutta, May 10, 1823. R. TYTLER.

RAM DOSS'S THIRD CHALLENGE TO DR. TYTLER.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

One of the objects of my letter to Dr. Tytler, was to solicit the co-operation of the Doctor in opposing Unitarians. The other, to refute his insinuations against Hindooism and prove that it was founded on the same sacred basis (the Manifestation of God in the flesh) with Doctor Tytler's own Faith.

From the Doctor's letter in your paper of this morning, I see he positively shrinks from entering the field with me against Unitarianism, leaving me thus to encounter the danger and reap the glory single-handed.

I now request to be informed through the medium of your paper, whether the Doctor also flinches from justifying his insinuations against the Hindoo Religion, and replying to my letter proving Hindooism and Christianity to rest on the same sacred foundation.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

May 12, 1823. RAM DOSS.

DR. TYTLER'S REPLY TO RAM DOSS.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

The assertion of Ram Doss, that " I shrink from entering the field against Unitarianism, leaving him thus to encounter the danger and reap the glory single-handed" when all Calcutta is acquainted with the contrary, and no one better than the Unitarians themselves, is really too absurd to require notice.

In support of what this writer calls " my insinuations against the Hindu Religion," I refer him to the histories of Buddha, Saluvahana, and Chrishna, and maintain that they comprise nothing more than perverted copies of Christianity. Let him shew the reverse if he can.

Your obedient servant,

Calcutta, May 13, 1823. R. TYTLER.

RAM DOSS'S REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

You are aware that I have three times through the medium of your paper, called upon Dr. Tytler, to reply to the ARGUMENTS contained in the letter, forwarded to him by me and the receipt of which he acknowledged in a *torrent of abuse*, and that he has, as often as thus publicly called upon, returned an evasive answer, which proves that he inwardly shrinks from the combat.

With a view to defend his offensive insinuations, against Hindooism, he now refers me to the Histories of Buddha (the head of a tribe inimical to Hindooism,) Saluvahana (an Indian Prince) and Chrishna, a divine Incarnation, without attempting to bring forward from these anything against the justness of my arguments. I now, Sir, beg leave to appeal to you, whether if any Hindoo were to make insinuations against the Christian Religion, when called to defend them, he would be justified in merely referring Christians to the Books of the Jews (a tribe equally inimical to Christianity,) or Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, or to a whole History of Jesus Christ, without adducing any particular passage. I now for the FOURTH and last time call upon the Doctor, either to answer precisely my arguments already in his possession, or confess publicly that he is totally unable to justify his insinuations against a Religion founded on the Sacred basis of the manifestation of God in the flesh, and that knowing the badness of his cause, he shrinks from meeting me on the fair field of *Regular Argument*, instead of which he has given me only abuse.

I have nothing to say respecting his mode of opposing our common enemies, the Unitarians, and grant him freely the honour of his individual exertions. Notwithstanding, I think it proper to suggest the expediency of common believers in Divine Incarnations (like the Doctor and myself) joining hand in hand in opposing our inveterate enemy. Our chance of success must be greater when our Force is united, than when it is divided.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
RAM DOSS.

May 14, 1823.

Dr. TYTLER'S REPLY TO RAM DOSS.

This Reply was in a Postscript to a Letter of Dr. Tytler's (dated May 15,) addressed to the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru, and published in that Paper of the 16th May.

"I request" (said the Doctor) "to be informed by your sapient correspondent Ram Doss, in what manner he proves Buddha to be 'the head of a tribe inimical to Hindooism.'"



RAM DOSS'S REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

Sir,

The only reply which Dr. Tytler makes to my Fourth Challenge published in your paper yesterday is as follows, viz,—

"*P. S.*—I request to be informed by our sapient correspondent Ram Doss in what manner he proves Buddha to be 'the head of a tribe inimical to Hindooism.'"

I now call on the Public to pronounce whether this query can be considered as a reply to the arguments contained in my letter forwarded to the Doctor, repelling his offensive insinuations and proving that Hindooism and Christianity are founded on the same basis? or if it be not evidently a mere pretence for evading the question? Fully warranted in anticipating a verdict in my favor, I ask what opinion will the world form of a man who with some pretensions to learning and great professions of Religion, while defying the whole world in the field of Religious discussion, first utters degrading insinuations against a Faith founded on exactly the same basis as his own, and then when repeatedly challenged to *justify* this conduct resorts to such *Shuffling* and *Evasion*? However to oblige the Doctor as a fellow believer in, and worshipper of, Divine Incarnations, I will inform him (although it has no bearing on the question) that Buddha or Booddha, is the head of the sect of *Bauddhas*, who derive their name from him in the same manner as Christians do from Christ. That this sect is inimical to Hindooism is proved by the fact that they deny the existence of a Creator of the Universe, in whom the Hindoos believe, and also despise many of the Gods worshipped by the latter. There are hundreds of works published by them against each other which are in general circulation. But all this has nothing to do with my

arguments which the Doctor by *evading* virtually *confesses* he is *unable* to answer. I therefore *denounce* him a *defamer* of Hindooism, a religion of the principles of which he is (or at least appears to be) totally ignorant.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Friday, 16*th* May, 1823. RAM DOSS.

DR. TYTLER'S REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

Published in the Hurkaru of May 22nd.

The sapient Ram Doss, now changes his tone,—and tells us the *Bouddhists* "despise *many* of the Gods worshipped by the Hindoos." It hence follows that *some* of the Hindoo deities must be objects of their adoration. And yet this writer asserts Buddha to be the "head of a tribe inimical to Hindooism," while his own statement proves Hindoo Gods to be the objects of *Buddhaic* veneration!!

RAM DOSS'S REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

In your paper of this day, Dr. Tytler notices my *fifth* Challenge, calling upon him to answer the arguments contained in my letter forwarded to him some weeks ago repelling his offensive insinuations against Hindooism. But how does he justify himself? "The sapient Ram Doss" (says he) "now changes his tone and tells us the Buddhists 'despise *many* of the Gods worshipped by the Hindoos.' It hence follows that *some* of the Hindoo deities must be objects of their adoration. And yet this writer asserts Buddha to be the 'head of a tribe inimical to Hindoosim,' while his own statement proves Hindoo Gods to be the objects of *Buddhaic* veneration."

I now beg to call the attention of the Public, Christians and not Christians, to the above passage, and request them to pronounce whether the Doctor thereby proves that Hindooism cannot (as insinuated) be compared with Christianity, or refutes my position, that these two religions are founded on the same sacred basis, viz., the Manifesta- of God in the Flesh? And I now call on the world to judge, w- the person who can resort to such shuffling and evasion has

claim to the character of a man of learning, or a man of probity? What name is bestowed on the man who thus shrinks from meeting the arguments of his opponent fairly and candidly, and trembling at the force of truth, is glad to make his escape by any mean subterfuge?

It is almost self-degradation or a prostitution of reason to treat his last remark, above quoted, as worthy of notice, viz., that as "Buddhists despise *many* of the Gods worshipped by the Hindoos, it hence follows that *some* of the Hindoo deities MUST be subjects of their "adoration"—*Indeed*!! In what school of *wisdom* did the learned Doctor acquire his Logic? Although I despise or dislike several members of a family, is this a proof that I MUST adore the rest? May I not regard the rest with indifference, or be unacquainted with them? But granting even that Buddhists do worship some of the Hindoo Gods, while they despise others, may they not still be inimical to Hindooism? For, don't the Jews despise one of the Christian Gods, worship another, and are indifferent to a third and yet are they not inveterate enemies of Christianity?

I now only wish to know from what College or University the Doctor procured a Certificate, authorizing him to assume the Title of M. D and whether that seat of Learning in the distribution of its *Academic Honors* usually selects such worthy objects.

I am, Sir your obedient servant,

Thursday, 22nd May, 1823. RAM DOSS.

P. S. I congratulate the Doctor on his victory (as reported by himself in your paper of to-day) over our common enemies the Unitarians (these deluded deniers of Divine Incarnations), and I regret I was not present to share in the triumph.—R. D.

Dr. Tytler being now, it appears, completely silenced, a Friend, under the signature of A Christian, came forward to his assistance in the following Letter :—

LETTER OF A CHRISTIAN TO RAM DOSS.

To the Editor of the Hurkaru.

SIR,

It is gratifying to the lovers of science, to behold a few intelligent Hindoos emerging from the degraded ignorance and shameful superstition, in which their fathers for so many centuries have been

buried. It is no less pleasing to the friends of humanity, to find that one of the most learned of the Hindoo Brahmans has not only abandoned the doctrine which countenances the cruel and abominable practice of matricide, but also ably confuted his compeers, who were advocates for having human victims sacrificed to Moloch.

On the other hand it is a sad contemplation, that these very individuals who are indebted to Christians for the civil liberty they enjoy, as well as for the rays of intelligence, now beginning to dawn on them, should in the most ungenerous manner insult their benefactors, by endeavouring to degrade their religion, for no other reason, because they cannot comprehend its sublime Mysteries.

My attention has been particularly attracted to this subject by a letter signed "RAM DOSS" which appeared in your paper of yesterday.

This Hindoo with whom I have no personal acquaintance had the arrogance to lay before the public the following passage: "I now call on the *public* to pronounce whether this query can be considered as a reply to the arguments contained in my letter forwarded to the Doctor repelling his offensive insinuations and proving that *Hindooism and Christianity are founded on the same basis*?" Ram Doss here appeals to the public, and he will of course grant me the same privilege. I will therefore ask,—Christian Readers, are you so far degraded by Asiatic effeminacy as to behold with indifference your holy and immaculate RELIGION thus degraded by having it placed on an equality with Hindooism—with rank idolatry—with disgraceful ignorance and shameful superstition?

Will Ram Doss or his associates be pleased to inform me, if the *Incarnation of his God* was foretold by Prophets through a period of four thousand years? Or will he demonstrate the mission or divine incarnation of his *Deity* by incontestable and stupendous miracles such as Christ wrought? Will he assert that the doctrine of Hindooism is as pure and undefiled as that of Christianity? Or in fine, will he prove that the human character has ever been exalted by any religious system so much as by the sweet influence of Christianity?

If RAM DOSS is not able satisfactorily to clear up a single point of what I now submit to his serious consideration, it is manifest, that in common civility, he should refrain from insulting Christians by putting their religion on a comparison with Hindooism.

Rammohun Roy, who appears to me to be the most learned of the Hindoos, is so far from making such odious and offensive remarks, that he apparently gives the preference to Christianity. *Vide*, his First Appeal entitled "the precepts of Christ, the guide to peace and happiness." I regret the learned Brahman was interrupted by the intemperate zeal of the Baptists in the praiseworthy course he intended to have pursued as set forth in his preface to the work above alluded to.

I conclude by recommending your sapient correspondent RAM DOSS to employ his time and talents in laudable and pious endeavours to reclaim his countrymen from *idolatry*, rather than attempt to investigate mysteries that are far above the weak comprehensions of man. I also recommend him to beware of such Christians as are carried away with every wind of doctrine, and who "know not what they do."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A CHRISTIAN.

RAM DOSS'S REPLY TO THE CHRISTIAN.

[Published in a Pamphlet containing an account of Dr. Tytler's Lecture circulated with the Bengal Hurkaru Newspaper.]

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

I regret to observe by the Letter in your Paper of this morning signed "A Christian," that in repelling the offensive insinuations of Dr. Tytler against the Hindoo Religion, I am considered by one of the Christian denomination as endeavouring to degrade his "Faith."

It is well known to you, Sir, that I privately sent a Letter to the Doctor, refuting his position in the most friendly, calm, and argumenative manner, to which he returned a note loading me with the grossest abuse; consequently I thought myself justified in challenging him publicly to make a reply to my arguments. The *Christian* therefore cannot conceal from himself that it is *I* and *my* Faith which have been vilified and abused and that in return, I have offered *not* insult, but merely reason and argument; for it cannot be considered insult for a man to say that another religion is founded on the same basis with his own, which he believes to be all that is venerable and sacred.

If by the "Ray of Intelligence" for which the *Christian* says we are indebted to the English, he means the introduction of useful mechanical arts, I am ready to express my assent and also my gratitude; but with respect to *Science*, *Literature*, or *Religion*, I do not acknowledge that we are placed under any obligation. For by a reference to history it may be proved that the World was indebted *to our ancestors* for the first dawn of knowledge, which sprang up in the East, and thanks to the Goddess of Wisdom, we have still a philosophical and copius language of our own, which distinguishes us from other nations who cannot express scientific or abstract ideas without borrowing the language of foreigners.

Rammohun Roy's abandonment of Hindoo doctrines (as "A Christian" mentions) cannot prove them to be erroneous; no more than the rejection of the Christian Religion by hundreds of persons who were originally Christians and more learned than Rammohun Roy, proves the fallacy of Christianity. We Hindoos regard him in the same light as Christians do Hume, Voltaire, Gibbon and other sceptics.

Before "A Christian" indulged in a tirade about persons being "degraded by *Asiatic* effeminacy" he should have recollected that almost all the ancient prophets and patriarchs venerated by Christians, nay even Jesus Christ himself, a Divine Incarnation and the *founder* of the Christian Faith, were ASIATICS, so that if a Christian thinks it degrading to be born or to reside in *Asia*, he directly reflects upon them.

First.—The *Christian* demands "Will Ram Doss or his associates be pleased to inform me, if the *Incarnation of his God* was foretold by Prophets through a period of four thousand years?" I answer in the affirmative. The Incarnation of *Ram* was foretold in the works of many holy and inspired men for more than 4,000 years previous to the event in the most precise and intelligible language; not in those ambiguous and equivocal terms found in the *Old Testament*, respecting the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, an ambiguity which it is well known has afforded our common enemies, the Unitarians, a handle for raising a doubt of Jesus Christ being a real Manifestation of God in the flesh.

Secondly.—The *Christian* demands of RAM DOSS "Will he demonstrate the mission or divine incarnation of his deity by incontestable and stupendous miracles such as Christ wrought?"

I answer, Yes: The divine Ram performed miracles more stupendous, not before multitudes of ignorant people only, but in the presence of Princes and of thousands of learned men, and of those who were inimical to Hindooism. I admit the Jeins and other unbelievers ascribed Ram's miraculous power to a Demoniacal Spirit, in the same manner as the Jews attributed the miracles of Jesus to the power of Beelzebub; but neither of these objections are worthy of notice from believers in Divine Incarnations, since the performance of the miracles themselves is incontestably proved by tradition.

Thirdly.—The *Christian* asks "Will he (Ram Doss) assert that the Doctrine of Hinduism is as pure and undefiled as that of Christianity?" Undoubtedly, such is my assertion: and an English translation of the Vedant as well as of Munoo (which contains the essence of the whole Veds) being before the public, I call on reflecting men to compare the two religions together and point out in what respect the one excels the other in purity? Should the *Christian* attempt to ridicule some part of the ritual of the Veds I shall of course feel myself justified in referring to ceremonies of a similar character in the Christian Scriptures; and if he dwell on the corrupt notions iutroduced into Hindooism in more modern times, I shall also remind him of the corruptions introduced by various sects into Christianity. But *A Christian* must know very well that such corruptions cannot detract from the excellence of Genuine Religions themselves.

Fourthly.—The *Christian* asks, "Will he (Ram Doss) prove that the human character has ever been exalted by any system of religion so much as by the sweet influence of Christianity." In reply, I appeal to History, and call upon the *Christian* to mention any religion on the face of the earth that has been the cause of so much war and bloodshed, cruelty and oppression, for so many hundred years as this whose "*sweet influence*" he celebrates.

That propriety of conduct found among the better sort of Christians is entirely owing to the superior education they have enjoyed; a proof of which is, that others of the same rank in society, although not believers in Christianity, are distinguished by equal propriety of conduct, which is not the case with the most firm believers, if distitute of Education or without the means of improvement by mixing in company with persons, better instructed than themselves.

It is unjust in the *Christian* to quarrel with Hindoos because (he says) they cannot comprehend the sublime mystery of his Religion, since he is equally unable to comprehend the sublime mysteries of ours, and since both these mysteries equally transcend the human understanding, one cannot be preferred to the other.

Let us however return to the main question, viz. that THE INCARNATION OF THE DEITY IS THE COMMON BASIS OF HINDOOISM AND CHRISTIANITY. If the manifestation of God in the flesh is possible, such possibility cannot reasonably be confined to Judea or Ayodhya, for God has undoubtedly the power of manifesting himself in either country and of assuming any colour or name he pleases. If it is impossible, as our common enemies, the Unitarians, contend, such impossibility must extend to all places and persons. I trust therefore the *Christian* will reflect with great seriousness on this subject and will be kind enough to let me know the result.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Calcutta, May 23, 1823. RAM DOSS.

Ram Doss having heard nothing more publicly or privately from Dr. Tytler or "A Christian" the correspondence here concluded, and the arguments adduced in vindication of the Incarnation of the Deity as the common Basis of Hindooism and Christianity consequently remain unanswered.[*]

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[*] This controversy began in the 3rd of May and ended on the 23rd of May, 1823. The whole was published in the form of a pamphlet on the 3rd of June. After the publication of this pamphlet, the dispute was renewed, but this latter controversy (which was carried on in the *India Gazette* and the *Advertiser* from June 12th to June 29th, and was published in a pamphlet in July 11th) we have thought fit not to publish, as it is composed only of some trifling letters. We only give below the introduction by the Rajah to this second pamphlet.—

"After the foregoing pages had been issued from the press, Dr. Tytler, evidently ashamed to confess his defeat, began again in the public prints to assign various excuses for his not having answered me. These, with the replies they called forth, are now collected together that the Public may be further enabled to appreciate the character and conduct of this Reviler of Hindooism. Although the Doctor carried the correspondence from the Newspapers, where both parties might expect fair play and their communications to be inserted free of charge, to the Advertiser of his own Publisher in which the arguments of his opponent could not find admission without payment; even under these unfavourable circumstances I continued the controversy, till Mr. Crichton, the Doctor's Publisher, refused to insert one of my communications sent him on Sunday the 29th June, on the groundless pretence that Dr. Tytler *had left* Calcutta and therefore could not answer it; but this collusion between him and his Publisher instead of enabling him to retreat with honor, will only render his final discomfiture the more inglorious.

Calcutta, July 14th, 1823

RAM DOSS."

—ED.

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

A MISSIONARY

AND

THREE CHINESE CONVERTS.

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

A MISSIONARY AND THREE CHINESE CONVERTS.

Missionary. How many Gods are there, my brethren!

1st Convert. Three.

2nd Convert. Two.

3rd Convert. None.

Missionary. Horrid! The answers are from the Devil.

All. We know not where you got the religion which you have taught us, but thus you have taught us.

Missionary. Blasphemers!

All. We have heard you with patience nor ever thought of crying out against you, how much so ever you surprised us by your doctrine.

Missionary. (Recovering himself and addressing the 1st convert.) Come, come, recollect: how can you imagine that there are three Gods?

1st Convert. You told me there was God the Father, and God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, and by my Swanpan I find that one and one and one are three.

Missionary. O! I see your blunder. You remember but half the lesson. I told you also that these Three are One.

1st Convert. I know you did, but I thought you had forgotten yourself, and concluded that you spoke the truth at first.

Missionary. O no! You must believe not only that there are Three persons, each God, and equal in power and glory, but also, that these Three are One.

1st Convert. That is impossible. In China we do not believe contradictions.

Missionary. Brother! It is a mystery.

1st Convert. What is that, pray?

Missionary. It is—it is—I know not what to say to you, except that it is something which you cannot possibly comprehend.

1st Convert. (Smiling.) And is it this that you have been sent 10,000 miles to teach?

Missionary. O the power of carnal reason! Surely, some Socinian has been doing the Devil's work in China.

But (turning to the 2nd convert,) how could you imagine, there are two Gods?

2nd Convert. I thought there were many more till you came and lessened the number.

Missionary. Have I ever told you that there are two Gods? (Aside.) The stupidity of this people makes me almost despair.

2nd Convert. True, you have not said in so many words that there are two Gods, but you have said what implies it.

Missionary. Then you have been tempted to reason upon this mystery.

2nd Convert. We, Chinese, are wont to put things together and to come at truth by comparison. Thus you said there were three persons that were each perfect God, and then you said one of these persons died in one of the countries of the West, a long while ago; and I therefore concluded the present number to be two.

Missionary. Astonishing depravity! O the depths of Satan! It is in vain to reason with these poor benighted creatures. But (addressing the 3rd convert) perverse as your two brethren are, you appear worse than they: what can you possibly mean by answering that there are no Gods?

3rd Convert. I heard you talk of three, but I paid more particular attention to what you said on the point of there being only one. This I could understand; the other I could not; and as my belief never reaches above my understanding (for you know I am no learned Mandarin) I set it down in my mind that there was but one God, and that you take your name of Christian from him.

Missionary. There is something in this; but I am more and more astonished at your answer—"None."

3rd Convert. (Taking up the Swanpan.) Here is one. I remove it. There is none.

Missionary. How can this apply?

3rd Convert. Our minds are not like yours in the West, or you would not ask me. You told me again and again, that there never was but one God, that Christ was the true God, and that a nation of merchants living at the head of the Arabian gulf, put him to death upon a tree, about eighteen hundred years ago. Believing you, what other answer could I give than "None"?

Missionary. I must pray for you, for you all deny the true faith, and living and dying thus, you will without doubt perish everlastingly.

1st Convert. Cong-foo-tse, our revered master, says that bad temper always turns reason out of doors, and that when men begin to curse, the Good Spirit of the universe abandons their hearts.

2nd Convert. You must be angry with yourself and not with us, for you have been teaching us at different times doctrines as contradictory as those of Cong-foo-tse and Buddha. The immortal emperor Sinchong has said that he is not to be numbered with wise men, nor to have a name in the hall of ancestors, who undertakes a voyage without making up his mind to its purpose, and preparing himself to give a clear and kind answer to the question of a stranger.

3rd Convert. These rebukes are just: but Ter-whangtee says, in his golden words, that mirth is better than rice. You came, it seems, to bring us a new riddle: but while we thank you, we beg to inform you that Kienlong, our late celestial emperor, has supplied us with a plentiful store, much more entertaining than yours; and when you can read as well as speak our divine language, we recommend to you his delectable history of the Mantchoo Tartar, that pretended to be inspired by the Grand Lama, but could never be made to comprehend the Swanpan.

SPEECHES AND LETTERS.

SPEECHES AND LETTERS.

SPEECHES.

I.

Speech on settlement of Europeans in India.

FROM personal experience, I am impressed with the conviction that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social, and political affairs; a fact which can be easily proved by comparing the condition of those of my countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage with that of those who unfortunately have not had that opportunity; and a fact which I could, to the best of my belief, declare on solemn oath before any assembly. As to the indigo planters, I beg to observe that I have travelled through several districts in Bengal and Behar, and I found the natives residing in the neighbourhood of indigo plantations evidently better clothed and better conditioned than those who lived at a distance from such stations. There may be some partial injury done by the indigo planters; but, on the whole, they have performed more good to the generality of the natives of this country than any other class of Europeans, whether in or out of the service.*

II.

Speech by Rammohun Roy at the meeting of the Unitarian Association held in London in his honour.

I am too unwell and too much exhausted to take any active part in this meeting; but I am much indebted to Dr. KIRKLAND and Dr. BOWRING for the honour they have conferred on me by calling me their fellow-labourer, and to you for admitting me to this Society as a

* "A great public meeting was held at the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 15th of December 1829, for the purpose of petitioning the Parliament to throw open the China and India trade and to remove the restrictions against settlement of Europeans in India The above is the report of the speech which Ram Mohun Roy is said to have made in supporting the resolution for abolishing the restrictions on the residence of Europeans in India. It is reprinted from the Asiatic Journal, Vol. II, New Series, May-August 1830. —ED."

brother, and one of your fellow-labourers. I am not sensible that I have done anything to deserve being called a promoter of this cause; but with respect to your faith I may observe, that I too believe in the one God, and that I believe in almost all the doctrines that you do: but I do this for my own salvation and for my own peace. For the objects of your Society I must confess that I have done very little to entitle me to your gratitude or such admiration of my conduct. What have I done?—I do not know what I have done!—If I have ever rendered you any services they must be very trifling—very trifling I am sure. I laboured under many disadvantages. In the first instance, the Hindoos and the Brahmins, to whom I am related, are all hostile to the cause; and even many Christians there are more hostile to our common cause than the Hindoos and the Brahmins. I have honour for the appellation of Christians; but they always tried to throw diffculties and obstacles in the way of the principles of Unitarian Christianity. I have found some of these here; but more there. They abhor the notion of simple precepts. They always lay a stress on mystery and mystical points, which serve to delude their followers; and the consequence is, that we meet with such opposition in India that our progress is very slight; and I feel ashamed on my side that I have not made any progress that might have placed me on a footing with my fellow-labourers in this part of the globe. However, if this is the true system of Christianity, it will prevail, notwithstanding all the opposition that may be made to it. Scripture seconds your system of religion, common sense is also on your side; while power and prejudice are on the side of your opponents. There is a battle going on between reason, scripture and common sense; and wealth, power and prejudice. These three have been struggling with the other three; but I am convinced that your success, sooner or later, is certain. I feel over-exhausted, and therefore conclude with an expression of my heartfelt thanks for the honour that from time to time you have conferred on me, and which I shall never forget to the last moment of my existence.*

* This speech is taken from the *Last days in England of Raja Rammohun Roy* by Miss Carpenter. A full report of the proceedings of the meeting is to be found in the Monthly Repository of June 1831, (Vol. v. N S, pp 417-420) – Ed

LETTERS.

[The following letters and extracts from letters of Rammohun Roy are taken from the *Last days in England of Raja Rammohun Roy* by Miss Carpenter.—ED.]

Extract from a letter, dated Calcutta, September 5, 1820.

As to the opinion intimated by Sir SAMUEL T——R, respecting the medium course in Christian dogmas, I never have attempted to oppose it. I regret only that the followers of Jesus, in general, should have paid much greater attention to inquiries after his nature than to the observance of his commandments, when we are well aware that no human acquirements can ever discover the nature even of the most common and visible things, and, moreover, that such inquiries are not enjoined by the divine revelation.

On this consideration I have compiled several passages of the New Testament which I thought essential to Christianity, and published them under the designation of Precepts of Jesus, at which the Missionaries at Shreerampoor have expressed great displeasure, and called me, in their review of the tract, an injurer of the cause of truth. I was, therefore, under the necessity of defending myself in an 'Appeal to the Christian Public,' a few copies of which tracts I have the pleasure to send you, under the care of Captain S——, and intreat your acceptance of them.

I return, with my sincere acknowledgments, the work which Sir S. T. was so kind as to lend me. May I request the favour of you to forward it to Sir S. T., as well as a copy of each of the pamphlets, with my best compliments, and to favour me with your and Sir S. T.'s opinion respecting my idea of Christianity, as expressed in those tracts, when an opportunity may occur, as I am always open to conviction and correction?

Extract from a letter addressed by Raja Rammohun Roy to a gentleman of Baltimore, dated Calcutta, October 27, 1822, (vide Monthly Repository for 1827, Vol. XVIII., p. 433).

I have now every reason to hope, that the truths of Christianity will not be much longer kept hidden under the veil of heathen doctrines and practices, gradually introduced among the followers of

Christ, since many lovers of truth are zealously engaged in rendering the religion of Jesus clear from corruptions.

I admire the zeal of the Missionaries sent to this country, but disapprove of the means they have adopted. In the performance of their duty, they always begin with such obscure doctrines as are calculated to excite ridicule instead of respect, towards the religion which they wish to promulgate. The accompanying pamphlets, called 'The Brahmunical Magazine,' and published by a Brahmun, are a proof of my assertion. The last number of this publication has remained unanswered for twelve months.

If a body of men attempt to upset a system of doctrines generally established in a country, and to introduce another system, they are, in my humble opinion, in duty bound to prove the truth, or, at least, the superiority of their own.

It is, however, a great satisfaction to my conscience to find, that the doctrines inculcated by Jesus and his apostles, are quite different from those human inventions, which the Missionaries are persuaded to profess, and entirely consistent with reason, and the revelation delivered by Moses and the prophets. I am, therefore, anxious to support them, even at the risk of my own life. I rely much on the force of truth, which will, I am sure, ultimately prevail. Our number is comparatively small, but I am glad to inform you, that none of them can be justly charged with the want of zeal and prudence.

I wish to add, in order that you may set me right, if you find me mistaken,—my view of Christianity is, that in representing all mankind as the children of one eternal father, it enjoins them to love one another, without making any distinction of country, caste, colour, or creed ; notwithstanding they may be justified in the sight of the Creator in manifesting their respect towards each other, according to the property of their actions, and the reasonableness of their religious opinions and observance.

I shall lose no time in sending you my Final Appeal to the Christian Public, as soon as it is printed.

Extract from a letter, dated December 9, 1822.

Although our adversaries are both numerous and zealous, as the adversaries of truth always have been, yet our prospects are by no means discouraging, if we only have the means of following up what has already been done.

We confidently hope that, through these various means the period will be accelerated, when the belief in the Divine Unity, and in the mission of Christ, will universally prevail.

Letter to Dr. T. Rees, of London (vide *Monthly Repository, 1824, Vol. XIX., pp. 681-682.)*

REVEREND SIR,—I received your letter of the 16th June last, accompanied by a parcel of books to my address, with feelings of peculiar gratification. I cannot but be proud of the honour which the Committee have conferred upon me in reprinting my compilation of 'The Precepts of Jesus,' and the two Appeals in its defence. I beg you will oblige me by communicating to the members my warm acknowledgments for so distinguished a mark of their approbation. I also beg you will accept my best thanks for your valuable present of the Racovian Catechism, which I shall not fail to read with due attention.

I have no language to express the happiness I derive from the idea that so many friends of truth, both in England and America, are engaged in attempting to free the originally pure, simple and practical religion of Christ from the heathenish doctrines and absurd notions gradually introduced under the Roman power; and I sincerely pray that the success of those gentlemen may be as great (if not greater than) that of LUTHER and others, to whom the religious world is indebted for laying the first stone of religious reformation, and having recommended the system of distinguishing divine authority from human creeds, and the practice of benevolence from ridiculous outward observances.

But what disappoints, or rather grieves, me much is that our sovereign (whose reign may God crown with peace and prosperity!) whom all parties, either Whigs or Tories, enthusiastic radicals, or political time-servers, are compelled by the force of truth to acknowledge as the most accomplished person of his time, of most enlightened acquirements, and most liberal sentiments, should not use his royal influence to remove from the members of his National Church the fetter of a solemn oath, imposed by the Thirty-nine Articles, naturally liable to doubt, and disputed as these have been, from the beginning of Christianity, and that he has not caused to be discontinued the repetition of that general denunciation found in the

concluding part of the Athanasian Creel, to wit, 'This is the Cathol c faith, which except a man *believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*' The only consolation which I can offer to myself is, that as his Majesty is the best judge of suitable opportunities for the introduction of improvement in the National Church, it is probable that in due time more enlarged principles may receive the Royal sanction.

As to the state of the Unitarian Society in Calcutta, our Committee have not yet been able to purchase a suitable piece of ground for a chapel and school. They will, I hope, soon succeed in their endeavours. We have collected, partly by purchase, and partly by gift, a great number of works, and established a pretty respectable library in Calcutta, in which I have placed the books with which you have favoured me, in the same manner as all the books that the Rev. Mr. ADAM, the Unitarian Missionary in Bengal, and myself have received at differet times from England. Mr. ADAM is preparing a catalogue of the books belonging to this library, and will, I doubt not, send a few copies for the perusal of the Committee in *London, Liverpool, &c.*

In the month of December last, Mr. R., a member of the firm of Messrs. M. and Co., of this place, left Bengal for Europe, and I embraced that opportunity of answering a letter I had the pleasure of receiving from the venerable Mr. BELSHAM, and begged at the same time his acceptance of a parcel of books sent in charge of that gentleman. I also sent a duplicate by the hands of Mr. S. A, a Member of the Unitarian Society in Calcutta, and a particular friend of mine. As subsequent to these despatches I received the books stated in Mr. BELSHAM's letter to have been forwarded to my address, I beg to send a short letter acknowledging the receipt of them; which I shall feel obliged by your transmitting to that gentleman.

I have the pleasure of sending you for your acceptance a few tracts as a token of regard and respect, and remain,

Yours most obediently,

CALCUTTA, *June* 4, 1824. RAMMOHUN ROY.

P.S.—From the pamphlet, Nos. 6 and 7, published by a neighbour of mine, and another by a friend, you will perceive to what a degree of ridicule the Trinitarian preachers have brought the religion they profess among the enlightened natives of India. I hope to God these Missionaries may at length have their eyes opened to see their own errors.

R. M. R.

Letter to Mr. Buckingham.

My dear Sir,—A disagreeable circumstance will oblige me to be out the whole of this afternoon, and as I shall probably on my return home feel so much fatigued as to be unfit for your company, I am afraid I must be under the necessity of denying myself the pleasure of your society this evening; more especially as my mind is depressed by the late news from Europe. I would force myself to wait on you to-night, as I proposed to do, were I not convinced of your willingess to make allowance for unexpected circumstances.

From the late unhappy news, I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe, and Asiatic nations, especially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of the same blessing than what they now enjoy

Under these circumstance I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own, and their enemies as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be, ultimately successful.

Adieu, and believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
August 11th, 1821.[*] Rammohun Roy.

Letter to J. B. Estlin, Esq., of Bristol.

Dear Sir,—Mrs. Matthew being about to depart for Europe, has kindly offered to take charge of any letter or pamphlet that I may address to you. I embrace this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter and of the books, your excellent father's Lectures on Moral Philosophy, &c., which I had the honour to receive through Mrs. Matthew upwards of two years ago, and apologizing to you for the delay which has unavoidably taken place in answering your kind communication. For a period of more than two years, owing to the most affecting circumstances arising from the hostile feelings of some individuals towards my family, I found myself unable to pursue any undertaking or carry on correspondence, even with those whom I sincerely loved and revered, either residing in this country or in any other part of the globe. As I intend to lay those circumstances before the public within a short period in the form of a pamphlet, I refrain from detailing them at present. I however trust that in consideration

[*] Addressed to James Silk Buckingham when at Calcutta.

of the accident alluded to, you will kindly excuse the apparent neglect of which I confess I am guilty, and for which I have no other apology to offer.

I rejoice to learn that the friends of the cause of religious truth have exerted themselves in the promotion of the true system of religion in India, and have remitted about 15,000 rupees to the care of Messrs. ALEXANDER and Co. for religious purposes, and that the Rev. Mr. ADAM hopes to be enabled to resume his missionary pursuits by the latter end of this month. The time of a fair trial is approaching, and truth I doubt not will expose the corruptions and absurd notions which have gradually disfigured genuine Christianity, and have brought it to a level with heathen mythology. I am happy to inform you that the books which you kindly presented me with were deservedly placed in our Library, under the care of the Rev. Mr. ADAM. A few copies of the Improved Version will be of much use to our friends here. The Rev. Mr. Fox has intimated his intention to furnish us with a certain number of that work.

Should you happen to see Dr. CARPENTER, you will oblige me by presenting my best respects to that gentleman. I shall soon embrace an opportunity of bringing myself in writing to his recollection.

I have the pleasure to send you a copy of a pamphlet (a Bengalee Grammar in English) which has lately been published, and beg you will accept of it as a token of the regard and respect I entertain for you. With my fervent wishes for your health and success, I remain,

Dear Sir,
Yours most faithfully,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

CALCUTTA, *Feb. 7th, 1827.*

Letter to Mrs. Woodford, of Brighton.

24, BEDFORD SQUARE.

April 27th, 1832.

MY DEAR MADAM,—I now have the pleasure of begging your acceptance of the accompanying copy of my remarks on India, and of another copy of a pamphlet on the abolition of the practice of burning Hindoo widows alive. You will, I am sure, be highly gratified to learn that the present Governor-General of India has sufficient moral

courage to afford them protection against their selfish relations, who cruelly used to take advantage of their tender feelings in the name and under the cloak of religion. It must have afforded Mr. WOODFORD and yourself much gratification to learn, by the first conveyance, the division on the second reading of the Reform Bill. The struggles are not merely between the reformers and anti-reformers, but between liberty and tyranny throughout the world; between justice and injustice, and between right and wrong. But from a reflection on the past events of history, we clearly perceive that liberal principles in politics and religion have been long gradually, but steadily, gaining ground, notwithstanding the opposition and obstinacy of despots and bigots. I am still unable to determine the period of my departure from London, and my visits to you in the country. I may perhaps do myself that pleasure.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

Letter to William Rathbone, Esq.

48, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON,

July 31st, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am *now* happy to find myself fully justified in congratulating you and my other friends at Liverpool on the *complete* success of the Reform Bills, notwithstanding the violent opposition and want of political principle on the part of the aristocrats. The nation can no longer be a prey of the few who used to fill their purses at the expense, nay, to the ruin of the people for a period of upwards of fifty years. The Ministers have honestly and firmly discharged their duty, and provided the people with means of securing their rights. I hope and pray that the people, the mighty people of England, may now in like manner do theirs, cherishing public spirit and liberal principles, at the same time banishing bribery, corruption and selfish interests, from public proceedings.

As I publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated I would renounce my connection with this country, I refrained from writing to you or any other friend in Liverpool until I knew the result. Thank heaven I can now feel proud of being one of your fellow-subjects, and heartily rejoice that I have had the infinite happiness of witnessing the salvation of the nation, nay of the whole world.

Pray, remember me kindly to Mr. CROPPER and Mr. BENSON, and present my best respects to Mrs. RATHBONE and love to the children; believe me,

My dear Sir,
Yours very sincerely,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

P. S.—If the German philosopher is still at Liverpool, be good enough to remember me kindly to him, and inform him that we have succeeded in the reform question without having recourse to the principles of phrenology. R. M. R.

Letter to Mr. Woodford, of Brighton.

JANUARY, *31st 1833.*

MY DEAR SIR,—I had on the 27th the pleasure of receiving your obliging communication, and beg to offer you and Mrs. W. my best thanks for this mark of attention towards me. I rejoice to observe that the translation of the Vedas, &c., which I presented to Mrs. W. before my departure for the continent of Europe, has proved interesting to her and to yourself. I am now confirmed in the opinion, that her good sense and her *rational* devotion to religion will not induce her to reject any reasonable sentiments, on the ground that they are not found in this book, or in that volume.

I was detained in France too late to proceed to Italy last year; besides, without a knowledge of French, I found myself totally unable to carry on communication with foreigners, with any degree of facility. Hence I thought I would not avail myself of my travels through Italy and Austria to my own satisfaction. I have been studying French with a French gentleman who accompanied me to London, and now is living with me.

I shall be most happy to receive your nephew, Mr. KINGLAKE, as I doubt not his company and conversation as your relative, and a firm friend of liberal principles, will be a source of delight to me. I thank you for the mention you made of Sir HENRY STRACHEY. His talents, acquirements and manners, have rendered his name valuable to those who know him and can appreciate his merits. To the best of my belief and recollection, I declare that I do not know a native of Persia or India who could repeat Persian with greater accuracy than this British-born gentleman.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

Letter to Mr. Woodford.

48, Bedford Square,
August 22nd, 1833.

My dear Sir,—I was glad to hear from Mr. Carey some time ago, that you and Mrs. W. were in good health when he saw you last; and Sir Henry Strachey, whom I had the pleasure of seeing about three weeks ago, has confirmed the same information. He is indeed an extraordinary man; and I feel delighted whenever I have an opportunity of conversing with that philosopher. I have been rather poorly for some days past; I am now getting better, and entertain a hope of proceeding to the country in a few days, when I will endeavour to pay you a visit in Taunton. The reformed Parliament has disappointed the people of England; the ministers may perhaps redeem their pledge during next session. The failure of several mercantile houses in Calcutta has produced much distrust, both in India and England. The news from Portugal is highly gratifying, though another struggle is still expected. I hope you will oblige me by presenting to Mrs. W. with my best respects, the accompanying copy of a translation, giving an account of the system of religion which prevailed in Central India, at the time of the invasion of that country by Alexander the Great.

Rammohun Roy.

[The following three letters are taken from R. Rickards's "India." The addressees are not known.—Ed.]

My dear Sir,—I have this moment the pleasure of receiving your note of this day. I beg to apologize to you for having kept until this time the volumes which you very kindly lent me. Interruptions prevented me from completing my perusal of them as soon as I wished; I now return them with my sincere thanks. and if perfectly convenient, you will, I hope, oblige me by a loan of the third, and by allowing me again a perusal of the second after a month or two. I think it is incumbent upon every man who detests despotism, and abhors bigotry, to defend the character of our illustrious minister, Mr. Canning, and support his administration if possible. I will, therefore, embrace another opportunity of performing what I consider my duty. In the meantime I remain with sincere regard and esteem,

October 9, 1827—7 p. m.
Pray execuse haste.

Yours most sincerely,
Rammohun Roy.

My dear Sir,—Allow me to return the volume containing the evidence on the state of Ireland, which you so very kindly lent me. It is, I presume, impossible for an uninterested person to peruse it as it is, and not come to a determination to second the cause of Catholic Emancipation; I content myself with an appeal to your humanity and good sense. I regret very much that I, who am heartily anxious to co-operate with you in all religious and secular matters, should be compelled to differ so widely from you in this single but important point. As there is, I fear, no chance of any change in our respective opinions on this subject, I hasten to conclude this with my fervent wishes for your health and success in all your views and undertakings in India, and remain

Yours very sincerely,
Rammohun Roy.

November 23, 1827.

My dear Sir,—I have been with infinite satisfaction given to understand by Col. Watson, that you opposed the emancipition of your Catholic fellow-subjects merely for the sake of argument, probably to know what the other party could advance in support of it. I was, however, at a loss till yesterday that a person like yourself, so liberal in every other point and so kind even to a humble foreigner such as I am, should be unfriendly towards his own countrymen, and should be indifferent about their political degradation under the *cloak of religion.* I am now relieved from that anxiety, and wishing you with all my heart every success both at home and abroad, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
Rammohun Roy.

December 8, 1827.

[The following letters and extracts from letters are taken from " The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy," by Miss Sophia Dobson Collet.—Ed.]

"*Rammohun Roy to Mr. John Digby, England.*

"I take this opportunity of giving you a summary account of my proceedings since the period of your departure from India.

"The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use

of rational beings, than any others which have come to my knowledge; and have also found Hindus in general more superstitious and miserable, both in performance of their religious rites, and in their domestic concerns, than the rest of the known nations on the earth. I, therefore, with a view of making them happy and comfortable both here and hereafter, not only employed verbal arguments against the absurdities of the idolatry practised by them, but also translated their most revered theological work, namely, Vedant, into Bengali and Hindustani and also several chapters of the Ved, in order to convince them that the unity of God, and absurdity of idolatry are evidently pointed out by their own scriptures. I, however, in the beginning of my pursuits met with the greatest opposition from their self-interested leaders, the Brahmins, and was deserted by my nearest relations; I consequently felt extremely melancholy; in that critical situation, the only comfort that I had was the consoling and rational conversation of my European friends, especially those of Scotland and England.

"I now, with the greatest pleasure, inform you that several of my countrymen have risen superior to their prejudices; many are inclined to seek for the truth; and a great number of those who dissented from me have now coincided with me in opinion. This engagement has prevented me from proceeding to Europe as soon as I could wish; but you may depend upon my setting off for England within a short period of time; and if you do not return to India before October next, you will most probably receive a letter from me informing you of the exact time of my departure for England, and of the name of the vessel on which I shall embark."

[Extract from a letter, dated January 18, 1828.]

I agree with you that in point of vices the Hindus are not worse than the generality of Christians in Europe and America; but I regret to say that the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well calculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and subdivisions among them has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise...... ......It is, I think, necessary that some

change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort. I fully agree with you that there is nothing so sublime as the precepts taught by Christ, and that there is nothing equal to the simple doctrines he inculcated.......

Extract from a letter to Miss Kiddell, dated May 14, 1833.

"But important matters [the deliberations connected with the renewal of the East India Company's Charter] passing here daily have detained me and may perhaps detain me longer than I expect. I, however, lose no time in informing you that the influenza has already lost its influence in London, a circumstance which justifies my entertaining a hope of seeing you and your friends in the Metropolis within a short time, perhaps by the 25th instant.

"*P. S.*—I sincerely hope that you *all* have escaped the complaint."

[To Miss Kiddell].

48, Bedford Square, *July 9th, 1833.*

Dear Madam,—I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 6th and rejoice to learn that you find my son peaceable and well-behaved. I howeverentreat you will not stand on ceremony with him. Be pleased to correct him whenever he deserves correction. My observation on, and confidence in, your excellent mode of educating young persons, have fully encouraged me to leave my youngster under your sole guidance. I at the same time cannot help feeling uneasy now and then at the chance of his proving disrespectful or troublesome to you or to Miss Castle.

Miss Daniel is not going to Bristol to-day. She will probably leave us on Friday next, when I intend to send a parcel of books, &c., in her charge. I hope I shall be able to have the pleasure of visiting you at your country residence next week, and not before, a circumstance which I fear will prevent us from joining the meeting in your neighbourhood. Dr. Carpenter (I think) left London on Saturday last. I doubt not you will take my youngster every Sunday to hear that pious and true minister of the Gospel.

I will write again by Friday next. In the meantime I remain, dear Madam,

Yours very sincerely,

Rammohun Roy.

[To Miss Ann Kiddell.]

48 Bedford Square.
July 19th, 1833.

Dear Madam,—I know not how to express the eager desire I feel to proceed to Bristol to experience your further marks of attention and kindness, and Miss Castle's civil reception and polite conversation. But the sense of my duty to the natives of India has hitherto prevented me from fixing a day for my journey to that town and has thus overpowered my feeling and inclination. It is generally believed that the main points respecting India will be settled by Wednesday next, and I therefore entertain a strong hope of visiting you by Friday next. I shall not fail to write to you on Wednesday or perhaps on Tuesday next. I feel gratified at the idea that you find my youngster worthy of your company. Nevertheless I entreat you will exercise your authority over him, that he may benefit himself by your instructions. If you find him refractory, pray send him back to London. If not, you may allow him to stay there till I supply his place. With my best wishes for your uninterrupted health and happiness, I remain, dear Madam,

Yours very sincerely,
Rammohun Roy.

P. S.—All the active members of the East India Company having been incessantly occupied by the charter question, I have not yet brought the subject relative to your young nephew to the notice of any one of them.

R. R.

[To Miss Castle.]

Friday, dispatched on Saturday.

Ma chere Demoiselle,—Many thanks for your obliging and polite communication, which by mistake, bears no date. I am glad to observe that you were pleased with your late journey, and with your visit to Windsor. The account which Miss Kiddel and yourself have given of my son, gratifies me very much. Miss Hare received a letter from him this morning (which she read to me), expressing his utmost joy and satisfaction with his present situation. I beg you will accept my best thanks for your kind treatment of him. Instead of thanking me for the little tract I had the pleasure to send you last week, I wish you had said only that you would pay attention to it.

You will perceive from my letter to Miss Kiddell that I am to be detained here a week longer at the sacrifice of my feelings. I, however, cannot help reflecting that to entertain a hope of enjoying the society of friends (though for a short time, say one month) is more pleasant than bringing it to a termination by the completion of it. Adieu for the present.

I remain,

Yours very sincerely and obliged,

RAMMOHUN ROY.

[TO MISS ANN KIDDELL.]

48, BEDFORD SQUARE.

July 24th, 1833.

DEAR MADAM,—From my anxiety to proceed to Bristol, heavy duties appeared to me light, and difficult tasks had seemed easily manageable. The consequence was that I met with disappointments from time to time which I felt severely. To-day is the third reading of the Indian Bill in the House of Commons, after long vaxatious debates in the committee, impeding its progress under different pretensions. After the Bill has passed the Lower House, I will lose no time in ascertaining how it will stand in the Upper Branch, and will immediately leave London without waiting for the final result. I will proceed direct to Bristol next week, and on my way to (from ?) London I will endeavour to visit my acquaintances at Bath and its vicinity. I deeply regret that I should have been prevented from fulfilling my intention this week, by circumstances over which I had no control.

I feel very much obliged by your kind suggestions contained in my son's letter. You may depend on my adhering to them. I intend to leave this place a little before 10 A. M., that I may arrive there on the morning of the following day. Before I leave London I hope to be able to procure the situation for your young relative. Pray present my kindest regards to Miss Castle, and believe me, dear Madam,

Yours very sincerely,

RAMMOHUN ROY.

[TO MISS KIDDELL.]

48 BEDFORD SQUARE,
August 16th, 1833.

DEAR MADAM,—I have now the pleasure of informing you that I feel relieved, and will proceed to Stapleton Grove on Thursday next. I beg you will excuse this short letter as I am incessantly engaged in making preparations, particularly in writing letters to India and in different parts of this country. Pray, give my love to my son and my kind regards to Miss Castle, and believe me, dear Madam,

Yours very sincerely,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

P. S.—Miss Hare presents her compliments to yourself and Miss Castle.

R. R.

APPENDIX.

PETITION TO GOVERNMENT AGAINST REGULATION III OF 1828 FOR THE RESUMPTION OF LAKHERAJ LANDS.*

To the Right Honourable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-General in Council, &c., &c., &c.

The humble petition of the undermentioned inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, and Orissah, Sheweth :

That, placed as your petitioners are, under the sole protection of British rule, they confidently feel justified when oppressed, in claiming justice and paternal care from that power, and approaching for redress the footstool of your Lordship, the local representative of their sovereign, and the immediate guardian of the safety and security of their lives and property. With this strong impression, your petitioners most humbly appeal to your Lordship in Council against the operation of Regulation III of 1828, recently passed by Government, which appears to your petitioners unprecedented in severity and unparallelled in oppression.

That your petitioners, in the first instance, entreat your Lordship's permission to bring to your notice the preamble of Regulation XIX of 1793, containing the solemn assurances of justice couched in the following terms: The Governor-General in Council 'has further resolved that the claims of the public on their lands, (provided they, the holders of such lands, as are exempted from the payment of public revenue, register the grants as required in the Regulation) shall be tried in the courts of judicature, that no such exempted lands may be subjected to the payment of revenue until the titles of the proprietor shall have been adjudged invalid by a final judicial decree.' Your petitioners trust, after a reference to the language above quoted, your

* This is reprinted from the Asiatic Journal Vol. 1, New series, Jan.-April 1830. It is probable that it is, as it is generally known to be, the production of Rammohun Roy. However, it has been inserted in the Appendix, as there is no direct evidence, except what Mr. Adam says in his lecture on the Life and Labours of Rammohun Roy.

Lordship will not consider their hopes of legal protection founded upon slight grounds, and their fears excited by the contrary plan laid down in the present Regulations, as mere creations of fancy. The whole of the tenour of the preamble, your petitioners presume, clearly exhibits, that although Marquis Cornwallis, then the Governor-General of India, was as desirous as any of his successors to resume such lands as were alienated in opposition to the ancient and existing laws of the country, yet, from strict regard for the principles of justice, and for the spirit and usages of the British law, his Lordship felt dissuaded from empowering a collector, an agent in behalf of government, to exercise judicial power over the parties whose rights were to be contested by that government.

That your petitioners, in the second place, beg your Lordship's attention to Regulation II of 1819, which, though it varies from Regulation XIX of 1793 in some essential points, yet guarantees to your petitioners that no part of their property can be rendered liable to attachment without the decision of a higher and more adequate authority than a collector of land revenue, or can be subjected to forfeiture without a chance of redress from the established judicial courts and the regular courts of appeal. Your petitioners, however, deeply regret to find themselve suddenly deprived of their long-cherished confidence by the threatening promulgation of Regulation III of 1828, and being on the eve of ruin, they are driven to the necessity of appealing to your Lordship in Council, and humbly, but earnestly, solicit your Lordship's condescending attention to the grounds of their complaint.

That clause 1st, sec. iv. of the Regulation in question, totally overlooking the solemn pledge contained in the preamble of Regulation XIX of 1793, has authorized a collector to institute inquiries in regard to lands free of assessment, without previously obtaining the sanction of the Board of Revenue for such inquiry, as required in section 15, Regulation XIX, and in article first, section v, Regulation II of 1819, and has transferred 'the force and effect' of a judicial decree to any decision that the collector may pass upon such inquiry against the present holder of lands of the above description; that the second and third articles of the same section not only invest a collector with unrestrained power to adjudge any land in possession of individuals to be the property of government, but give him further absolute authority 'to carry immediately into effect his decree by attaching and assessing the land,'

so adjudged, without being required to refer his decision to a higher authority for confirmation, as directed in section xx, Regulation II of 1819. Your Lordship will now perceive that a collector of land-revenue is, by virtue of his office, empowered in the first instance to search out lands subject to the claims of government; he again is authorized to prefer an action before himself as a judge against the party who may be supposed to have been illicitly in possession of them ; and lastly, he is rendered competent not only to adjudge the land to be the property of government, but also to dispossess the present proprietor of the same land by a stroke of his pen in 'a Persian roobakaree' held by himself. In short, a collector is under one capacity commissioned to act the part of plaintiff, while under another the same collector is vested with the power of discharging functions of an absolutely judicial nature, in passing a decree in cases in which he in fact stands as plaintiff or informer, and to carry immediately into effect whatever decree he may pass, a system which your petitioners presume the most despotic government might feel reluctant to adopt.

That your petitioners further beg leave to bring to the notice of your Lordship the hardship and difficulty they naturally dread from the operation of the regulation at issue. In sec. xxii, Regulation II of 1819, Government bestowed upon your native subjects the privilege of seeking redress against the decision of the highest revenue authorities (the boards of revenue) from the nearest zillah or city court, in cases in which the amount of demand did not exceed 500 rupeees ; that the most indigent individuals, or men engaged in husbandry or humble professions, might easily have access to that court without experiencing much inconvenience or incurring heavy expenses; besides, they were permitted in section xxvi, Regulation II of 1819, to appeal to a higher judicial authority for the vindication of their rights, on the supposition that the decision passed by a zillah or city judge was unjust or erroneous. But your petitioners, with the deepest regret, feel compelled to entreat, your Lordship will refer to clause fifth, section iv of the present Regulation, virtually denying your native subjects all means of self-defence. Though the above clause justifies in theory an appeal to a special commissioner against the decision of a collector, yet it has rendered such an appeal in almost two cases out of three almost absolutely impracticable, since numerous individuals possessing small pieces of land of the above description are so occupied in the pursuit of their livelihood, as to make it practically impossible

for them to leave their respective families and occupations, to proceed to a distant station for the purpose of conducting an appeal before a special commissioner. Moreover, the collectors in general, from their want of experience of judicial duties are not, and cannot, your petitioners presume, be regarded as sufficiently competent to institute judicial investigation; their decisions, consequently, could not bear that weight and respect which are attached to a decree passed by an experienced judicial officer of government; under these circumstances, any investigation that may be held by a special commissioner, when appealed to him against the decision of a collector, would, in point of fact, be the first as well as last judicial trial.

Your petitioners further beg your Lordship's liberal consideration of the long period that has elapsed since the officers of government were commanded to inquire into the validity of the tenures of lakrauj lands. Severe as the provisions of the present regulations are, and widely as they depart from the spirit of that of Lord Cornwallis, it would have been happy for the people, had even such modes of investigation as are there laid down been acted upon with promptitude. Not only, however, has the cautious and just regard for the safety of private property evinced by that just and wise statesman been set aside, but that, too, under circumstances in many instances far more unfavourable for the security of your native subjects than if their rights had been tried at his time.

Sunnuds, and other records, which might then have been produced so as to place your petitioners' titles, beyond dispute, have, from the many *accidents to which papers are liable, been lost or destroyed. In cases of disputed and divided succession, and of dispossession by judicial or revenue sales, your Lordship will readily understand how* often the possessions of the titles must have been withheld from the actual owner of land, however rightful his succession to the property. Fire inundation, and the ravages of destructive insects or vermin, have, in the course of thirty-five years, necessarily caused many important documents to perish, and it is after the lapse of such a period, that they are now called to make good, before a new species of tribunal, rights which have so long remained undisturbed.

Your *petitioners confidently affirm, that on reference to the revenue and judicial records of the zillahs and cities, it will be found*

that there are innumerable instances in which lands free of assessment have been, since 1793, transferred to different hands by sale at the public auctions, superintended either by revenue or by judicial officers, for the recovery of arrears of revenue due to government, or for the satisfaction of judicial decrees. These have been purchased by individuals of course on the public faith, and hitherto possessed by them without molestation. Now your Lordship in Council may be pleased to judge whether it would be in any way consistent with justice, that such lands should again be resumed from these purchasers, on the grounds of their titles being invalid, and assumed by government, whose public officers once previously obtained their value in satisfaction of the demand of Government upon their prior possessors.

That your petitioners, without fear of contradiction, can plead their past and present conduct as a proof of their unshaken and continued loyaly and attachment to the British rule in India. They have carefully entertained the hope of daily amelioration in their condition, from the augmenting and established power and possessions acquired by the wisdom of their rulers; but they feel painfully disappointed in that expectation when on comparing with each other, the language used and the spirit manifested on the one and the same subject, in Regulations XIX of 1793, II of 1819, and III of 1828. Your petitioners perceive, with inexpressible grief, a gradual indifference exhibited toward their rights and interests. As loyal subjects, however, they are in duty bound to lay candidly before your Lordship their grievances, and sincerely pray that your Lordship in Council, for the honour of the British name, and from a sense of *justice, may be pleased to rescind the Regulation complained of,* and thereby save thousands of families of your dutiful subjects from utter ruin.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

PRESENT

TO THE BELIEVERS IN ONE GOD

BEING A TRANSLATION OF

TUHFATUL MUWAHHIDDIN

BY

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY.

INTRODUCTION.*

I TRAVELLED in the remotest parts of the world, in plains as well as in hilly lands, and found the inhabitants thereof agreeing generally in believing in the personality of One Being Who is the source of all that exists and its governor, and disagreeing in giving peculiar attributes to that Being and in holding different creeds consisting of the doctrines of religion and precepts of *haram* (forbidden) and *halal* (lawful). From this Induction it has been known to me that turning generally towards One Eternal Being, is like a natural tendency in human beings and is common to all individuals of mankind equally. And the inclination of each sect of mankind to a particular God or Gods, holding certain especial attributes, and to some peculiar forms of worship or devotion, is an excrescent quality grown (in mankind) by habit and training. What a vast difference is there between nature and habit! Some of these sectarians are ready to confute the creeds of others owing to a disagreement with them, claiming the truth of the sayings of their predecessors; while those predecessors also like other men were liable to commit sins and mistakes. Hence it may not be improper if it be said that all of them are either right or wrong. In the former case, two contradictories come together اجتماع النقيضين (which is logically inadmissible). In the latter case, it may not be improper if it be said that either falsehood is to be attributed to some religions particularly or commonly to all; in the first case *tarjih bila murajjeh* ترجيح بلا مرجح *i. e.*, giving preference without there being any reason for it (which is logically inadmissible), follows. Hence falsehood is common to all religions without distinction. I have explained this (my opinion) in Persian, as it is more intelligible to the people of Ajam (*i. e.* Non-Arabians).

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* For a masterly and elaborate exposition of the views expressed in this pamphlet, see the author's Bengali biography by Babu Nagendranath Chatterji, Third Edition, pp. 432-466.—ED.

A PRESENT TO THE BELIEVERS IN ONE GOD.

HAPPY is the time of those who endeavour to discriminate the conditions which are found in persons as the effect of habit and constant intercourse [with men], and differentiate the qualities which are the consequences of the nature of the species and the temperaments of individuals, and inquire into the truth and falsehood of the different principles of the various religions without favouring any, nay, to the best of their power, examine the already proved (or axiomatic) principles of the people, without favouring (or unbiassed by) the views [generally] expressed. As the finding out of the truth of things of different utility and the knowledge of the degrees of the works producing hidden results, which is the greatest factor [in the nature] of the perfect man and which is in its nature immensely veiled and very difficult [to understand]; so most of the leaders of different creeds, for perpetuating their names and enhancing their reputation, have declared some special beliefs in the form of pure truths resting on miracles or on the power of the tongue and devices suited to the condition of the congregation, and have in a way so attracted the majority of the people towards them, that these helpless [persons], bound in obedience and servitude, having wholly lost the eye and heart of perception, consider it sinful to distinguish between actual goodness and apparent sin in the execution of the orders of their leader; and in consideration of their faith and for the sake of their sect, consider the killing and torturing of others as a highly meritorious act, notwithstanding that they are one in essence, the branches of one tree. They consider their pure faith in the leader, notwithstanding their commission of the basest acts, *e. g.*, lying, misappropriation, robbery, adultery, &c., which are sins in the next world (*i. e.* spiritual offences) and harmful to the public [in this world], as a means of their liberation from their sins. And they spend their most invaluable time in reading stories and accounts which are difficult to believe in, which strengthen their faith in the ancient and modern leaders of their faith. If by chance any serious-minded person among them shows an inclination to inquire into the truth of his faith, it is customary among the followers of that faith to attribute this inclination to the promptings of Satan and as destructive of worldly and religious prospects, and he immediately turns from it. In fact,

every one, by constant hearing of the wonderful accounts (which are impossible of occurrence) of his forefathers and the praises of the good results of the acceptance of the faith of that community in which he is born and brought up, from the lips of his relatives and neighbours at a time before maturity when his faculties possessed greater susceptibility of receiving impressions of ideas, acquires such a firm belief in the truth of the principles of his creed, that notwithstanding the falsity of most of the principles of his adopted faith, he gives them preference to those of all other faiths and shows every day fresh love of and belief in that faith. Therefore it is evident that after accepting a particular creed with such firmness and strength, the serious reason of any one coupled with knowledge acquired even during the time of majority, cannot be sufficient for finding out the true nature of a faith which for so many years has been believed in without enquiry into its truth or falsehood.

Rather, that very man in the hope of attaining the honour of being a *mujtahid* or religious expounder, girds up his loins to invent traditional and rational arguments in order to give strength to the doctrines of his faith. The *muqallids* [or common people following that religion by blind imitation] who are always anxious at heart to give preference to their faith to other religions according to the proverb that "A 'Hoo' is sufficient for (exciting) a mad fellow," making those invented and gilded arguments the grounds of their dissensions, pride in their own faith, and decry the faith of others. If by chance through want of prudence a single person utters a word or a question against the articles of his faith, his co-religionists in case of having power, make over that inexperienced fellow to the tongue (point) of the spear (*i. e.* kill him), and in case of their having no such opportunity make him over to the spear of the tongue (*i. e.* overload him with reproaches and slanders). The influence of these leaders over their followers and the extent of their submission to them have reached such a degree that some people having a firm belief in the sayings of their leaders, think some stones and vegetables or animals to be the real objects of their worship; and in opposing those who may attempt to destroy those objects of their worship or to insult them, they think shedding the blood of others or sacrificing their own lives, an object of pride in this world, and a cause of salvation in the next. It is more strange that the *mujtahids* or religious expounders of them also after the examples of their leaders of other religions, putting aside justice and honesty, try to invent passages in the form of reasonable arguments in support of these articles of faith, which are evidently nonsensical and absurd, and thereby try to give strength to the faith of the common people, who are deprived of insight and discretion.

"We seek the protection of God from the temptations of our lower selves, and from the guilt of our deeds."*

Although it cannot be denied that the social instinct in man demands that every individual of this species should have permanent regulations for the [different] stages of life and for living together, but social laws depend on an understanding of each other's meaning (or ideas) and on certain rules which separate the property of one from that of another, and provide for the removal of the pain which one gives to another. Making these the basis, the inhabitants of all the countries, distant islands and lofty mountains, have according to their progress and intellectuality, formed words indicative of the meaning and origin of faiths on which at present stand the governments of the world. As the foundation of faiths is based on the truth of the existence of the soul (which is defined as an essence regulating the body) and on the existence of the next world, which is held to be the place of receiving rewards and punishments for the good and evil deeds done in this world after the separation of the soul from the body; they (mankind) are to be excused in admitting and teaching the doctrine of the existence of the soul and the next world (although the real nature of both is hidden) for the sake of the welfare of the people (society), as they simply, for the fear of punishment in the next world and of the penalties inflicted by the earthly authorities, refrain from the commission of illegal deeds. But as an appendage to the belief in these two indispensable doctrines, hundreds of useless hardships and privations regarding eating and drinking, purity and impurity, auspiciousness and inauspiciousness, &c., have been added, and thus they have become causes of injury and detrimental to social life and sources of trouble and bewilderment to the people, instead of tending to the amelioration of the condition of society.

O God! Notwithstanding implicit faith in the orders of the *mujtahids* or the doctors of religion, there is always such an innate faculty existing in the nature of mankind that in case any person of sound mind, before or after assuming the doctrines of any religion, makes an impartial and just enquiry into the nature of the principles of religious doctrines, of different nations, there is a strong hope that he will be able to distinguish the truth from untruth and true propositions from fallacious ones, and also he, becoming free from the useless restraints of religion, which sometimes become sources of prejudice of one against another and causes of physical and mental troubles, will turn to the One Being who is the fountain of the harmonious organization of the universe, and will pay attention to the good of society. "*Whom God leads (to the righteous path) there is none to mislead him and whom he misleads there is no leader for him.*"†

*A quotation from the *Koran*.

† A quotation from the *Koran*.

It is to be seen that every religion claims that the true Creator has created mankind for discharging the duties connected with the welfare of the present and future life by observing the tenets of that particular religion; and that the followers of other religions who differ from them in articles of faith, are liable to punishment and torments in the future life. And as each particular class expects the good results of its own acts and of the bad results of those of the followers of other religions in the life after death, therefore one cannot refute the dogmas of the other at present, but only sows the seeds of prejudice and disunion in their heart, instead of purity and frankness, and considers the other deprived of the benefits of the next world: whereas it is quite evident that all of them are living here equally enjoying the blessings of nature (*lit.* heaven), as the light of the stars, the pleasure of the season of spring, the fall of rain, health of body, easy circumstances, beauty of body and mind, &c., as well as suffer from the same inconveniences and pain, darkness and severity of cold and mental disease and narrowness of circumstances and deformity of body and mind, without any distinction in being the follower of a particular religion.

Although each individual without the instruction or guidance of any one, simply by keen insight into, and deep observation of, the mysteries of nature such as different modes of life fixed for different kinds of animals and vegetables and propagation of their species and the rules of the movements of the planets and stars and endowment of innate affection in animals towards their offspring without expecting any return, and without knowing the conditions which favour the growth and decay of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, has an innate faculty in him by which he can infer that there exists a Being Who (with His wisdom) governs the whole universe, yet it is clear that every one in imitation of the nation in which he has been brought up, believes the tenets of that creed in their entirety. For instance, some of them believe in a just God possessing human attributes such as anger, mercy, hatred and love; and others believe in a Being comprehending and extending all over nature; a few are inclined to atheism (or thinking دهر *Dahr* or *nature* as the creative principle of the Universe), and some of them give Divine attributes to large created beings and make them objects of worship. These persons do not make any distinction between the beliefs which are the results of a special training and habit and an absolute belief in the existence of the Source of Creation, which is indispensable for man, and not being accustomed to the enquiry into the reality of the sequence of cause and effect, believe in bathing in a river and seeing a tree or a stone and in penance

and purchasing forgiveness of their crime from the high priests, &c., (according to the peculiarities of different religions) to be the cause of salvation and purification from the sins of a whole life. And they think that this purification is the effect of those objects of their beliefs and the sanctity of their priests without the instrumentality of their own opinion and faith, while these do not produce any effect on those who do not agree with them in those beliefs. Had there been any real effect of these imaginary things, it must have been common to all nations of different persuasions and should not have been confined to one particular nation's belief and habits. For although the degree of the strength of the effect varies according to the different capacities of persons subject to it, yet it is not dependent upon the belief of a certain believer. Do you not see that if a poison be taken by any one, in the belief that it is a sweetmeat, it must produce its effects on the eater and kill him? "*O God, give me true power for making distinction between habit and nature.*"

The centres of the circles of faiths (or the originators of different faiths) have given an interpretation of a miracle attributing (or assuming) it to themselves as a passport [to the confidence of the people in them] and for increasing the faith of the common people.

It is customary with common people overpowered by [prevalent] opinion that when they see any act or thing done or found, beyond their power of comprehension, or of which they cannot find out any obvious cause, they ascribe it to supernatural power or miracle. The secret lies in this, that in this world the existence of each rests on apparent causes and different conditions and modes of justice, so that if we take fully into consideration the near and remote causes for and against a thing, we may say that in the existence of that thing, the whole universe is concerned.* But when for want of experience and owing to narrowness [of views] the cause of a thing remains hidden to any one, another person having found it a good opportunity for achieving his object ascribes it to his own supernatural power and thereby attracts people to himself. In the present age in India, belief in supernatural and miraculous things has grown to such a degree that the people, when they find any wonderful

* With the idea expressed here may be compared the following lines from Tennyson

"Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies,
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower— but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is."—Ed.

things, the origin of which they can ascribe to their by-gone heroes or the present saints, immediately ascribe it them, and although there be an obvious existence of its cause, they ignore it. But it is not hidden from those who have a sound mind and are friends of justice, that there are many things, for instance, many wonderful inventions of the people of Europe and the dexterity of jugglers, the causes of which are not obviously known and seem to be beyond the comprehension of human power, but after a keen insight acquired by the instructions of others, these causes can be known satisfactorily. This finding only may be a sufficient safeguard for intelligent people, against being deceived by believers in supernatural works. The utmost which we can say on this matter is that in some instances, notwithstanding a keen and penetrative investigation the cause of some wonderful things remains unknown to some people. In such cases, we ought to have recourse to our own sound reason and ask ourselves whether it is compatible with reason to be convinced of our own inability to understand the cause or to attribute it to some impossible agency inconsistent with the laws of nature? I think our sound reason will prefer the first. Moreover what necessity is there, that we should find out the true cause of these things which are impossible and unreasonable; for instance, raising the dead, ascending to heaven, &c., which are said to have occurred many hundreds of years ago?

Although people in worldly transactions, without knowing a certain connection of one thing with another, do not believe that the one is the cause and the other the effect, yet when there is the influence of religion and faith, they do not hesitate to call the one the cause and the other the effect, notwithstanding there is no connection or sequence between the two. For instance, the removal of a calamity or recovery from disease by the effect of prayer without any connection between the two and without exertion or resistance. When enquiries are made about the mysteries of these things which are so wonderful that reason hesitates to believe in their truth, the leaders of religion, sometimes explain for the satisfaction of their followers, that in the affairs of religion and faith, reason and its arguments have nothing to do: and that the affairs of religion depend upon faith and Divine Help. How could a matter which has no proof and which is inconsistent with reason be received and admitted by men of reason?—"*Take admonition from this, O ye who have got eyes!*"* They sometimes having a profound knowledge (of logic) begin to argue that it is not impossible for the power of that Omnipotent Creator who has brought the whole Universe into exis-

* An Arabic phrase from the *Koran.*

tence from perfect nonentity that He should unite life with the bodies of the dead a second time or should give to earthly bodies the property of light or the power of air to travel distances. But this argument does not prove anything but the probability of the occurrence of such things, while they have to prove the real occurrence of miracles of their ancient religious leaders and the modern *mujtahids*; so it is clear to men of understanding that the inference does not follow (*i.e.* there is no *taqurib** in this argument.)

Besides, if this proposition were accepted, the doors of منع *mana* or questioning the truth of a premiss in a syllogism, during مناظرة *munazara* or discussion would be closed, and the possibility of rejecting a tradition would be nil. Because any one in attempting to prove impossible things might have recourse to such arguments during discussion; and thus there would be no difference between the meaning of امکان *possible* and امتناع *impossible*; consequently the whole foundation of syllogistic and logical demonstration would fall to the ground. Whereas it is admitted by the wise that the Creator has no power to create *impossible* things; such as co-partnership (with God) or the annihilation of God or اجتماع النقيضين the compatibility of contradictories, &c.

"The disputes of seventy-two sects† are to be excused, because they not finding the truth, have trotted the way of fables or nonsense." (Hafiz).

Whereas on account of distance of time the great superhuman powers of the by-gone leaders of different religions, are impossible to be proved by a knowledge gathered by external senses, (which, under certain conditions I impart a positive knowledge); therefore the doctors of different persuasions, relying on the faith of their followers have made the idea of تواتر *tawatur* (traditions proved by a series of general reports) a means of proving such things: while with a little consideration of the true idea of a تواتر *tawatur* which produces positive belief and a *tawatur* assumed by the followers of religions, the veil of fallacy can be removed. Because according to the followers of religions *tawatur* is a report coming down from a certain class of people who cannot be suspected of falsehood. But whether such a class of people existed in ancient times, is not known to the people of the present time through the medium of external senses or experience; rather it is quite obscure and doubtful. Be-

Taqurib means in Logic the agreement of the conclusion with the *quaesitum* or the proposition to be proved.

†There are seventy-two sects among the Mahomedans.

sides, great discrepancies in the traditions of by-gone leaders of each religion, indicate the falsehood of their assertion. If it is said that the truth of the statement of the first class of people who gave the report of the miracles of their leaders, by eye-witness, is to be proved by the statement of the next class who were their contemporaries, and so for proving the truth of the statement of the next or second class, the evidence of the third class (who were their contemporaries) must be added; because belief in the truth of the statement of the second class also wants a proof, and likewise for the truth of the statement of the third class, the evidence of the fourth class ought to be added and so on, till it would reach the people who live in the present time, and so this link or series of evidence will come down gradually to posterity and continue in future: it is clear that men of sound mind will hesitate to reckon that class of people who co-exist with them, to be a truthful people to whom falsehood cannot be imputed especially in matters of religion. Besides a great contradiction is found in the affirmation and negation of prophecy and other good attributes of the leaders of different religions and these contradictory reports are proved also by *tawatur*. Therefore in taking for granted the truth of the reports of each party, there would be اجتماع نقیضین (*i.e.*, admitting two contradictories). And giving preference to one report above another without any ground of preference is ترجیح بلا مرجح (*i. e.*, giving one thing preference to another without any reasonable ground). Because each party has an equally good claim to the greatness and veracity of their ancestors. The fact is that a *tawatur* in the sense of receiving a report admissible to reason from a people whose statement is not contradicted by any one, is useful in giving positive belief. But this sort of *tawatur* is quite different from the discrepant reports contrary to reason. From this assertion the following arguments (produced by doctors of religion) are easily refuted. They say, *firstly*, how are those persons who believe the narratives regarding the ancient kings owing to their being inserted in history and received by *tawatur* or tradition, to be justified in rejecting the facts relating to the supernatural works performed by the leaders of religions, which are mentioned in ancient books and are proved by *tawatur* or traditions of nations, from time to time? And, *secondly*, how can those who in spite of the difference in complexion and manners of the offspring of a person from him, and in spite of the real fact being hidden to them, believe in particular descent or birth only by general report or *tawatur*, hesitate to believe in the holiness and the miracles of the ancient, *mujtahids*, which are also received in the same way of *tawatur*? Inasmuch as the narrative regarding the

by-gone kings, for instance, the ascending of a certain king to the throne and fighting with certain enemies, &c., are such facts as were then reliable and unanimously agreed upon; while narratives of those supernatural works are contradicted and are most wonderful. For instance, the birth of individuals of the species of animals from their parents is a visible thing, but birth of children without parents, is quite contrary to reason. "*See what a vast difference there is between the one way and the other.*"

Besides, the fact of descent or genealogy and the narratives of the by-gone kings are suppositions ظنيات and the beliefs regarding the articles of faith of a certain religion, according to the principles of religion, are certain or positive propositions; so the one cannot bear analogy to the other with this material difference. Notwithstanding this, whenever any suspicion of contradictory statements arises in the history of any by-gone kings in the matter of descent or genealogy, the reports about them are set aside or thrown out of the circle of reliance. For instance, the report about Alexander the Great's conquering China and the account about his birth are contradicted by the historians of Greece and Persia; therefore they are not accepted by historians as proved.*

Some people argue in this way that the Almighty Creator has opened the way of guidance to mortal beings through the medium of prophets or leaders of religions. This is evidently futile, because the same people believe that all things in creation, whether good or bad, proceed from the Great Creator without any intermediate agency, and that the apparent causes are the means and conditions of that (*i. e.* their coming into existence). Hence it is to be seen whether the sending of prophets and revelation to them from God, are immediately from God or through intermediate agency. In the first case, there is no necessity of an intermediate agency for guidance to salvation, and there does not seem any necessity of the instrumentality of prophets or revelation. And in the second case, there should be a series of intermediate agencies. Hence the advent of prophets and revelation like other external things have no reference to God, but depend upon the invention of an inventor. Prophets and others should not be particularly connected (or mixed up) with the teaching

* It was in 1810-12 that Niebuhr, the father of historical criticism, gave "a course of lectures on Roman history, which by making known the results of the new and critical theory that he had applied to the elucidation of obscure historical evidence, established his position as one of the most original and philosophical of modern historians." Sir George Cornewall Lewis and Dr. Arnold wrote much later. Rammohun wrote this pamphlet in 1803 or 1804. The way in which he writes here on the subject of historical evidence only illustrates his originality and versatile genius.—ED.

of a faith. Besides, what one nation calls a guide to a true faith, another calls a misleading to an erroneous way.

Some of them argue in this way that discrepancy in precepts of different religions does not prove falsehood of any religion. The discrepancies ought to be understood to be of the same nature as is found in the laws of the ancient and modern rulers of the world; that the modern rulers often repeal the laws, framed by the former ones, according to the needs of the time. And notwithstanding the repealment of one and enforcement of the other, all the people consider the laws as true and proceeding from authority. So all these forms of religions, also were framed by God, according to different states of society in different times, and the one has been repealed or superseded by another according to His will. My reply to this argument is that the ruling or government of the true God, who according to the belief of the followers of religions is acquainted with the particular state of every particle and who is Omniscient and to whom the past, present and future times are equally known and under whose influence the hearts of mankind can be turned to whatever He wishes, and Who is the provider of the visible and invisible causes of every thing and Who is far from having any particular object for His own interest and Who is free from whims; has no analogy with the government of man whose wisdom is defective and incapable of understanding the end of every action and who is liable to errors or mistakes and whose actions are mixed with selfishness, deceit and hypocrisy. Is not this sort of analogy قياس مع الفارق— an analogy between two things which differ in essential qualities? Besides this, there are many other strong objections in holding the above opinion; for instance, the Brahmins have a tradition from God that they have strict orders from God to observe their ceremonies and hold their faith for ever. There are many injunctions about this from the Divine Authority in the Sanskrit language, and I, the humblest creature of God, having been born amongst them, have learnt the language and got those injunctions by heart, and this nation (the Brahmins) having confidence in such divine injunctions cannot give them up although they have been subjected to many troubles and persecutions and were threatened to be put to death by the followers of Islam. The followers of Islam, on the other hand, according to the purport of the holy verses of the *Koran* حيثو جدتموهم فاقتلوا المشركين (*i. e.*, kill the idolators wherever you find them) and اما فداء فشدو االوثاق فاما منا بعد , (*i. e.*, then tie the bonds, *i. e.*, capture the unbelievers in the holy war, then either set them free by way of obliging them or by taking ransom), quote authority from God that killing idolators and persecuting them in every case, are

obligatory by Divine command. Among those idolators, the Brahmins according to the Moslem belief, are the grossest idolators. Therefore the followers of Islam, always being excited by religious zeal and having in the past and the present been desirous of carrying out the orders of God, have not failed to do their utmost to kill and persecute the polytheists and unbelievers in the prophetic missions of the last of Prophets* (may Divine Benediction rest on him and on his disciples). Now, are these contradictory precepts or orders consistent with the wisdom and mercy of the great, generous and disinterested Creator or are these the fabrications of the followers of religion? I think a sound mind will not hesitate to prefer the latter alternative. Then, it is to be considered, which of these two is proper, *i. e.*, either to attribute these injunctions and precepts to God or to reject these contradictory traditions at once. For instance, one party on the authority of their scripture, say that prophetic mission has been closed with their leader, and another party claim that the prophetic mission is to end in the generation of David according to an authority from God. And these two sayings are in fact اخبار reports or foretellings and not انشاء or precepts of law that they will be subject to repeal. Because in holding one to be true the falsehood of the other must follow, while the probability of تحریف (*change*) or perversion is equally applicable to both. It is strange to say, that after the lapse of hundreds of years from the time of these religious leaders, with whom the prophetic mission is said to be closed, Nanak and others in India and other countries raised the flag of prophetic mission and induced a large number of people to become their followers and were successful. In the body of religious teachings the gates of gaining [selfish] objects will remain open for the superficial and inexperienced from eternity to eternity, and it is daily observed that hundreds of persons in the hope of gaining some honor or a little profit make themselves subject to various kinds of physical privation and hardship, such as the keeping of perpetual fasting and holding one of the hands motionless and burning the body, &c. Hence it is not strange that (in by-gone days) some ambitious persons in order to obtain the honour of becoming leaders of people at large or making themselves objects of reverence of the people should have subjected themselves to the hardships and dangers of the time.

There is a saying which is often heard from the doctors of different religions, which they quote as an authority for giving strength to their creed. Each of them says that his religion which gives information about future reward or punishment after death, is either

*Mahomed.

true or false. In the second case, *i. e.*, if it be false and there be no future reward or punishment, there is no harm in believing it to be true; while in the first case, *i. e.*, its being true, there is a great danger for the unbelievers. The poor people, who follow these expounders of religions, holding this saying of their leaders to be conclusive argument, are always boasting of it. The fact is that habit and training make the individuals blind and deaf notwithstanding their having eyes and ears. The above fallacy becomes clear in two ways. *Firstly*, their saying that in the second case there is no harm in acceptance, is inadmissible. Because faith in the truth of a thing is gained by each individual man after belief in its existence, and faith in the existence of such things as are remote from reason, and repugnant to experience, is not in the power of a sensible man. *Secondly*, in case of having faith in those things, it may become the source of various mischiefs and troubles and immoral practices owing to gross ignorance and want of experience, *i. e.*, bigotry, deceit, &c. Nevertheless, in case of assuming this argument to be true, from this the truth of all forms of religion is to be proved; for the followers of each religion may equally produce the same argument. Hence there will be a great perplexity for a man to believe all religions to be true or adopt the one or reject others. Therefore as the first alternative is impossible, consequently the second must be considered. And in this case, he has again recourse to the enquiry into the truth and falsehood of various religions. And this is the chief object of my discourse. Another argument produced by them is that it is necessary that we should follow the ceremonies and creeds which were adopted by our forefathers, without any enquiry into their truth and falsehood, and to hate and neglect them or deviate from them, leads to worldly and religious disgrace: and that such conduct is in fact contempt and insult of our forefathers. This fallacious argument of theirs, produces a great effect on the minds of the people who entertain a good opinion and a reverence towards their ancestors, and consequently hinders them from any enquiry into the truth and adopting the righteous way. The fallacy of this argument will be evident to all on a little consideration. For it is equally applicable first, to those persons who having been founders of some (new) religion attracted the people to themselves; and secondly, to those who after receiving the doctrines of their leaders, have deviated from the old way of their forefathers, and tried to pull down the foundation of their ancestor's creeds. If a man only by attributing his own inventions to God, is to be vindicated from such charges, then this is the easiest way to be adopted. The fact is that renouncing one religion and adopting another which was common amongst the ancient people, implies that conversion from one religion

to another, is one of the habits of mankind. Besides, the fact of God's endowing each individual man with intellectual faculties and senses, implies that he should not, like other animals, follow the examples of his fellows, but should exercise his own intellectual power with the help of acquired knowledge, to discern good from bad, so that this valuable divine gift should not be left useless. The followers of different religions sometimes seeing the paucity of the number of believers in one God in the world boast that they are on the side of the majority. It is to be seen that the truth of a saying does not depend upon the multiplicity of the sayers and the non-reliability of a narration cannot arise simply out of the paucity of the number of the narrators. For it is admitted by the seekers of truth that truth is to be followed, although it is against the majority of the people. Moreover, accepting the proposition, *viz.*, the paucity of the number of the sayers leads to the invalidity of a saying, as universal, proves to be a dangerous blow to all the forms of religion. Because in the beginning of every religion there were very few supporters of it, *viz.*, its founder and a very few sincere followers of him, who had the same object with him, and afterwards on their precepts thousands of large books and series of arguments have been written and produced like a mountain resting upon a straw, while belief only in one Almighty God is the fundamental principle of every religion. Those who prefer the so-called invented revelation of mankind to the natural inspiration from God, which consists in attending to social life with their own species, and having an intuitive faculty of discriminating good from evil, instead of gaining the union of hearts with mutual love and affection of all their fellow-creatures without difference in shape and colour or creeds and religions, which is a pure devotion acceptable to God, the Creator of nature, consider some especial formulæ and bodily motions to be the cause of Salvation and receiving bounty from Almighty God. They in fact, pretend a change in the self of the Deity and think that their physical actions and mental emotions, have power to change the state of the unchangeable God. Our actions can by no means be the cause of appeasing the wrath of God and attaining His forgiveness and favour. A little consideration will expose this heresy.

"So many hypocritical acts of the Shaikh, the Spiritual Leader, are not worth a mite; give comfort to the hearts of people, this is the only Divine Doctrine."

In short, the individuals of mankind with reference to those who are deceivers and those who are deceived and those who are neither, are of four kinds.

Firstly.—A class of deceivers who in order to attract the people to themselves wilfully invent doctrines, creeds and faiths and put the people to troubles and cause disunion amongst them.

2ndly.—A class of deceived people, who without inquiring into the fact, adhere to others.

3rdly.—A class of people who are deceivers and also deceived; they are those who having themselves faith in the sayings of another induce others to adhere to them.

4thly.—Those who by the help of Almighty God are neither deceivers nor deceived.

"Be not after the injury of any being and do whatever you please. For in our way there is no sin except it (injuring others)." (Hafiz).

These few sentences, short and useful according to the opinion of this humble believer in God, have been written without any regard to men of prejudice and bigotry, with the hope that people of sound mind will look at them with a just and corrective eye. I have left the detail of it to another work of mine entitled مناظرة الاديان *Manazarutul Adyan,** "Discussion of Various Religions."

Here ends "A present to the believers in one God."

* *Manazara* is a work in the form of a dialogue in which two or more persons are introduced to discuss a given subject.

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